



The Shakespearean World

Edited by
Jill L. Levenson and Robert Ormsby

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THE SHAKESPEAREAN WORLD



The Shakespearean World takes a global view of Shakespeare and his works, especially their afterlives. Constantly changing, the Shakespeare central to this volume has acquired an array of meanings over the past four centuries. “Shakespeare” signifies the historical person, as well as the plays and verse attributed to him. It also signifies the attitudes towards both author and works determined by their receptions. Throughout the book, specialists aim to situate Shakespeare’s world and what the world is because of him. In adopting a global perspective, the volume arranges thirty-six chapters in five parts:

- Shakespeare on stage internationally since the late seventeenth century;
- Shakespeare on film throughout the world;
- Shakespeare in the arts beyond drama and performance;
- Shakespeare in everyday life;
- Shakespeare and critical practice.

Through its coverage, *The Shakespearean World* offers a comprehensive transhistorical and international view of the ways this Shakespeare has not only influenced but has also been influenced by diverse cultures during 400 years of performance, adaptation, criticism, and citation. While each chapter is a freshly conceived introduction to a significant topic, all of the chapters move beyond the level of survey, suggesting new directions in Shakespeare studies – such as ecology, tourism, and new media – and making substantial contributions to the field. This volume is an essential resource for all those studying Shakespeare, from beginners to advanced specialists.

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THE SHAKESPEAREAN WORLD



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First published 2017
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Levenson, Jill L., editor. | Ormsby, Robert, editor.

Title: The Shakespearean world / edited by Jill L. Levenson and Robert Ormsby.

Description: Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY : Routledge, 2017. |

Includes bibliographical references.

Identifiers: LCCN 2016036085 | ISBN 9780415732529 (hardback) |

ISBN 9781317696193 (web pdf) | ISBN 9781317696186 (epub) |

ISBN 9781317696179 (mobipocket)

Subjects: LCSH: Shakespeare, William, 1564–1616—Criticism and interpretation. |

Shakespeare, William, 1564–1616—Stage history.

Classification: LCC PR2976 .S33899 2017 | DDC 822.3/3—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2016036085>

ISBN: 978-0-415-73252-9 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-77834-1 (ebk)

Typeset in Sabon
by Apex CoVantage, LLC

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS



The two editors are grateful to all those who have guided this volume to publication, in the first place the editorial team at Routledge: Polly Dodson and Elizabeth Levine for helping us to shape our proposal for the book; Ruth Moody, Emma Brown, Zoe Meyer, and Philip Stirups for handling numerous inquiries; and Maria Anson for her excellent copy-editing of the very lengthy text.

Robert Ormsby acknowledges with thanks funding from Memorial University of Newfoundland and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada that made his research possible.

The editors have welcomed this opportunity to work on another project together, a collaboration that began when Robert Ormsby was a student at the University of Toronto and Jill L. Levenson was an instructor there. We began with his Senior Essay; proceeded to his PhD thesis; and now, as colleagues and equals, have completed editing this book while he teaches at Memorial University of Newfoundland and she continues her connection with the University of Toronto.

We both appreciate the encouragement that Elizabeth Ormsby and Ágnes Juhasz-Ormsby have given us at each stage of our work on the volume. Jill L. Levenson would like to thank both the friends and strangers who supported her through the editing of *The Shakespearean World*, especially in view of the past year's medical challenges.

Unless otherwise stated, all references in the volume to Shakespeare's works are from *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, edited by Stanley Wells, Gary Taylor, John Jowett, and William Montgomery, 2nd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).



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INTRODUCTION



Jill L. Levenson and Robert Ormsby

This volume's title, *The Shakespearean World*, may suggest a territory to be identified, described, and mapped as though it were a discrete and knowable entity. The title may also provoke a number of questions meant to qualify the singular nature of any such phenomenon. Do we mean to depict a world circumscribed and dominated by Shakespeare, one that has been made in his image? Or do we envision a Shakespeare that has been remade by the world? Finally, is this world truly singular, or does Shakespeare entail some kind of plurality? We knew when we proposed this collection that such questions would make charting the Shakespearean world tremendously complex. Indeed, the Shakespeare we define for this book has acquired an array of meanings over the past four centuries; and those meanings accompany him throughout the world and in a number of media. "Shakespeare" signifies the historical person who lived between 1564 and 1616, as well as the plays and verse attributed to him. It also signifies the attitudes towards both author and works determined by their reception; and reception varies not only from culture to culture, but even within cultures. "Shakespeare" the classic can be politically charged to speak many languages with many voices.

Our definition of Shakespeare, like our title, implies a relationship to what is now often called global Shakespeare. Since the mid-1990s, there has been a great proliferation of scholarship on Shakespeare's manifestations in numerous locales across the world; and, since the turn of the twenty-first century, critics have increasingly employed ideas about globalization to explain these manifestations. As this body of criticism makes clear, global Shakespeare is the consequence of efforts by a tremendous range of local cultural agents. Furthermore, attuned to developments in globalization studies, scholars have detailed the "problems of location and possession" of Shakespeare that "seem to be multiplying geometrically under conditions of late capitalism as 'globalization,'" while "supposedly differentiating 'national' symbols are being struggled over and re-coded at the 'global' [intercultural] level" (Bartolovich 2001: 178, 195). In recognition of such complexity, Douglas Lanier argues: "To complement the myriad of isolated examples of 'local' Shakespeares that challenge the received notions of Shakespeare's meaning, we need . . . to consider other, broader paradigms for understanding the Bard's place in the ever-expanding global village" (2006: 242).

In an effort to devise paradigms, or at least provide a framework, for understanding Shakespearean worlds, past and present, we have designed the book to cover as many historical, geographic, and thematic manifestations of Shakespeare as possible. The result is a dual structure. The first two sections, on live performance and film, are divided geographically; and each chapter discusses the history of Shakespeare within a given region. The last three sections are divided thematically, because not all topics have the same pervasive global history as live performance and film. Nevertheless, we have encouraged contributors to Parts III–V to provide significant analyses of geographically and historically distinct cultures wherever possible. This combination of geographic and thematic organization is meant not to be exhaustive, but rather to indicate the most salient features belonging to the history of Shakespeare’s diffusion through many cultures. We have commissioned the volume’s thirty-six chapters to offer a comprehensive transhistorical and international view of the ways that Shakespeare, as we define him above, has not only influenced but also been influenced by diverse cultures during four centuries of performance, adaptation, criticism, and citation. Consequently, we have planned for each chapter to deliver an incisive examination of one subject fundamental to the current field of Shakespeare studies. The structure is designed to help readers find their ways through the diverse particulars that constitute Shakespeare’s afterlives.

Our five-part structure may be designed to chart the Shakespearean world as practically as possible, but the contributors often provide valuable insights when they cross these theoretical boundaries. Perhaps it should come as no surprise that our framework is less compelling than the recurrent preoccupations that form the bases of connections between chapters – connections that cast doubt on any straightforward division of all that Shakespeare has become. To return to Bartolovich, two of these preoccupations are the problems of location and possession, or the intertwined questions of where Shakespeare is to be found and who may credibly claim to own him. As this volume’s essays make clear, framing such questions is complicated by the fact that the converging lines of global, national, and local cultural influences may be evident in certain Shakespeare manifestations, whereas these influences are oblique and latent in many others. Furthermore, those who adapt and analyse Shakespeare frequently do so with various combinations of respect and criticism, or even hostility. Such issues often result in anxieties about discovering or producing an authentic Shakespeare; although this anxiety, which cuts across numerous media, is frequently highly productive as a source of intellectual and creative inspiration. In the discussion of contributions to *The Shakespearean World* that follows, it becomes clear that Shakespeare has been and continues to be, above all, a resource employed by artists and thinkers around the world who reproduce a vast range of Shakespeares as they pursue their own diverse ends.

PART I: SHAKESPEARE ON STAGE SINCE THE LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

In the first part of this volume, Chapter 5 on performance in the Middle East exemplifies the challenges of coming to terms with the theatrical Shakespearean world. As the chapter acknowledges, the Middle East itself is a sprawling region with imperfectly defined geographic and imaginative borders; and it is composed of numerous

linguistic, ethnic, and religious groups. The area has a long and rich history of interaction (peaceful and hostile) between competing local and national constituencies, typically influenced by powerful external forces advancing their own imperial ambitions. When commissioning the chapter, we realized that, in order to understand how Shakespeare migrated to and around the Middle East – becoming diffused through the translation, adaptation, and performance of his work – the essay would require a collective effort. The collaborators are Margaret Litvin, who studies Shakespeare in the Arab world; Avraham Oz, who focuses on Shakespeare in Israel; and Parviz Partovi, who addresses Shakespeare in Iran and Turkey. They aimed to ensure representative though not total coverage of the subject. Indeed, the three contributors offer a helpful caution about the difficulties of attempting complete coverage of their subject, a caution echoed in almost all of the volume's other chapters. They remark that "reception of a prestigious literary text [such as one of Shakespeare's] is seldom direct" (p. 97), and that artists "can deliberately obscure the intermediary sources through which they accessed Shakespeare, and historical shifts can occlude them from view" (p. 97). Their approach to theatrical Shakespeare in the Middle East is shaped by these observations. Instead of offering a schematic arrangement of their argument that conforms strictly to each contributor's area of expertise, they opt for an historical overview that reveals indirect and occult lines of influence, and subtle, rather than exact, similarities between nations and peoples.

This overview raises concerns that recur, to varying degrees, throughout the section and the volume. Like many other contributors, Litvin, Oz, and Partovi recognize that theatre artists use Shakespeare as a resource, as raw material, or, in their words, for "script-fodder" (p. 98). Most often, the authors describe how Shakespeare was regarded as an ally, especially for nineteenth- and early twentieth-century nationalist and modernizing movements in the region. Productions associated with these movements were translated into Arabic, Persian, and Turkish through intermediary texts such as Jean-François Ducis's French versions of Shakespeare, and were brought to life with the help of third parties such as Armenian, Greek, and Italian acting companies. These productions complicate any straightforward sense of centre/periphery, colonial/post-colonial relationships that shape the Shakespearean world, while suggesting indifference to questions of authenticity based on fidelity to the playwright's language. Still, the authors make it clear that purportedly authentic Shakespeare has been a reliable resource for Middle Eastern artists' self-authentication. They argue, for instance, that early translations of Shakespeare into Hebrew were part of an effort to "revive" the ancient form "as a living language" (p. 101), while the post-Second World War era saw a boom in scholarly translations of Shakespeare that helped prove nations' cultural worth and maturity. They reveal, in effect, that such alliances made Shakespeare part of the Middle Eastern world, as nations in the region developed affinities for certain plays – including the embrace of *Othello* by Arab countries and modern Turkey, and Israel's abiding relationship with *The Merchant of Venice*. In the process of forging such performance traditions, the Middle East has claimed partial ownership in what the playwright has become. Litvin, Oz, and Partovi illustrate this impression that Shakespeare is shared when they describe the Palestinian Ashtar Theatre Company's desire to prove it could deliver "a high-quality, pointedly literary Shakespeare production" for the world to see at the 2012 Globe to Globe Festival in London (*Richard II*, p. 112). The company showed the international festival's

audiences how it had made Shakespeare part of its world at the reconstructed Globe Theatre, popularly seen as one of the primary sites of theatrical authenticity in the Shakespearean world.

Like the essay on the Middle East, the chapters on Shakespearean theatre in Continental Europe and in Latin America required multiple authors to grapple with long and diverse performance histories. The authors of these two chapters are not greatly concerned with portraying either region as Shakespeare's rival. Instead, they examine those who have treated the playwright as a resource for reshaping existing worlds, thereby confirming Shakespeare's usefulness in the service of nation-building projects. Martin Procházka, Marta Gibińska, and Florence March relate how European artists and intellectuals have reworked Shakespeare since the late seventeenth century in creating national theatres and literatures: Shakespeare's plays were frequently employed for "romantic political and aesthetic revolutions" and "often identified with the ideological objectives of national emancipation movements" (p. 46). Although European Shakespeare touring productions that emerged from those revolutions helped establish theatre traditions in various South American countries in the nineteenth century, Maria Clara Versiani Galery and Anna Stegh Camati relate that, since the mid-1970s, Shakespearean theatre has been a powerful means of protesting against corrupt politicians and the legacy of brutal authoritarianism in Argentina and Brazil.

Both of these chapters reveal the complex cultural forces that draw Shakespeare into very different transnational relationships. Gibińska describes how technological innovations and the singular circumstances of the Saxe-Meiningen company converged to make Shakespeare an important catalyst for the spread of directors' theatre across Europe. If directors' theatre gave creative power to those in Europe (and eventually around the world) who could best marshal all elements of production, local theatre festivals across Europe employed Shakespeare performance, as March argues, in efforts to create social cohesion following the global catastrophe of the Second World War. Meanwhile, Galery and Camati note the complicated functions Shakespeare has been conscripted to serve, via *The Tempest*, in addressing different phases of colonialism in Latin America. In his 1900 essay, Uruguayan José Enrique Rodó used the play as a metaphor for venerating European culture as an act of rejecting US colonial expansion; but, by 1971, Cuban Roberto Fernández Retamar could urge Latin Americans to embrace their purportedly Caliban-like hybridities, which represented "the contamination of the culture of the former [European] colonial powers" (p. 80). Here, sharing Shakespeare means abstracting him into an analogy that makes his work stand for European culture in general. The Shakespearean world is not simply a place; it is also a vague identity to be used as a defence against or alloyed with other vague identities.

Other chapters reveal a more balanced mix of rivalry with and opposition to the English identity associated with Shakespeare in regions that had direct colonial relationships with Britain. James C. Bulman depicts this blend of competition and reverence as a long-standing feature of American theatrical Shakespeare. He argues that New York's 1849 Astor Place Riot over Edwin Forrest's and William Macready's competing *Macbeths* was driven by the locals' belief in a populist American spirit revolting against perceived British élitism; but Bulman demonstrates that this belief coincides with an enduring Anglophilia in the US that extends to contemporary reception of competing domestic and English touring productions. According to Bulman, among the most

notable instances of the US making over Shakespeare in its own image is Virginia's Blackfriars Theatre, which employs a "British 'original practices' aesthetic" and nearly rivals English companies' deliveries of Shakespeare while maintaining an aura "of American populism and festive occasion" (p. 75).

In a similar vein, Rob Conkie and Nicola Hyland use the metaphor of Shakespeare-the-sacred-book that is both "kissed" and "drowned" – revered and destroyed – to suggest the many ways that performance has linked Shakespeare to locales in Australia and New Zealand. Performances in both countries have claimed ownership of Shakespeare through productions that were "recruited into the imperial project" (p. 154) and rejected the colonialism associated with the playwright in the Antipodes. Conkie and Hyland encapsulate these claim-staking processes by evocatively combining the bibliographic with the territorial:

Even as those who brought Shakespeare's book to these lands as an instrument of civilization intended to authorize ownership claims, the re-colonizing of these stories for local concerns – the kissing and drowning of the book – have meant that the land owns Shakespeare, too.

(p. 168)

At the same time, all such re-groundings displace Shakespeare from his singular British location. For instance, Sandra Young points out that Shakespeare's place in Africa is partly associated with an "Englishness" that is "made exclusionary through the power relations of colonization and its racialized imaginary"; but she portrays Shakespeare as raw material for African artists who fit the playwright's works "into their worlds" (pp. 117, 118). Such refitting has meant everything from perpetuating an image of exoticized Africa to reinscribing pernicious stereotypes. It has also meant dramatizing the complexities of public forgiveness attendant upon the end of South African apartheid and affirming "the elevated capacities of local languages" through translations of Shakespeare's work (p. 126). Young observes that, in travelling so "far from late sixteenth-century Stratford-upon-Avon, Shakespeare in Africa has become wonderfully, productively unhinged" (p. 132), suggesting the rootlessness associated with globalization.

Yong Li Lan's chapter on East Asian performance reveals yet more of what becomes refitted and unhinged in global Shakespearean theatre. Yong argues that Shakespeare has been made to stand in for a whole modern performance tradition, deployed in theatrical encounters with East Asian performance modes that, together, "constitute a project to disrupt a realism modelled on Western naturalism" (p. 137). Like Rodo's and Fernandez's take on *The Tempest* in Latin America, this project abstracts the playwright and fixes him at the centre of the West and its supposedly dominant form of theatre. Yet it also scatters his work among Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Taiwanese performance styles and the assumptions underlying them. Yong's analysis captures an important feature of Shakespeare's place in the world: it is at once consolidated and dispersed.

This interaction between consolidation and dispersal occurs even at the Shakespearean world's supposed centre, England. Kathryn Prince describes the history of Shakespearean performance in Britain as one in which native tradition is influenced by international cultures so that domestic theatrical Shakespeare acquires an increasingly global character. Furthermore, she depicts this history as shaped by two

kinds of productive tensions: between assertions of Shakespeare's Englishness and claims about his universality or contemporary relevance; and "between professedly authentic and determinedly innovative approaches to the performance of his plays" (p. 21). Prince also emphasizes that mainstream post-war English Shakespeare, especially that produced by the Royal Shakespeare Company (RSC), was particularly marked by two Continental influences: the criticism of Polish writer Jan Kott, which provided English practitioners with a conceptual basis for Shakespeare's political relevance; and the staging practices of East Germany's Berliner Ensemble, which furnished a working example of political theatre in action. Discussing the 2012 Globe to Globe Festival, which featured productions by dozens of non-English-language Shakespeare companies, she asks a question that might be directed at this volume as a whole: "could Shakespeare, the common cause that brought this parade of human diversity together in London, serve as a catalyst for cosmopolitanism?" (p. 34). Given the diversity of cultural influences represented in the chapters of this first section, we might ask: what does it mean to be cosmopolitan – to be worldly – in a Shakespearean sense?

PART II: SHAKESPEARE ON FILM

Peter Kirwan's chapter on Shakespearean film in the UK describes a fundamental tension that runs throughout essays in both Parts I and II. He argues that much British cinematic Shakespeare is characterized by anxiety about film's relationship to British theatre, which many filmmakers posit as the tradition, medium, and location of Shakespearean authenticity. Whereas most chapters in Part I describe productions and broad historical contexts that associate Shakespeare with an English (or European or Western) authority located at a colonial centre, that relationship is transposed on to one between a supposedly authoritative and authentic medium and a derivative one that is driven by an impulse to entertain for a popular spectatorship. Kirwan remarks that anxiety about cinema's derivative status is manifested in its explicit and implicit engagement with the theatre. He notes, for instance, the prevalence in British Shakespearean film of "techniques such as tracking shots, direct address, and disruption of mainstream cinematic realism that attempt to evoke the 'liveness' associated with the theatrical event" (p. 174). The anxiety Kirwan describes has various effects. It can influence the selection of plays for filming: dramas such as *Richard III* and *Henry V*, both of which received two major British cinematic treatments in the twentieth century, contain the self-consciously theatrical elements of direct address and a chorus, respectively. Evidently, it can also influence casting, as those *Richard III* and *Henry V* films rely on actors strongly associated with twentieth-century theatrical Shakespeare: Laurence Olivier (as Henry V in 1944 and Richard III in 1955), Kenneth Branagh (as Henry V in 1989), and Ian McKellen (as Richard III in 1995). Still, Kirwan is careful to point out that "this anxiety is frequently productive and challenging rather than restrictive, making explicit the negotiation of medium and content" (p. 174). On the one hand, Olivier privileges the theatre when his *Henry V* presents an imagined Globe audience by enacting "an induction of the cinema audience into Shakespeare via the theatre" (p. 178). On the other hand, Roland Emmerich's *Anonymous* regards the Elizabethan theatre "as a source of power" but depicts the early modern play-going crowd as a "gullible, easily led mob" (p. 186). Consequently,

Shakespeare or an imagined early modern playhouse locale do not serve alone as fodder for artistic impulses. The antagonism between cinema and live performance becomes a resource for the filmmakers in reframing and representing the Shakespearean world of the theatre.

Shakespearean cinema in Europe and the US is marked by tensions similar to those Kirwan describes. Mariangela Tempera notes that, in non-English European Shakespeare films, there is often a trade-off between the loss of the playwright's language and an improved understanding of the text in translation, arguably reflecting cinema's search for a popular audience. As Samuel Crowl argues, early Hollywood attempted a similar balancing act, linking Shakespeare with film stars rather than theatre performers from London and New York while using Shakespeare to lend its popular works respectability. Shakespeare's prestige has also been used to underwrite high-art aspirations, helping to justify European auteurs' projects by lending credibility to their efforts to control fully most aspects of production, and thereby stamp "their own distinctive visions" on their films (p. 190). This auteur spirit is embodied in the US by Orson Welles, who, Crowl remarks, "took the American Shakespeare film from the Hollywood studio to the European street" while "allow[ing] visual images to take precedence over spoken" ones (pp. 215, 213). The compromises that Welles had to make in cobbling together funding for his films are similar to those European auteurs have had to make – although Tempera observes that European directors must occasionally yield to pressure from backers who insist on filming English-language scripts that can be marketed in England and North America. Reminding us that film's popularity is fundamentally a matter of financial success, Crowl is particularly attuned to the influence of money and film-studio organization on the nature of Shakespearean cinema. In effect, he uses Shakespearean film to track the evolution of funding systems in the Hollywood industry: Joseph Mankiewicz's 1953 *Julius Caesar* was made in the mould of big-studio sword-and-sandals epics; Franco Zeffirelli's 1968 *Romeo and Juliet* represents a shift from the big-studio system to a more international financing arrangement; and the cinema of the 1990s is the result of "an Anglo-American alliance [that is] increasingly uniting all English-language Shakespeare films" (p. 220). Given the relentless financial pressure that filmmakers experience, it is unsurprising that Tempera remarks upon the frequency with which European directors return to anti-corporate adaptations of Shakespeare.

Mark Thornton Burnett and Alexa Huang are more concerned with questions of location than with anxieties about film's relationship to the theatre. Burnett covers an eye-opening range of films, a body of work in which, like many others in the volume, he observes that Shakespeare is both "an artistic resource" and "an ideological battleground" (p. 244). He notes that *Romeo and Juliet* is often adapted in Africa to negotiate ethnic violence, legacies of apartheid, and "the continuing role of familial authority in expressions of emancipated womanhood" (p. 242), remarking, for instance, upon the frequency with which *The Taming of the Shrew* has been adapted in Egyptian cinema. He also describes the ways that the Māori *Merchant of Venice* employs the Shakespearean past to stimulate its audience in the present to contemplate ongoing land claims in New Zealand. Furthermore, he echoes Galery and Camati's chapter in considering how Shakespearean cinema in South America has been employed to address issues of race, class, and military dictatorship, and to serve as a buttress against the global spread of American culture. Having surveyed the variety

of the cinematic Shakespearean world elsewhere, he concludes that “we still require a movement away from the ‘rest’ which would involve acknowledgement of plurality and polysemy: a holistic understanding of the field” (p. 254).

Huang’s analysis of Asian Shakespeare films suggests that such a holistic understanding would benefit from careful consideration of how location is construed cinematically. Following her discussion of the canonical status that Akira Kurosawa’s films have achieved and the proliferation of Asian Shakespearean cinema in the new millennium, she remarks upon these films’ “double marketability” – their attraction to spectators “enthralled by the performance of the exotic, whether it is through Shakespearean or Asian motifs” (p. 229). While she examines how certain films ground Shakespeare in local cultures and others inhabit a space that defies a unitary sense of location, she clearly describes the double burden that so many of the works in Parts I and II bear (or the advantages they possess), namely, that they “respond to the competing demands to inhabit simultaneously the local and the global; in other words, to represent ‘Asia’ on the world market and to be the conveyer of a ‘global West’ to Asian audiences” (p. 229).

PART III: SHAKESPEARE IN THE ARTS BEYOND DRAMA AND PERFORMANCE

The chapters in Part III explore how Shakespeare has been incorporated into artistic practices through time and around the world. During the process, they consider a number of art-forms which allow varying degrees of drama and performance in their own compositions, from poetry to music. They make the transition from Shakespeare on stage and in film to Shakespeare in additional or other dimensions – creative arrangements of different literary, visual, and sound effects. In this sequence, the chapters begin with Shakespeare and poetry, a genre which Shakespeare practised; they continue with fiction and non-fiction, other literary genres; and they end with the visual arts and music, two non-literary formulations. Each of these large topics extends, more or less, over four centuries and most continents. Like earlier chapters, those in Part III resist schematization of their subject matter in 9,000 words or less. The authors had to find approaches which revealed their topics’ complexities within narrow word limits, a challenge which has led to economical presentations of original arguments and new insights.

A poet and a professor, Peter Robinson brings to the topic of Shakespeare and poetry two perspectives which inform each other as they define his subject. When we invited him to write for the volume, he had already begun to prepare for a sonnet workshop at York University (UK) in February 2014. “The subject of *Shakespeare’s Sonnets* and afterlife in lyric poetry” began with what Robinson describes as a *viva voce* summary of the ideas he would elaborate in this chapter. Having fixed his attention on the *Sonnets*, Robinson covers their place in the Shakespeare canon as a whole, their critical history to date, and their poetic repercussions in later verse. He accomplishes this organizational feat by focusing on the use of pronouns in the *Sonnets*, specifically “I,” arguing through speech-act theory and related critical vocabularies that the “I” may be not a proxy figure but the historical author himself.

In the last two sections of this chapter – “Acts that the subject performs by writing speech” and “The subject’s afterlife in use” – Robinson addresses two interrelated

concepts key not only to his argument but also to many of the essays in this book. The first, what J.L. Austin calls “uptake,” predetermines the second, “afterlife” – a term loosely connected with appropriation. According to Robinson, “uptake cannot mean simply understanding meaning and force, for a reader’s responding so as to work with the poem to generate self-reflexive thought and feeling will be what counts, and counts for readers too” (p. 273). He concludes that the sonnets invite and have received uptake, achieving afterlife – “the role a predecessor’s work plays when adopted by [later] generations” (p. 275). With instances of Shakespeare’s sonnets imitated and translated from Wordsworth and Keats to European poets of the twentieth century, he directs readers to see performance of uptake and achievement of afterlife throughout the poetic canon, across different media, and in a range of cultures: “Successful allusion in work that is itself remembered forms uptake’s most indelible trace” (p. 276).

Using another critical lexicon, Jane Kingsley-Smith’s chapter on Shakespeare and the novel, more Harold Bloom than J.L. Austin, perceives tension in the uptake/afterlife continuum. As Kingsley-Smith acknowledges at the start, “Shakespeare has had a remarkable influence on prose fiction across the globe” (p. 282), from works by Ivan Turgenev to those of Tayeb Salih and Margaret Atwood. Debates about subjects raised by Shakespearean drama – the requirements of successful character-building, the nature and demands of tragedy on stage and in fiction, views of history alternative to Shakespeare’s – have been mediated by earlier works of fiction: Goethe influenced George Eliot; Laurence Sterne provided models for Salman Rushdie and Angela Carter. Speaking to this vast topic complicated by interventions, Kingsley-Smith focuses on English-language novels which address the three main objects of debate. This strategy leads her to consider a recent, thought-provoking, and open-ended manifestation of what the chapter calls “rewriting Shakespearean history”: “The sudden proliferation of Shakespeare novels by women at the end of the twentieth century [which] shows a remarkable coherence around the figures of King Lear and Prospero” (p. 290).

Katherine Scheil’s chapter on Shakespeare and non-fiction centres on the biography, following its combinations of facts and fiction from the eighteenth to the twenty-first century. Quoting William Hazlitt, Scheil summarizes this history in terms that anticipate uptake and afterlife: “‘Shakespeare ‘was nothing in himself; but he was all that others were, or that they could become’” (p. 299). In effect, Shakespearean biography contains and generates multitudes; but Scheil’s use of chronology makes it comprehensible, even when it explodes in the twentieth century and as it becomes globalized. She concludes that these narrative conflations supply an unlimited market with material for speculation about Shakespeare the historical figure, his works, and his times.

Chronology also helps Jim Davis to shape his chapter on Shakespeare in the visual arts, a subject large in size and scope. Davis follows “a vast number of paintings, illustrations, prints, caricatures, cartoons, comics, and sculptures” – from Hogarth in the eighteenth century to manga Shakespeare since the late twentieth. At the same time, he sets up a theoretical frame of reference for the visual arts of each age, which he considers “a form of critique and commentary: never merely descriptive, but almost invariably implying a perspective or point of view” (pp. 314–315). Adopting an essentially historical approach, Davis combines the interpretative methodology of scholars like

Stuart Sillars with his own versions of uptake and afterlife. His analysis not only gives the topic an appropriate sense of eclecticism and ongoing change, but also enables him to make illuminating connections between recent graphic constructions of Shakespeare and portrayals by the Victorians and their predecessors.

In the last chapter of Part III, Christy Desmet and David M. Schiller face the amplitude of their topic straightforwardly with their opening sentence: “The Shakespearean world of music addresses a global audience without borders” (p. 339). Moreover, entry to this world can occur through any site in Shakespeare’s canon, from individual lines to whole plots. Exploration of the Shakespearean components – ranging through musical formats from the eighteenth century to the twenty-first – may include European and Asian opera, orchestral and choral music, ballet, and American musical theatre. Responding to the abundance, Desmet and Schiller create a master plan which allows them, in mapping this territory, to give an impression of the whole. They choose five plays and one narrative poem, discussing transcriptions of the Shakespearean material to music originating in different periods and places. This condensed survey raises two points which apply not only to this chapter but also to Part III generally – and perhaps to the entire volume:

First, the line between local and global Shakespeares is tenuous and shifting. Second, the translation of Shakespeare’s poems and plays into different national or cultural idioms, languages, musical genres, and historical aesthetics challenges the distinction between what is and is not Shakespeare.

(p. 354)

PART IV: SHAKESPEARE IN EVERYDAY LIFE

In Part IV, seven chapters follow the line between local and global Shakespeares as it extends beyond strictly artistic pursuits through a broad range of cultural practices within different historical and geographical contexts. The subjects, on a spectrum from pedagogy to new media, tend to concentrate on the period between the mid-eighteenth and the early twenty-first centuries, paying special attention to the twentieth century. Topographical boundaries expand and contract according to the authors’ conceptions of their topics. For example, two chapters which focus on the UK explore very different spaces: Stephen Purcell writes about British Shakespeare and live performance in his contribution on amateur production; Robert Ormsby considers Stratford-upon-Avon and London’s Globe in his examination of Shakespearean tourism, his view widening to encompass international Shakespeare performances within the 2012 Globe to Globe Festival.

Two of the chapters display notable continuities with earlier sections of the volume on performance and other arts. In Ormsby’s “Shakespearean tourism: from national heritage to global attraction,” the title itself expresses tension central to the argument. If anxiety is free-floating in Part IV generally, this chapter echoes the theme as it recurs throughout overviews of Shakespeare in theatre, film, and arts beyond drama and performance. Its point of departure is David Garrick’s three-day Jubilee in 1769, which “caused the first stirrings of the anxiety about sharing Shakespeare with tourists” (p. 433). Ormsby reviews the evolution of the tourist industry until 2014, describing his own self-conscious position as a tourist in Stratford-upon-Avon

during August of that year, and asking what criteria determine the difference between tourist and professional Shakespearean. In the last section of this chapter, he considers both answers to such questions and the kinds of strains exposed by the Globe to Globe Festival, “attending to what happened when performers from around the world brought their cultures into Shakespeare’s London home” (p. 436).

Like Scheil’s chapter on Shakespearean biography, Brett D. Hirsch and Michael Best’s on new media manages to contain a topic which erupted during the second half of the twentieth century:

Since the 1960s, when Trevor Howard-Hill painstakingly transcribed the First Folio texts on a mainframe computer, the digital world of Shakespeare has exploded in volume and variety through a period of constant experimentation and flux.

(p. 458)

Hirsch and Best, like Scheil, impose order on potential chaos through chronology. They produce a thorough and comprehensible narrative by tracking new media from anticipations in print through mainframe and personal computers and, finally, to the Internet, where digital Shakespeare can be read on many and multiform devices.

The other chapters in Part IV aim to fill gaps in Shakespeare studies with varying degrees of determination. As his title – “Prithee, listen well” – indicates, Michael P. Jensen makes a case for the vast topic of audio Shakespeare. “Audio adds an important dimension to Shakespeare performance history” (p. 405), Jensen argues, demonstrating what it reveals about well-known actors and actors who should be better known; directors, including women; collaborations between broadcasters and theatrical companies; and productions of rarely performed works. The conclusion makes a strong appeal for other Shakespeare scholars to join Jensen’s project; and it generously offers a consolidated summary of resources.

In her chapter on Shakespeare and global television, Susanne Greenhalgh emphasizes the neglect of her subject: “The relationship between Shakespeare and television remains notably underexamined by scholars compared with the attention that has been given to filmed Shakespeare” (p. 420). As she offers reasons for this neglect, Greenhalgh echoes concerns expressed by earlier chapters in this volume. “From its beginnings, British televisual concepts of ‘quality drama’ were . . . in thrall to theatre, epitomized by Shakespeare” (p. 421). The section of her chapter titled “Shakespeare and the single play” takes an overview of the reciprocity between theatre and television until the end of the twentieth century; and it remarks as well that recent archival research has uncovered television adaptations of Shakespeare involving transnational exchange and co-commissions. With this summary, and less obviously in her discussion of serialized Shakespeare, Greenhalgh makes a case for the value of primary research and theoretical work on the relationship between Shakespeare and a significant medium of popular culture.

Purcell concentrates on live amateur performances of Shakespearean work in modern Britain: “My decision to focus on British Shakespeare was a pragmatic one: amateur Shakespeare is a much neglected subject” (p. 393). With this chapter, the author counters neglect with research collected from his own on-line survey of amateur groups performing in the UK. After defining key terms and explaining his

methodology, Purcell interprets the survey results to see which plays dominate the amateur Shakespeare repertoire; what ambitions, customs, and innovations distinguish the companies; and which features characterize open-air Shakespeare. In the process, he sets an example for filling this particular gap in Shakespeare studies. This template appears also in the first two chapters of Part IV, which together identify a gap and propose ways of filling it. Both consider the topic of Shakespeare and the education of young readers.

At the beginning of her chapter on Shakespeare and education, Kate Flaherty reviews the current state of her subject: “Shakespeare is near ubiquitous on humanities curricula throughout the world.” Specifically, she cites a recent survey by the RSC which shows that 65 per cent of countries name Shakespeare on their curricula, and that 50 per cent of schoolchildren in the world study Shakespeare. Although analytical scholarship about Shakespeare and education is prolific in a number of categories, none of it considers when and how the bond formed. Flaherty undertakes an investigation of this bond: “What emerges is the narrative of an unlikely marriage formed on the margins of the formal English educational establishment” (pp. 361–62). In four sections, she follows the emergence of Shakespeare studies in Scotland, England, India, and the United States. “These contexts and the ideological transactions between them provide a picture of the founding of an educational discipline to which Shakespeare is still central” (p. 362).

Naomi J. Miller focuses on the ways adaptations for young audiences engage the imaginations of children, then young adults, and finally of creative adults who reinterpret Shakespeare around the globe through verbal and graphic conventions. Consequently, she passes through territory mapped by Davis in his chapter on Shakespeare in the visual arts; but Miller limits her analysis to adaptations of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* and *The Tempest*, plays which generate fantasy worlds that appeal especially to young audiences. She identifies a new model for examining these Shakespearean adaptations: “*habitational* appropriation.” Drawn from a modern picture-book by Eric Carle, *A House for Hermit Crab*, this model allows Miller to “suggest that both adapters and audiences can experience habitational appropriation by inhabiting (both growing into and outgrowing) the interpretive and experiential space offered by the adaptations” (p. 388). Her chapter demonstrates the use of this model, introducing another method for understanding the subject of Shakespeare and education.

PART V: SHAKESPEARE AND CRITICAL PRACTICE

The first four parts of this volume contribute directly to the history of Shakespeare and critical practice by taking individual approaches to twenty-five significant topics which constitute that narrative to date. As they analyse Shakespeare in and beyond performance, specialists have explored his place in the theatre and on film; through literary and non-literary art-forms; and in the cultural practices of everyday life, from education to new media. Many have depended on primary material or offered original theories. In the process, all have situated themselves within the critical discourses which define their own work. Sometimes those discourses originated as long ago as the early modern era; at other times they have appeared as recently as the second half

of the twentieth century; and various topics took shape along the chronological trajectory from the English Renaissance to the twenty-first century. Whenever their origin, a number of subjects have generated substantial critical mass (e.g., Shakespeare's language, politics, religion; Shakespeare and psychology). Others are dynamic works in progress (e.g., Shakespearean archives; Shakespeare and race, gender and sexuality, ecology and eco-criticism). By the early years of the twenty-first century, most of these fields have been influenced to different degrees by awareness of the complexity, advance, and effects of globalization.

To this point many chapters in *The Shakespearean World* have not only acknowledged critical practices relevant to their arguments but also challenged or questioned those discourses. Part V focuses on the critical practices themselves, surveying almost a dozen fields crucial to understanding Shakespeare's legacy over four centuries and to considering the directions it may follow in the future. As a result, the chapters which close this book provide valuable documentation for its subject as a whole. Although they do not fall into any particular order, they tend to make their ways from long-established topics to newer fields, and from subjects connected with Shakespeare's texts and their transmission to the history of ideas as it applies to Shakespeare's art. At the same time, proximity foregrounds the links between chapters that happen to cluster.

Part V opens with Eugene Giddens's account of Shakespeare's texts and editions. Starting with the printing of plays in Shakespeare's era, the chapter moves forward as a history of developments still in progress which affect the publication of Shakespeare's canon. It covers bibliographers' understanding and treatment of the earliest printed texts; and it outlines the editorial practices which emerged through the eighteenth century, underwent changes during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and displayed new refinements with every fresh Shakespeare edition that appears in print or on-line. Emphasizing the multiplicity of Shakespeare's texts – a feature which has grown exponentially with access to the Internet – Giddens argues that “Shakespeare's plays and poems have a textual history of almost unrivalled complexity” (p. 465). In the course of explaining that complexity, he points out how French and German translations during the eighteenth century, along with American-printed editions, transmitted some of the first signals of globalization.

While scholarly debates about texts and editions of Shakespeare have often sparked intense differences of opinion, Christie Carson maintains in the next chapter that archiving, the preservation of those and related materials, has lately become “a hot but contested topic in theoretical circles” (p. 483). As a member of those circles and a researcher invested in the value of Shakespearean archives, Carson has addressed for more than a decade the major problems of establishing efficient and meaningful archives. Her chapter defines the terms of the hot topic, characterized by its subtitle as “the containment of chaos,” through questions. What should be archived and how? Is it likely that the assembling of archives can avoid the interference of commercial interests? Can researchers who use or contribute to archives make objective decisions about their contents? Carson offers two case studies: Footsbarn Theatre, a company who reside in France, although they have travelled around the world; and the documentary *Muse of Fire*, a project centred in the UK but collecting interviews globally from actors and other theatre experts. Both illustrate with great clarity the

ways in which archives are now compiled and the difficulties that arise from the lack of consistent guidelines. In view of this evidence, Carson ends on a note of uncertainty: “it is possible to imagine a not-too-distant future when text, criticism, and performance can cohabit on the stage, in the library, and on the screen. But what about the archive?” (p. 492).

With the following chapter, Keith Johnson facilitates a transition between two kinds of critical practice. Like Giddens and Carson, he addresses a material component of Shakespeare’s texts: language. Like several of the writers who follow, he travels over an enormous field: “today there are very few Shakespearean linguistic stones which remain unturned” (p. 496). He introduces his subject with a summary of its development – from Ben Jonson in the seventeenth century to the editions, lexicons, glossaries, and concordances that became available throughout the nineteenth century, when Shakespeare strengthened as a pedagogical force (see Chapter 19). In the rest of this well-documented contribution, Johnson discusses Shakespeare language studies during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries in relation to seven linguistic areas from lexis to rhetoric; and he indicates that this scholarship originated at times outside English-speaking countries (e.g., *The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts*). A valuable conclusion, “The future,” draws on the opinions of four prominent linguists cited in the chapter who responded to Johnson’s questions about major developments to come. They all considered the potential effects of digitalized texts. “In some areas of study,” Johnson suggests in his closing paragraph, “the more that is done, the more there is revealed to do” (p. 508).

The next three chapters also cover large fields of study, at points interrelated, which nevertheless reveal unturned stones and more to do. Setting boundaries for their sizeable but still developing subjects, they apply different methods in their presentations. Peter Holbrook explains his intention to outline Shakespeare’s connections with “philosophy,” the word signifying in this context “a total and fundamental vision of reality” (p. 512). Arguing for a “dynamic” perspective throughout the canon, the chapter maintains “that Shakespeare apprehends the world in terms of change, flux, and ongoingness, and that the ceaseless flow of experience constitutes a kind of ultimate category of his art” (p. 512). As he builds this argument, Holbrook considers Shakespeare’s place in the history of philosophy; and he aligns the artist with those he calls “process-minded philosophers” – from Niccolò Machiavelli to Alfred North Whitehead – engaged by intense debates about different ways of rationalizing the world. He expects that his argument will render problematic Shakespeare’s relation to the Platonizing and Christian tradition in Western philosophy.

With the following chapter, Hugh Grady focuses on a major subject – perhaps *the* major subject – of process-minded Shakespearean critics: “The attempt to define Shakespeare’s political dimensions has in fact been the major work of the last thirty years of academic Shakespeare studies” (p. 527). Grady believes that criticism has already disabled the Platonizing and Christian tradition which Holbrook undermines. Starting from the premise that Shakespeare’s views about political power changed through the course of his professional life, the chapter tracks the critical approaches which have contextualized those shifts from the Restoration to what Grady calls “the critical present” (p. 537). As he covers the nineteenth to the twenty-first centuries, Grady’s illustrations extend from the UK to Europe, from the Romantics to Marx – more and

more widely through Modernist aesthetics and the modern research university. By the critical present, political approaches to Shakespeare have become, “for the first time in the history of academic criticism, overtly political, and a chapter like the present one becomes possible, even mandatory” (p. 539).

Equally imperative, the topic of religion, secularity, and Shakespeare embeds the tradition briefly acknowledged by both Holbrook and Grady. Arthur F. Marotti and Ken Jackson first identify two points of view which allow for examination of the subject of Shakespeare and religion along either historical or transhistorical lines.

In the first case, one can study specific intellectual, cultural, or socio-political contexts within which Shakespearean drama was or is situated. In the second, one can treat Shakespeare as a religious or, in some cases, a secular or non-religious thinker engaging either universal religious or general ethical questions that resonate in any period.

(p. 542)

Recently, scholar-critics have taken three approaches to the subject from those two positions: secularity (Shakespeare’s art converted religious into secular material); historicism (Shakespeare’s beliefs exist in the context of early modern religious events); and philosophy or theology (Shakespeare produced important religious insights which can be articulated in modern terms). In their thoroughly documented chapter, Marotti and Jackson survey the results of these investigations. The last section, “Shakespeare’s religious thinking,” offers their own complex view. Citing Michael Witmore, they agree that Shakespeare *is* a “dramaturgical monist,” but they also insist that he is still religious: “Let us consider the continuity there, not the division” (p. 552). Via *Hamlet*, they end in the interrogative mode, with a series of questions about the contradictions in modern critical attitudes towards Shakespeare and religion.

The next chapter – “Shakespeare and psychology: ‘Who’s there?’” – both starts and ends with *Hamlet*. As they introduce their subject, Murray M. Schwartz and David Willbern explain how it grew so immense:

This chapter maps the terrain from several perspectives: early modern “faculty psychology”; the range of theories subsumed under the term “psychoanalysis”; and new developments in cognitive psychology, neuroscience, and evolutionary psychology. Recent interventions from potent cultural movements – feminism, gender studies, queer studies, new historicism – have made the field especially fertile, and astoundingly vast.

(p. 557)

Their cartography takes its point of departure from a question, the sentinel’s charge as *Hamlet* begins: “‘Who’s there?’ Just whose psyche is our subject?” (p. 557). Initially the answers range from Shakespeare himself to his dramatic characters. In seven parts, Schwartz and Willbern’s chapter follows the directions outlined in its introduction along a chronological path, from early psychological models to what the authors call “contemporary psychologies” (p. 565). Schwartz and Willbern provide a clear, well-documented guide through their fertile and vast field. Finally, they return to *Hamlet*

and the sentinel's passage in 1.1, where Francisco replies: "Nay, answer me. Stand and unfold yourself." This exchange suggests the psychological transaction between Shakespeare's texts and his readers – actors, scholar-critics, students of all kinds – which constitutes the lasting attraction of his dramatic art. His poetic language and its theatrical representation bring the question back to Shakespeare's audience: "'Who's there?' We are" (p. 567).

In their introduction, Schwartz and Willbern refer to "potent cultural movements" which have influenced the size, shape, and complexity of their field (p. 557). The next three chapters explore several of those movements and their effects, beginning with Jason Demeter and Ayanna Thompson's study of Shakespeare and race. According to the authors, "race has never functioned as a unified conceptual field" (p. 574); "cruxes, controversies, and continuities . . . make early modern race studies [a] vibrant and vital . . . subject of inquiry today" (p. 575). In their portrayal of the ongoing debate, they begin with the international contention caused by Nicholas Wade's recent book *A Troublesome Inheritance: Genes, Race and Human History* (2014); and they end with a stage history of *Othello*, the tragedy whose transhistorical reputation is entangled with the historical narrative of European and American colonialism. Their argument defines the terms of the debate, working from contemporary theory (geohumoralism versus complex early modern ideologies of race relations); lexical implications of the word *race*; and current discussions about the use of historical records. Finally, they recommend the application of both historicist and presentist methodologies in future analyses of this dynamic field.

Susan Bennett and Nicole Edge bring race into their chapter on gender and sexuality as they track critical practice through the 1980s until the present. Framing their argument in the overarching topic of identity formation, they review feminist critiques; gay, lesbian, and new queer theory; and the influence of Foucault. In the course of their survey they emphasize the intersections of those approaches which have generated, or promise to generate, the most valuable results, such as race and feminist studies. The second part of their own account places the subject of identity formation in the context of a capitalist economy. Like other crossings identified in the chapter, this one allows theorists to produce new results from their own "lived experiences" or "critical activist work" (pp. 594, 596), another sign of globalization in Shakespeare studies.

Randall Martin's chapter – "Shakespeare, ecology, and ecocriticism" – also emphasizes cross-disciplinary dialogues. At the start Martin describes ecocriticism as a relatively new academic field: "it applies contemporary knowledge to Shakespeare's writings . . . to rediscover early modern ecologies and to use the playwright's narrative and poetic insights to illuminate present-day environmental issues" (p. 606). In the conclusion he stresses the convergence of ecocriticism and other disciplines "now essential to solve the material and ethical complexities of environmental problems" (p. 617). His argument identifies Shakespeare's crucial role in the dialogue, as the artist addresses newly apparent environmental issues – from deforestation to increasing resource consumption – and prompts their resolutions by strategies such as "conservationist activism" (p. 614). Like Demeter and Thompson, Martin views two complementary approaches key to his study: "The early modern and twenty-first-century poles of ecocriticism's knowledge-spectrum correspond to 'historicist' and 'presentist' modes

of analysis” (p. 607). Consequently, he describes the epistemological text of his chapter as “evolutionary ecology”:

Its principles underpin the contemporary pursuit of biodiversity, sustainability, and humane animal relations which ecocritics seek to find anticipated or analogized in Shakespeare, or contrasted there by the different conditions of his age.
(p. 608)

By good fortune, Karen J. Cunningham’s chapter, “The Shakespearean legal imaginary,” provides a notably fit conclusion for this diverse and wide-ranging volume. Initially she analyses her assigned topic, Shakespeare and the law, as inadequate in its phrasing. “‘Shakespeare’ really is ‘Shakespeares,’” she claims (p. 622). Moreover, the law is not only a practice but also a way of thinking and writing shaped by such variables as language and imagination. If the connections between Shakespeare and legal thought extend in time and depth, the scope of current scholarship has grown wide enough to accommodate almost every play and almost every kind of legal question. Cunningham explains her approach to this material:

In what follows, I chart a course through the diffuse recent work on Shakespeare and the law. The course is neither straight nor narrow, and its limitations reflect the challenges of the topic: how best to frame a conversation about work that is interdisciplinary and transhistorical? Although individuals may use Shakespeare and law to champion a particular politics, the Shakespeare and law movement as a whole does not; nor does it require membership in a single political or theoretical school.

(p. 623)

In her chapter, Cunningham aims to convey the complexity of current work on her subject and demonstrate how Shakespeare’s canon has become central in literature and law studies. She makes her way through different kinds of evidence: the origins of links between literature and law, in particular between Shakespeare and the law; awareness of the law’s linguistic presence in Shakespeare’s canon, from legal words or phrases to whole trial scenes; reflections of law applied to early modern life in relation to property, marriage, and the ancient constitution; and institutionalizing of the chapter’s subject in university courses, as well as in conferences and colloquia which often leave their imprints in published proceedings.

Like many contributors to this book, Cunningham ends with questions about the next phase in the evolution of her topic, with one question especially pertinent in a general sense to most of the other chapters: how have relationships between Shakespeare and the law been affected by globalization?

How do the interests of scholars around the globe help us re-envision Shakespeare and/in law? . . . How might it affect our understanding to see productions in which the audible and visible signs of legal culture were emphasized and dispersed throughout rather than compressed into “legal” scenes?

(p. 634)

In its open-minded and individual treatment of its topic, the closing chapter represents the content that precedes it. Contributors have considered a wide range of topics, focused or vast, and articulated their findings in all their unresolved complexity. On the whole, they make it clear how exploration of the Shakespearean world promises a future as rich and challenging as its past.

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PART I

SHAKESPEARE ON STAGE
SINCE THE LATE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY





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CHAPTER ONE

STAGING SHAKESPEARE IN ENGLAND SINCE THE RESTORATION



Kathryn Prince

The history of Shakespeare on stage in England since the Restoration illuminates and imbricates the history of English theatre. By considering how Shakespeare has been performed in his own country since his own time, this chapter explores the Continental and, eventually, broadly international influences on Shakespearean performance and, in particular, the influence of increasing globalization. Throughout this history, a pronounced pride in Shakespeare's originality, genius, and quintessential Englishness has vied with a strong interest in his universality and contemporary relevance, often resulting in friction between professedly authentic and determinedly innovative approaches to the performance of his plays.

To some extent, interculturalism was always a feature of Shakespearean performance, through international touring and the cross-pollination (even outright thievery) that occurred among the theatre-making cultures of early modern Europe. Shakespeare's plays show evidence of his active interest in Spanish literature, for example, as Barbara Fuchs proposes in *The Poetics of Piracy: Emulating Spain in English Literature* (2013). Shakespeare's lost play *Cardenio* is thought to be based on an episode in Cervantes's *Don Quixote*, a tantalizingly perceptible example of Shakespeare's Spanish intertexts (see Bourus and Taylor 2013); the many overlaps between Shakespeare's corpus and that of his prolific Spanish counterpart Lope de Vega suggest another intercultural connection. In his own lifetime, Shakespeare adapted and was adapted within a cross-cultural early modern exchange of plots, characters, and *coups de théâtre*. With the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660, that current of interculturalism intensified and shifted, initially focusing on French theatre practice.

Shakespeare's plays have been in continuous performance in England since the Restoration. Any year from 1660 until today could yield a range of examples worthy of a book like James Shapiro's *1599: A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare* (2005). Entire volumes have been written about Shakespeare on stage at a particular historical moment; a chronological listing of performances alone would overwhelm a book chapter. Consequently, this chapter will survey the most significant scholarship about the performance of Shakespeare in different eras. By focusing on flash-points in the ongoing attempts to define what Shakespeare's plays mean and how they are

best performed, it will consider what is revealed when all of those individual performances over the course of nearly four centuries are examined together.

1660

The most substantial alteration to Shakespearean performance practice occurred with the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660, resulting in sweeping and lasting changes unrivalled even by the major technological and globalizing shifts in the twenty-first century. Although Shakespeare's particularly English qualities would become fodder for patriotic vaunting in the next century, appreciation of Restoration Shakespeare was often accompanied by considerable rewriting to make his plays acceptable to contemporary tastes, as Sandra Clark illustrates in *Shakespeare Made Fit* (1997), her collection of Restoration adaptations.

Between Shakespeare's own lifetime and the Restoration, the particular qualities of English theatre practice that would later be held up as shields against Continental cultural imperialism had been severely tested by the anti-theatricalism of the Puritan government. The public theatres were closed in England during the period of political turmoil known as the Interregnum (1642–60), effectively concluding the Golden Age of English drama (see Willie 2015 for a detailed analysis of Interregnum theatre practice). The King's Men, for whom Shakespeare had written his plays, had dispersed in 1642 – although some continued to perform until the Stephens Act of 1648 expanded on the 1642 legislation, adding the threat of flogging and execution to the penalties players could face for illicit performances. The company sold its costumes and props, and lost its playhouses: the Globe was demolished in 1644, and the Blackfriars would face the same fate in 1655, as Martin Wiggins relates in his analysis of the Interregnum fate of the King's Men (1996: 38–44). There is no record of any performances by the King's Men after a number were caught up in a government raid of London's West End in 1648. While there is some evidence of occasional Interregnum performance of extracts from Shakespeare's plays in much attenuated forms, by small casts of renegade players, for all intents and purposes Shakespearean performance broke significantly, even decisively, with early modern practice in 1642.

In 1660, the proclamation of Charles II reinstituting professional theatre in England fundamentally altered the theatrical landscape, reflecting Continental practices that the new king had admired during his exile in France. This alteration was less the imposition of Continental tastes on native English tradition than the complete reinvention of a profession that had been razed to the ground, or at the very least driven underground, during the Interregnum. With the reopening of the theatres, decidedly Continental practices were grafted onto extant pre-war scripts, including Shakespeare's plays. The English repertoire – consisting chiefly of the works of Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher – was apportioned between the courtiers Sir Thomas Killigrew and Sir William Davenant, creating a monopoly of the so-called “legitimate drama” that the two patent-holders and their successors would share, not always unchallenged or happily, until 1843.

The royal warrant stipulated that, henceforth, female characters would be performed by women, a major break with the early modern English tradition of all-male ensembles. It authorized admission prices that would support the “great expenses of scenes, music, and such new decorations as have not been formerly used.” (The

warrant is reprinted in Thomas 1989: 9–10.) The novelty of Restoration Shakespeare was thus constituted by the presence of women on stage; by a competition to provide increasingly elaborate music and scenic design; and by something else implicit in the use of “scenes,” or scenery: the clear separation of audience and actors afforded by a proscenium-arch stage. Shakespeare had written his plays for the thrust stage of the Globe and later Blackfriars; the converted tennis-courts that housed Killigrew’s and Davenant’s companies featured the proscenium-arch design characteristic of French and Italian theatre practice, with a small, protruding forestage area serving as an attenuated vestige of the early modern thrust. By the end of the century, this forestage had itself become attenuated in order to accommodate more audience seating. Although the tennis-court theatres were smaller than the Globe or even Blackfriars, admitting some 500 spectators, the proscenium-arch configuration mitigated the intimacy that this diminished audience size might otherwise imply. If the darkened auditorium and spotlighted actors associated with modern proscenium-arch performance were still centuries away, the Restoration auditorium, with its chandeliers and on-stage candles, discouraged interaction between actors and audience in a manner that would find its fullest expression in the relentlessly respected fourth wall of nineteenth-century pictorial Shakespeare.

While the proscenium arch and the introduction of Italianate scenic effects transformed the experience of Shakespeare into a more passive kind of spectatorship than that afforded by the pre-war thrust stage, the presence of actresses encouraged spectatorship of a different kind. Actresses were welcomed on the Restoration stage; but, as Elizabeth Howe suggests in *The First English Actresses* (1992), their precarious economic and social status made them acutely vulnerable to exploitation. Shakespeare’s plays were rewritten to capitalize on the presence of these actresses and to accommodate the practical requirements of scenic effects. The royal decree had explicitly required that the plays of the pre-war canon be “reformed and made fit”; but Restoration alterations to Shakespeare had at least as much to do with seizing the spectacular as with diminishing what Charles had called Shakespeare’s “profane, obscene, and scurrilous” elements. Besides actresses, whose sheer presence on stage was a spectacular event regardless of the particular qualities of their performances, opportunities to impress the audience with scenic displays abounded in the Restoration-era theatres. Davenant introduced scenery that was, at first, shifted within full view of the audience, sliding across the stage as the settings of the dramatic action changed. An element of surprise was introduced with machines that allowed for flying scenery; eventually, more elaborate effects were introduced, with Killigrew generally chasing Davenant’s lead. As Restoration playwrights began to furnish the theatres with new material better suited to the physical conditions of the playhouses of their time, Shakespeare’s plays were adapted to accommodate emerging tastes and tropes.

1737

In the eighteenth century, despite the diminutive stature remarked by his detractors as a sign that he was unsuited to heroic roles, David Garrick towered over Shakespeare performance, serving as the playwright’s unofficial ambassador to France; his tireless champion at home; and the instigator of a cult that would create, in Stratford-upon-Avon, a site of worship for admirers the world over following the Stratford Jubilee

in 1769. Almost unparalleled in eighteenth-century theatre history, Garrick's performances can be analysed in considerable detail because of a substantial archive that includes letters from correspondents minutely critiquing small choices of pronunciation or delivery, as well as an unusually rich assortment of published reviews, pamphlets, and portraits, among other material. As Peter Holland notes in his critical biography, "No actor before and comparatively few since have ever been so written about, so visible, so important to a society's need to engage with its cultural events" (2014: 17).

Garrick's significance to eighteenth-century culture is undisputed, and the exceptionally detailed information we have about his performance choices from eyewitness accounts indicates some of the fundamental aspects of his influence on Shakespearean acting. Garrick's choices are often described by observers as realistic, natural, and heartfelt. They were dynamic, vivacious, and unpredictable, engaging spectators' emotional responses while giving the impression of psychological depth and moment-by-moment development in contrast to the statelier and more stylized performances of his predecessors and contemporaries. This array of effects is by no means realism in the post-Stanislawski sense; it is realism only in the comparative sense, catering to the sentimentality that would coalesce around the figure of the "man of feeling" with the publication of Henry Mackenzie's novel of that title in 1771. The burgeoning interest in emotions that coincides with Garrick's career, and the dominance of Shakespeare in the repertoire after the Licensing Act of 1737, allowing spectators multiple versions of the most popular Shakespeare plays to compare, are two reasons that commentators record such detailed impressions of Garrick's performances, down to the syllable. Garrick's responses, published in *The Letters of David Garrick* (1963), often explain in minute detail that his intentions have been to convey verisimilitude in a character's reactions, even at the expense of scansion and versification. Holland's analysis of the extraordinary Garrick archive (Holland 2007, 2014), which includes Joshua Steele's attempt to capture the cadence of his voice through almost musical notation, is replete with compelling detail about Garrick's Macbeth, Hamlet, and King Lear, the latter apparently bringing even his Regan and Goneril to tears and thus rather complicating their own performances as his ostensibly heartless daughters.

Beginning with his Macbeth in 1744, Garrick diverged from tradition in another important respect, eschewing the adapted texts of Shakespeare's plays that had dominated performance since the Restoration. Because of his eventual celebrity it was Garrick – more than any editor or gentleman-scholar, or even the publisher Jacob Tonson – who brought Shakespeare's own authority into the cultural conversation about his texts. While the script for this production of *Macbeth* was reduced by close to 300 lines, what remained was almost entirely Shakespeare, and not Shakespeare adapted by Davenant. At a time when even *King Lear* and *Hamlet* each ran well under three hours because of extensive cutting, according to one-time prompter John Brownsmith's extremely useful *The Dramatic Timepiece* (1767), Garrick's trimming was conservative, a judgement which might be applied even to his *Hamlet*, which compresses the dénouement from Shakespeare's 800 lines to only sixty.

While Garrick was praised by his contemporaries for an acting style that seemed realistic – at least in contrast to the more typical eighteenth-century approach to character through codified gesture and declamation – his colleague/competitor Charles Macklin went farther in this direction, albeit with less acclaim. Attempting a

kind of method acting *avant la lettre*, Macklin had developed his celebrated Shylock in 1741 through careful observation of modern-day Jewish merchants, drawing on their mannerisms for his characterization and also researching historically accurate costumes. Although he was often ridiculed in his own time, and was never as successful as Garrick except perhaps in his depiction of Shylock, it is worth observing that both his acting technique and his approach to costuming would be adopted, very successfully, in later eras. The obsessively detailed antiquarianism of Charles Kean's admired productions at the Princess's Theatre in the nineteenth century, no less than performances like Al Pacino's Shylock in the twenty-first century, have connections to this second fiddle of the eighteenth century.

Perhaps one less obvious reason for the emergence of a comparatively less codified form of Shakespearean acting at this time, of the kind exemplified in the techniques of Garrick and Macklin, is the concurrent development of a much more codified one, Shakespearean opera. Garrick himself contributed to this genre with his adaptation of *The Tempest* in 1756, using Shakespeare as a way of domesticating a largely German and Italian genre, just as Henry Purcell had with the first Shakespearean opera, an adaptation of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, in 1692. While Shakespearean opera was not an especially winning proposition in the eighteenth century (Burden 2012), its existence underscores a feature of the period's theatre practice that would shape Shakespearean performance between the Licensing Act of 1737 and the Theatre Regulation Act of 1843.

The Licensing Act had an impact on both the venues for and the frequency of Shakespeare in performance. In terms of frequency, Shakespeare's popularity in London after 1737 is perhaps less an encouraging sign of the developing good taste of eighteenth-century audiences than a pragmatic response to censorship. Under the terms of the Act, new scripts required the approval of the Lord Chamberlain, a relatively cumbersome process. As a result, the readily available Shakespeare corpus gained added appeal. Beyond censorship, the Act was also intended to exert some control over the spate of new theatres springing up in London. With passage of the bill, only Drury Lane and Covent Garden remained viable, along with the Opera House, competition with the latter offering a clear incentive for the patent theatres to incorporate Shakespearean opera into their seasons. The non-patent houses were forced to close, although subsequent developments towards the end of the century would see the rise of "illegitimate" Shakespeare in the dramatic resurgence of non-patent playhouses.

Shakespeare's eventual escape from the confines of Drury Lane and Covent Garden was never simply a matter of his adoption by London's minor theatres. Legitimate drama was temporarily brought under the Lord Chamberlain's strict control with the Licensing Act, but in the 1760s licences were granted to theatres outside the metropolis, beginning with Edinburgh, Bath, Norwich, York, and Hull. By 1805, *The Theatrical Tourist* (Winston 1805) counted ninety provincial theatres, including Birmingham, Newcastle, Manchester, and Liverpool (Foulkes 2012: 169). Although the provincial tragedian was often a subject of mockery, these theatres served as both a training-ground for London stars and a viable career choice in their own right, particularly while the terms of the Licensing Act obtained and opportunities for stardom were restricted. After 1843, there were many more opportunities to perform starring roles in the minor theatres of the metropolis. For established London actors,

a provincial tour could prove lucrative. Often, provincial companies could provide a decent set and a well-trained, appropriately costumed acting company to support a visiting celebrity like Sarah Siddons or Edmund Kean. Charles Kean and his wife, Ellen Tree, financed their retirement from the Princess's Theatre with a provincial tour. Charles Calvert, following some success as a London actor, achieved lasting fame as the manager of the Prince's Theatre in Manchester from 1864 to 1875, his impact there attested by a funeral procession attended by some 50,000 Mancunians according to his biographer (Foulkes 1992: 82). Another option was to manage a touring company rather than a provincial venue: Frank Benson, inspired by the methods of the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen, ran a successful provincial touring empire that had as many as four companies touring at once, and he trained many of the leading actors of the early twentieth century.

Leman Thomas Rede's manual for aspiring actors, *The Road to the Stage* (1827), provides a detailed account of daily life in a provincial company: six hours of individual practice to learn lines each day, along with four of group rehearsal and five or more on stage performing the evening's entertainment. For this, a "first tragedian" – the one playing Hamlet, Richard III, and Othello (though not if a Kemble or Kean was in town) – might eventually earn as much as 500 pounds a year, often with better job security and more opportunities than the London companies could offer (Foulkes 2012: 170).

1843

The Licensing Act was the law of the land until 1843, when the monopoly of Shakespeare that had been shared by Drury Lane and Covent Garden, and eventually by a growing number of provincial playhouses, was revoked by the Theatre Regulation Act. By this time, the privileged position of the legitimate theatres had been under threat for decades, not only by the multiplication of provincial theatres approved by the Lord Chamberlain and, in London, by the illegitimate theatres' increasingly bold forays into the protected repertoire of regular drama. As a long list of managers and former managers testified to the Select Committee on Dramatic Literature in 1832, the larger problem was that Shakespeare was not a reliable earner. In caricatures like James Gillray's "Theatrical Mendicants, relieved" (1809), featuring the Kemble dynasty as beggars (Figure 1.1), and parodies like James Robinson Planché's *The Drama at Home* (1844), depicting Shakespeare's characters seeking new occupations; in serious periodical articles lamenting the future of English drama (see Prince 2008: 81–123); and in this testimony to the Select Committee, the irony of the monopoly was thoroughly explored in all its facets. Drury Lane and Covent Garden fought to protect their privilege, but without government subsidy (support that would come only in 1963, nearly 300 years after France had subsidized its Comédie-Française), that privilege came at a cost; after 1843, it no longer existed.

Until 1843, London's minor theatres had encroached at their peril on the monopoly of legitimate drama, a category which included Shakespeare. Penalties for unauthorized performances were exacted not only from the offending theatres and their managers, but also from the actors involved. Only a strong sense that a production could be profitable outweighed the risk; and the fact that so many theatres did perform Shakespeare illicitly is evidence of his popular appeal, despite what the managers



Figure 1.1 “Theatrical Mendicants, relieved” by James Gillray.
© National Portrait Gallery, London

of the patent theatres might have experienced. The monopoly created a situation in which the patents alone had the right to perform Shakespeare but not always the will to do so; and the minor theatres, prevented from producing Shakespeare straight, embraced innovative, popular adaptations on horseback, in water, and with all manner of singing, dancing spectacle. Jane Moody’s chapter on Shakespeare in her *Illegitimate Theatre in London, 1770–1840* (2000: 118–47) is an eyebrow-raising account of the variety of performance styles on offer at the minor theatres in the years leading up to the repeal of the legislation that had distinguished between legitimate and illegitimate theatres, and between regular and irregular drama.

Drury Lane and Covent Garden had fought hard to maintain their exclusive access to legitimate drama, but by the middle of the nineteenth century the situation had stabilized to the extent that certain theatres were associated with particular types of Shakespeare performances. This specialization would become the saving grace of Shakespeare production in 1851, when the London theatres faced a formidable competitor. Whereas Shakespeare had not always been profitable under the old monopoly, the market differentiation characteristic of mature capitalism improved the situation, particularly for the Princess’s Theatre. The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations at the Crystal Palace in 1851 was a direct threat to Shakespeare on stage, drawing tourists and Londoners away from the theatres and towards a

different kind of spectatorship. Charles Kean, of all the London theatre managers, was the most successful in harnessing the preoccupations of the Great Exhibition's spectators, attracting them to the Princess's Theatre for a season judiciously focused on Shakespeare's history plays.

Charles Kean's status at the apex of English Shakespeare production in 1851 illustrates some of the shifts during the nineteenth century. His father, Edmund Kean, had been a revolutionary actor earlier in the century. The particular qualities that fuelled Edmund Kean's improbable ascent to become the quintessential Shakespearean actor of his generation are well documented by William Hazlitt, a critic who was still charting his own ascending trajectory as Kean made his London debut. Edmund Kean was everything that the nascent Romantic movement valued: his talent was innate rather than cultivated, original rather than emulative; and, as his chaotic personal life suggests, closely allied to disorder, impulsiveness, and eventually madness. As a symbol of Romantic-era acting and Romantic-era values, Kean had no rival.

When Edmund Kean made his debut on London's legitimate stage at Drury Lane in 1815, however, of course he had many rivals, John Philip Kemble foremost among them. Kemble, by now the senior statesman of an acting dynasty that included his sister, Sarah Siddons, their brother Charles Kemble, and a niece, Fanny Kemble, was famed for his patrician dignity in commanding roles like Coriolanus. In contrast Kean, small in stature and explosive in technique, excelled in roles that would never suit Kemble, beginning with Shylock. Despite a certain complementarity in their talents, the two men were instantly seen as rivals. Hazlitt, writing in the *Examiner* the following year, lamented that "We wish we had never seen Mr. Kean. He has destroyed the Kemble religion and it is the religion in which we were brought up" (1930: 345).

Kean's Shylock, like Charles Macklin's, was grounded in nature rather than theatrical convention; but the nature in this case was Kean's own. In order to see nature in Kean's depiction, one need not be entirely convinced by the suspicions of his contemporaries that Kean had a Jewish look about him – or, indeed, by the fact that his presumed father, also called Edmund Kean, probably was Jewish, with two brothers, Aaron and Moses, who might also have fathered the actor. Kean was a bastard, not a patrician, and his Richard III and King Lear drew on the same kind of nature that fuelled his Shylock: the impulses of emotion, the instincts of an underdog. Kean, John Keats recognized, "delivers himself up to the instant feeling" (quoted in Thomson 2014: 149), and this notion of working with instants as units of meaning, more than anything, contrasts Kean with Kemble, whose approach to his roles was grounded in the ruling-passion approach that unified his entire characterization into the consistent development of that passion's effects over the entire length of the play. If consistency was the hallmark of Kemble's acting, infinite variety was Kean's.

To the Romantic writer Samuel Taylor Coleridge, the effect was that of "reading Shakspeare by flashes of lightning" (H.N. Coleridge 1836: 13), again underscoring the syncopated effect of Kean's acting technique. The phrase has been misrepresented to suggest an admiration not supported when it is read in context, and it is further complicated by being a reported conversation rather than words from Coleridge's own pen. Yet its function in capturing something of Kean's effect is undiminished, however much its relationship to Coleridge's feelings about that effect may be questionable, as Peter Thomson notes in his recent critical biography (2014: 152).

Like Garrick, Kean absorbed and refracted the preoccupations of his culture, becoming the prism for not only Hazlitt and Coleridge but also a veritable who's who of Romantics. Like Garrick, too, Kean occasioned an interest that has left behind a remarkable archive of detailed impressions. Hazlitt is by far the most nuanced critic of the overall effect of Kean's performances; but for close attention to detail a rich source is James Hackett's notes on Kean's appearances in New York in 1825–26. As an actor himself, and a meticulous observer, Hackett is a reliable eyewitness whose notes record Kean's movements, expressions, and vocal stresses. In his acting, and in his person, Kean embodied the Romantic tragic figure, shaken by ferocious and conflicting emotions, tortured by inner demons, driven to his own inexorable destruction. These are palpable in his Shylock, his Richard III, his Lear, and in his own biography. Perhaps he was quintessentially Byronic enough to inspire the Byronic hero, if, as his recent biographer suggests, Kean's Richard III influenced the Romantic author's *Manfred*, *Werner*, *Cain*, and *The Deformed Transformed* (Thomson 2014: 154–55). Kean's own fate as a tragic hero cut from Byronic cloth is captured in Alexandre Dumas's play *Kean, ou, Désordre et génie* (*Kean, or, Disorder and Genius*) written in 1836, three years after Kean's death from the complications of alcoholism.

Whereas Edmund Kean had made his reputation by playing on his outsider status, he directed his son Charles towards the very centre of English respectability. Edmund Kean was educated in the school of hard knocks, but Charles was sent to Eton. His father's increasingly dissolute life-style and his parents' divorce eventually put an end to Charles's schooling, and, like his father, Charles learned his trade on the touring circuit, eventually compensating for his premature and disastrous London début at Drury Lane in 1827 by returning to play Hamlet at Covent Garden in 1838, this time with some success. By this point his father was dead, and a new style of acting, more genteel and more suited to Kean *fils*, had become popular. Although he never really rivalled his father as an actor, Charles Kean ascended to both respectability and success as a manager. In 1848 he was invited to take charge of Queen Victoria's private theatricals at Windsor; and in 1850, in what could easily have been a poisoned chalice, he took over the Princess's Theatre in London.

The Princess's was a potentially disastrous project for Kean, not because of the theatre itself but because theatre in London was about to be threatened by the Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace. The *Theatrical Journal* and other periodicals of the time expressed considerable anxiety that audiences would abandon the playhouses for the Crystal Palace, and to some extent the early days of the Great Exhibition confirmed these fears (Prince 2008: 81–123). It was Kean, with his Windsor Palace connections and his antiquarian leanings, who found a way to turn this threat into profit. Instead of competing, Kean harnessed the elements of display, authenticity, curiosity, and nationalism that drew audiences to the Great Exhibition, making the Princess's a kind of extension to the Crystal Palace venue (see Schoch 1998). Kean was certainly not the originator of Shakespeare in the antiquarian vein; he drew on the historically accurate stagings of designer James Robinson Planché and manager Charles Kemble a generation earlier, and perhaps even on Macklin's experiments in the previous century. It was the combination of antiquarianism, connections, good timing, and an instinct for marketability (or luck) that made Kean's season a success under challenging conditions.

The Original Practices movement – associated with William Poel and the Elizabethan Stage Society that he founded in 1894 – is rooted in the antiquarian interests of Kean and, more broadly, those on display at the Great Exhibition. Instead of re-creating the fictional worlds of Shakespeare’s plays, as Kean had done, Poel sought to reconstruct the theatrical context in which the plays had been written. The Globe to Globe Festival of 2012, which invited international companies to perform at Shakespeare’s Globe in London, is a direct descendant of Poel’s project, although the visiting companies were often performing politically charged, even radical, interpretations of Shakespeare’s plays that also connect with the political Shakespeare that was a feature of the later twentieth century.

1963

Together, Charles Kean and William Poel represent two of England’s primary styles of Shakespeare production in the last two centuries, one focused on authenticity of set and costume in relation to the fictional world of each play, the other on authenticity in relation to the performance practices of Shakespeare’s time. Both looked for their inspiration in the past, however much their antiquarian preoccupations also responded to the contemporary artistic and cultural moment of each. Beginning in the 1960s, another style of Shakespeare performance in England began to focus more overtly on the present.

Political Shakespeare emerges within the context of larger political movements in the 1960s, rooted in the searing experience of two World Wars. During both wars, Shakespeare was used to entertain troops and, through soldiers’ performances, to occupy their energies, as Michael Dobson explains in *Shakespeare and Amateur Performance* (2011). On the home front, as well, Shakespeare’s plays kept up morale, and everywhere he was a tool of propaganda. While entertainment remained a feature of Shakespeare performance during and between both wars, Shakespeare’s propagandistic function in England was less innocent the second time around, a suggestion made by Irena Makaryk and Marissa McHugh in *Shakespeare and the Second World War* (2012). The English were acutely aware in the second war, as they had not been in the first, that the Germans revered Shakespeare too: the sting in the tail of the universalizing aspect of bardolatry.

Post-war British theatre was characterized by its jaded view of traditional values, including the values that had led two generations of English boys to the killing fields of Europe. John Osborne’s *Look Back in Anger*, performed at London’s Royal Court Theatre in 1956, is now widely regarded as the play that launched political theatre in England; but it was some years before this revolution was recognized. Other, more structural changes to the theatrical landscape were no less revolutionary. By 1963, England had not one but two subsidized theatres, both producing Shakespeare: the National Theatre opened in London in this year with Laurence Olivier’s *Hamlet* as its inaugural production; and the erstwhile Shakespeare Memorial Theatre in Stratford-upon-Avon, granted a royal charter in 1961 and rebranded as the Royal Shakespeare Company (RSC), gained its first Arts Council subsidy in 1963. Although neither of the subsidized companies seems revolutionary in quite the same way as the Royal Court with its overtly political leanings, the societal shifts that would lead to free love and student riots, and the theatrical ones that would lead to productions

like Peter Brook's psychedelic *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in 1970, were already apparent even in these more staid centres of theatrical production.

The 1960s were an era of theatrical experimentation strongly influenced by the German Berliner Ensemble, particularly in Stratford-upon-Avon, where the emerging RSC sought to create an ensemble of its own. In 1956, the Berliner Ensemble's visit to London had galvanized British theatre in general, strongly influencing the development of the RSC; by 1964, founder Peter Hall was referring to the RSC's practice as "almost neo-Brechtian" (quoted in Shaughnessy 1994: 45). Approaches to actor training, casting, and contracts at the RSC were designed to create a stable company with a shared vocabulary and *esprit de corps*, very much on the Berliner Ensemble model.

The Wars of the Roses, the RSC's cycle of history plays produced in 1963–64, evinced a consistent engagement with political Shakespeare: "a serious, scholarly, and cosmopolitan theatre practice," Robert Shaughnessy notes, that is inextricable from its context of government subsidy and recognizable as a strenuous rejection of the "fuzzy romanticism permeating Shakespeare at Stratford in the 1950s" (1994: 42, 43). The influence of the Berliner Ensemble was not limited to behind-the-scenes elements of training and management; the RSC was also strongly influenced by Bertolt Brecht, whose approach to theatre was the antithesis of fuzzy romanticism. Brecht, whose legacy permeates scholarship on political Shakespeare – such as Andrew Hartley's *Shakespeare and Politics in Practice* (2013) – had worked with the Berliner Ensemble to develop a style of performance "in which audiences would see themselves and their world in the theatre while retaining a critical distance from the experience," with the result that their emotions, stirred by this reflection rather than empathy for the characters, "would fuel the audience's thoughts and actions after the theatrical event was concluded" (Hartley 2013: 13). Reviews of the constituent parts of *The Wars of the Roses* use words resonant with the lexicon of the Berliner Ensemble – like *democratic*, *argumentative*, and *modern* – to convey the message that, at the RSC, Shakespeare had become both contemporary and contentious. The containment of the theatrical action that Brecht sought to disrupt by breaking through the imaginary fourth wall of traditional proscenium-arch theatre was at times disrupted by the RSC, but never as much as it would be on the Globe's thrust stage or, later, in promenade performances that would deliberately erase any distinction between performance space and audience space.

Although the Berliner Ensemble's techniques were never wholly adopted by the RSC, in *The Wars of the Roses* or any other productions, the general idea that theatre could be politically engaged was a hallmark of its ethos in the 1960s. The RSC's approach to performance, seeking contemporary connections with elements of Shakespeare's plays, has been described by Alan Sinfield in *Political Shakespeare* as "the combination of traditional authority and urgent contemporaneity," or, more pithily, as "Shakespeare-plus-relevance" (Dollimore and Sinfield 1994: 183, 202). This "Shakespeare-plus-relevance" characteristic of the RSC's *Wars of the Roses* gained an added dimension after the 1964 translation of the Polish theatre critic Jan Kott's *Shakespeare Our Contemporary*, although some of its premises had circulated earlier, in article form and through word of mouth, finding their ways, notably, into Peter Brook's blistering 1962 RSC *King Lear* and its subsequent film. In this highly influential monograph, with a preface by Brook in the English translation, Kott argues that

Shakespeare is inherently political, his plays constituting an exposé of capitalism at its most brutal and its most insistently contemporary. In contrast to the historicizing aims of Kean and Poel, producers of political Shakespeare, particularly after 1964, sought to bring Shakespeare's plays into contact with the concerns of the present by magnifying the correspondences that Kott identified and that the Berliner Ensemble, using Brecht's *Verfremdungseffekt* (often translated as alienation effect), had demonstrated in performance.

Political theatre eventually became a dominant genre in the UK, particularly in reaction to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (analysed by Isobel Armstrong in "Thatcher's Shakespeare?" [1989]); to the invasion of Iraq under Prime Minister Tony Blair (it has been impossible not to hear this echo in the dubious justification of war on France in *Henry V*, especially after David Hare's 2004 play *Stuff Happens*); and, more generally, to issues of identity and tolerance (seen, for example, in the now standard melancholy response to the enforced heterosexuality that gives *Twelfth Night* and *The Merchant of Venice* their happy endings). Shakespeare production in England has been strongly influenced by British political theatre: Shakespeare's history plays, alone or in cycles, have often been performed as plays of political resistance, for example, while his entire corpus has been mobilized to address gender, class, sexual orientation, and race, the latter through the welcome and overdue adoption of colour-blind casting (Rogers 2013). At the turn of the twenty-first century, it would have been unusual indeed to find a Shakespeare production that did not feature an exploration of these aspects of identity in some fashion.

2012

One hierarchy enduring into the twenty-first century performance of Shakespeare has almost certainly been English versus not-English. Certainly London had embraced foreign touring productions like Thomas Ostermeier's *Hamlet* and Toneelgroep Amsterdam's *Roman Tragedies*, evincing in this way an openness to what Dennis Kennedy has called "Shakespeare without his language" (1993: 1–18 and in Bulman 1996: 133–48). This openness was tested when, with the world's attention focused on London for the 2012 Olympics, the RSC in Stratford-upon-Avon and Shakespeare's Globe in London initiated ambitious international projects that demonstrated something about how each saw the future of Shakespeare production in the era of globalization. The Globe to Globe Festival was, properly speaking, a subset of the World Shakespeare Festival (WSF) produced by the RSC. The Globe was responsible for the WSF's inbound touring productions, hosting thirty-seven plays in thirty-seven languages – from Albanian to Yoruba – at affordable prices that included a £100 season pass for Shakespeare Olympians willing to stand for them in the Globe's Elizabethan-style yard. While such an experience might result in leg muscles worthy of Olympians, and certainly required Olympic levels of stamina, its impact beyond the individual spectator remains to be determined.

It is too early to know whether the productions of these thirty-seven Shakespeare plays (plus *Venus and Adonis*) by foreign companies in London had any appreciable influence on Shakespeare performance after the Festival, but some of the responses to local contributions to the WSF suggest ways in which it may have bequeathed an enduring legacy. Kate Rumbold, reviewing the RSC's *Much Ado*, set in Delhi but

performed by an Anglo-Indian cast, expresses a concern that other critics shared about cultural appropriation. Rumbold concludes her review by proposing that:

The RSC often sets plays performed by British actors in international locales, yet judged in the hyper-global context of the World Shakespeare Festival, this *Much Ado* can come to seem pseudo-international, even inauthentic. The combination of the distinctive space of the Globe, the otherness of its foreign visitors, the absence of English language, and even the Globe's seeming proximity to Shakespeare, has evidently ascribed to participants in the "Globe to Globe" festival in particular a new degree of "authenticity." One of the most positive outcomes of Khan's warm-hearted production might be to reopen debate about what constitutes "authenticity" in global Shakespeare performance, and to show how far the intense internationalism of the WSF has already changed expectations of "global" theatre.

(in Edmondson *et al.* 2013: 149–51; also on the Year of Shakespeare blog at www.yearofshakespeare.com)

The "intense internationalism" of the WSF that Rumbold notes is primarily a feature of the Globe to Globe component, which produced an intercultural contact zone within one of the main centres of English Shakespeare performance. The Globe occupies a not unchallenged position within English Shakespeare performance, representing both the potential of practices responsive to early modern performance and, to detractors like W.B. Worthen, the "Disneyfication" of the theatre-going experience (2003: 132). Until 2012, the Globe had never served as the cosmopolitan centre of Shakespeare in England.

Although *cosmopolitanism* is a term with largely positive connotations, since the early twenty-first century it has become a contested term as well, associated with globalization. More sceptical views, such as those in *The Cosmopolitan Ideal* (2015), edited by Darren O'Byrne and Sybille De La Rosa, suggest ways in which cosmopolitanism can mask inequalities and reify them, for instance, in relation to transnational projects among unequal partners. In this light, Globe to Globe is not immune to criticism. While there were many positive aspects to the Globe experiment, it seemed to me to call into question a certain kind of global citizenship that is associated with Hannah Arendt's notion of moral cosmopolitanism. In Arendt's ethics:

human beings would assume responsibility for all crimes committed by human beings, in which no one people are assigned a monopoly of guilt and none considers itself superior, in which good citizens would not shrink back in horror at German crimes and declare "Thank God, I am not like that," but rather recognize in fear and trembling the incalculable evil which humanity is capable of and fight fearlessly, uncompromisingly, everywhere against it.

(Arendt 1994: 132)

One of the critiques of cosmopolitanism is that "fear and trembling" are sometimes the only response towards the crimes that give rise to these emotions, as though empathy were adequate in the face of the suffering of others. In a theatrical context, fear and trembling can be steps towards the catharsis that Aristotle imagined as the

ethical benefit of theatre-going; but again there is an ethical question about what happens when these emotions emerge out of the real, lived experiences of the actors rather than the fictional situations of their characters. While a Shakespeare festival seems a long way from the war crimes that form the basis of Arendt's ethical position, and while theatre spectatorship seems innocent enough, for many of the Globe to Globe companies violence was all too relevant as a direct context for their rehearsals, visa applications, and experience of London – facts not overlooked in publicity for their productions. Could Shakespeare, the common cause that brought this parade of human diversity together in London, serve as a catalyst for cosmopolitanism? The “enlarged mentality” of Arendt's ethics is certainly discernible in the thoughtful reviews circulating by means of the Year of Shakespeare website and published in the books *A Year of Shakespeare* (Edmondson *et al.* 2013), *Shakespeare on the Global Stage* (Prescott and Sullivan 2015), and *Shakespeare Beyond English* (Bennett and Carson 2013), all responding to these productions. On the one hand, many of the reviews, particularly those benefiting from a longer lead time to publication, take pains to understand the contexts in which the productions originated, cultural and political as much as aesthetic. On the other hand – as Alexa Huang and Elizabeth Rivlin argue in their introduction to *Shakespeare and the Ethics of Appropriation* (2014: 1) – by honouring and sharing these companies' sometimes fraught journeys from war zones and oppressive regimes to the Globe, the Festival was also potentially complicit in reducing them to “fetishized commodities in the global marketplace.” The distinction between cosmopolitanism and commodification is perhaps to be found in the distinction between those who reviewed the productions and those who merely read the press releases. Certainly Arendt's enlarged mentality is by far the more characteristic response captured by the Internet and print archives.

Cosmopolitanism is not contingent on full intercultural understanding, and, as a result, it is not necessarily undermined by the fact that reviewers evinced as much consternation as celebration in their responses to the visiting companies. Reviewers wanted to understand and to appreciate the foreign productions, but for many the cultural barriers proved insurmountable. Such was not the case for all spectators: the Globe's post-Festival press release mentions that fully 80 per cent of tickets were purchased by spectators who had never been to the Globe before, many of them from the cultural and linguistic groups represented by the visiting companies. Indeed, the strategy for the Festival was specifically to commission productions tied to groups with significant London populations, rather than, for instance, curating the best recent international Shakespeare productions. The experience of Shakespeare “beyond English” was legible to these spectators in ways that reflected some of their own transcultural experiences and those of their communities. For these unaccustomed visitors drawn to the Globe, Shakespeare in performance in 2012 was Shakespeare in “Arabic, Bangla, Hindi, Polish, Spanish, Turkish and Urdu,” all languages that, as Bennett and Carson note, “could easily generate ‘natural’ audiences” in multicultural London (2013: 4). The Globe to Globe productions thus represent a contact zone between Englishness and other cultures that is perhaps the most accurate reflection of Shakespeare in today's polyglot London.

Since the end of the Festival in 2012, the Globe has sustained this spirit of internationalism, most prominently with a touring *Hamlet* that, beginning on 23 April 2014, aimed to bring Shakespeare's best-known tragedy to every country in the

world. *Hamlet*, a play with a documented touring history stretching back to Shakespeare's lifetime, is a perfect example of Shakespeare's global afterlife. The company's blog charts a rich, complex, and often revealing course across the planet, capturing hilarious and heart-breaking cross-cultural encounters. If the Globe to Globe Festival brought something of the wide world to the Globe's London stage, the *Hamlet* actors are witnessing firsthand the conditions in which theatre happens world-wide. There is something both noble and absurd about the company's performances in places like Nauru, an island-nation that also serves as a detention centre for would-be refugees to Australia. The extensive archive of audience responses compiled by Penelope Woods and Malcolm Cocks over the two years of the tour will be a rich resource for scholars of global Shakespeare, reflecting the same combination of cosmopolitanism and consternation discernible in the Globe to Globe reviews. The actors, many of them in the early stages of their careers, will be another kind of archive, carrying with them the unusual experience of performing Shakespeare in a touring company that visited every country in the world under extreme, challenging, and often bizarre circumstances.

Another Globe experiment, this time hyperlocal, is a further example of innovative Shakespeare on stage, although here the term must be used loosely. Between the Globe to Globe Festival and the *Hamlet* world tour, the Globe staged Shakespeare's *Henry VI* plays on several historic battle sites. As with the Globe to Globe Festival, the result was to engage unaccustomed spectators, notably the local historical re-enactment societies, and to signal possible new directions for Shakespeare performance in England. If these performances were not as site-responsive as they might have been, parachuted onto these evocative locations rather than fully reshaped for them, the resonances were nonetheless striking. The howling wind at Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire, was unforgettable, rushing across the battlefield and ripping the backdrop seam to seam as if the battle's angry ghosts did not approve of their depiction on the temporary stage erected atop their bones. A *King Lear* here would have been stupendous.

Other companies, of course, are doing more with site-responsive Shakespeare, including the hugely successful Punchdrunk and the younger, fleeter RIFT, responsible for the Shakespeare in Shoreditch festival in 2014 and a chilling *Macbeth* performed in the brutalist splendour of the Balfour Tower in East London. These companies are indicative of a hyperlocal strand of Shakespearean performance that complements the growing globalization of Shakespeare in the twenty-first century. Arguably the Globe, even as it connects with the world through inbound and outbound touring activities, is always producing site-responsive Shakespeare in its amphitheatre and, as of 2014, in its Jacobean-style indoor theatre, the Sam Wanamaker Playhouse. Continuing in the tradition of William Poel, the Globe's two playhouses are opportunities to rediscover the site-specific effects that Shakespeare wrote into his plays.

Even in this era of globalization, perhaps hyperlocal Shakespeare was inevitable. If Shakespeare performance often reflects the culture doing the performing, it is noteworthy that *locavore* – the term for someone who favours ingredients grown close to home rather than shipped in from far-flung locations – appears to have entered the lexicon in 2005, when Alisa Smith and J.B. MacKinnon began documenting, in the online publication *The Tye*, their challenge to eat locally. In 2007, the idea gained broader currency through the publication of their book *The 100-Mile*

Diet and novelist Barbara Kingsolver's food-memoir, *Animal, Vegetable, Miracle*; also in 2007, not coincidentally, *locavore* was chosen as the *New Oxford American Dictionary*'s word of the year. Theatre locavores have always had rich pickings in London, but perhaps a new strain of hyperlocalism has some connection to the twenty-first-century critique of globalization that may eventually shift Shakespeare performance yet again. This critique is in some ways a rejection of the cosmopolitanism of Arendt, a cosmopolitanism that has, after all, itself been strenuously criticized in the twenty-first century, not least for weakening the bonds of community and culture (Brock 2013).

Although Shakespearean localism is not necessarily insular, it does risk restricting Arendt's enlarged mentality to the immediate vicinity of London or Stratford-upon-Avon – or indeed Birmingham, Sheffield, Bristol, Newcastle, and the many other sites where Shakespeare's plays are performed. This effect is not necessarily a bad thing in itself; and, especially in view of the particular kinds of cosmopolitanism operating in these places, it may be potentially a recipe for a varied diet of intercultural exchanges. Given some promising strides towards colour-blind casting at the RSC and the Globe, drawing on a diverse local population of actors, localism could yield immediate dividends simply by reflecting the communities in which Shakespeare performances take place. Of course, these dividends have been problematized in the discussion of Shakespeare outside England, where he has often been used as a tool of what Daphne Lei has characterized as "hegemonic intercultural theatre" (2011: 571). In England, the performance of Shakespeare's plays has been saturated with influences that make "English Shakespeare," in many ways already intercultural, a dimension that remains, perhaps, insufficiently acknowledged.

Acknowledgements

This chapter was written during a period when I benefited from the generous support of both the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions. It is my pleasure to acknowledge that support here. I would especially like to thank Robert White and Penelope Woods for many stimulating conversations during my Australian fellowship, and Jami Rogers and Rachel Willie for sharing aspects of their forthcoming publications with me. Thanks are also due to Thomas Bristow for helping me think through some of the implications of cosmopolitanism at the Globe.

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CHAPTER TWO

SHAKESPEARE ON STAGE IN EUROPE SINCE THE LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY



*Martin Procházka, Marta Gibińska,
and Florence March*

FROM ITINERANT TROUPES TO NATIONAL EMANCIPATION MOVEMENTS (1660–1848)

The legacy of the English comedians

The centrality of Shakespeare in the reception of early modern English drama in seventeenth-century Europe is of German invention. In 1865, Albert Cohn saw Shakespeare as a source and great model for seventeenth-century German drama. He created a canon of six early modern German plays, which he published together with their alleged Shakespearean analogues or sources, including *The Tempest*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Hamlet*. His example influenced a number of scholars and can be said to have predetermined recent research, which still tends to compare seventeenth-century German plays with their alleged Shakespearean models.

Views of seventeenth-century English troupes as the importers of Shakespeare to the Continent are contradicted by the fact that the actors most often mentioned are acrobats and musicians. From a deeper perspective, the hypotheses about the mediation of Shakespeare's influence by multinational itinerant companies can be rectified by functionalist anthropological approaches focusing on "cultural translation" as the modification of themes, motifs, and plots in terms of implicit local cultural practices (Asad 1986: 160). Instead of importing Shakespeare into Germany and other Central and Eastern European countries, the English comedians acted as cultural mediators, blending a number of local dramatic and theatrical influences. Since the 1650s, the phrase "English comedians," referring to multinational troupes, has become a general descriptive term or trademark.

At the same time, the companies led by the English actors started to dissolve. A young German actor, Johannes Velten, left the most important one, managed by George Jolly, and formed his own company which established itself at the Saxon court in Dresden in 1678, with a repertoire of about ninety plays, including not only English comedies but also works by Molière and Spanish playwrights.

Another group of Jolly's actors formed a company called Innsbrucker Komödianten (Innsbruck Comedians), who played in the Czech castle town of Český Krumlov between 1675 and 1691 under the patronage of the Eggenberg aristocratic family and produced there an adaptation of *Romeo and Juliet*.

The influence of the repertory of the English comedians is evident in the work of a German baroque dramatist, Andreas Gryphius, whose play *Absurda Comica, oder Herr Peter Squentz* (*Comical Absurdities, or Mr. Peter Squentz*, 1663) is based on the mechanicals' interlude from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* combined, not surprisingly, with the merry pranks of the famous intercultural clown Pickelhering. The comparison between Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* and Gryphius's *Leo Arminius* (1650), made as early as 1741 by Johann Elias Schlegel, points out familiar features of eighteenth-century critical accounts of Shakespeare's art: profound knowledge of human nature and disregard for dramatic unities.

National and universal: Enlightenment Shakespeare on stage and in translation

While the travelling companies in seventeenth-century Continental Europe could be compared to businessmen facilitating intercultural exchange, from the 1720s both actors and leading intellectuals had started to work hard towards institutionalizing Shakespeare in two closely related projects of national theatre (in Germany) and national literature (in France).

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the repertoires of numerous German touring troupes included mostly plays described as *Haupt und Staatsaktion* (high and state action), a genre based on court intrigue, mixing tragic and comic elements and frequently starring Hanswurst, the German descendant of Pickelhering and Harlequin. The turning-point came in 1727, when the company of Friederike Caroline Neuber started to co-operate with Johann Christoph Gottsched, Leipzig professor of poetry, on a project of theatre as a professional institution with a strong moral and educational bias, purged from excesses and obscenities and aimed at a middle-class audience. The symbolic expression of this initiative was the burning of the Hanswurst figure in Leipzig in 1737.

Although Gottsched and Neuber strove to fashion a new German theatre according to the French classicist model, they made an opening for the new trends, especially the drama and criticism of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, which became an important moment in the eighteenth-century German appropriation of Shakespeare. In 1767 Lessing began to work as a dramaturg (the first representative of this profession) for the Hamburgische Entreprise, a company with the ambition to become the first German national theatre. Although no works by Shakespeare were produced during the short existence of this institution (1767–69), Lessing's dramaturgy and plays were strongly influenced by Shakespeare's drama, which he translated and presented as a model for German playwrights. Shakespearean tragedy was a major force behind Lessing's reassessment of the Aristotelian concept of catharsis, leading, among other innovations, to the new dramatic genre of *bürgerliches Trauerspiel* (middle-class tragedy) prominent in Lessing's project of national theatre. Against the neoclassical rules, especially the unity of time, Lessing set the

world of Shakespeare's plays as a more authentic representation of reality, predominantly through the consciousness or inner minds (rather than the actions) of individual characters.

The first influential German Shakespeare translation by Christoph Martin Wieland (1762–68) responded to the requirements of middle-class drama and the good taste regulated by neoclassical aesthetics. Wieland was criticized by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Johann Gottfried von Herder, and representatives of the *Sturm und Drang* movement – chiefly Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz – for purging Shakespeare's plays of poetry, humour, and moments of the sublime.

These features of Wieland's translations also characterize the first German adaptations of Shakespeare, staged mostly in Vienna. A successful prose version of *Hamlet* by Franz von Heufeld (1773) was modified and developed by Friedrich Ludwig Schröder, who transferred it to Hamburg, where it was staged along with significant plays by Goethe. From Hamburg, Schröder's *Hamlet* was transferred to the Viennese Imperial Palace Theatre (Hofburg Theater), which in 1776 became the German National Theatre. Once he joined the National Theatre in 1781, Schröder became its leading personality, responsible for its purification from neoclassical influences and French actors. As a result, the Austrian appropriation of Shakespeare distinguished itself sharply from that in Prussia, hampered by hostile attitudes towards the French expressed chiefly by Frederick the Great.

In contrast to Frederick, the Russian Tsarina Catherine II supported the translations and adaptations of Shakespeare's plays based on French and German sources, and even tried her hand at prose adaptations of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (published and acted in 1786 with a self-effacing subtitle, "A free but weak translation of Shakespeare") and *Timon of Athens* (Stríbrný 2000: 29). The first Russian writer and translator of Shakespeare who refused French influence was Nikolai Karamzin, a poet and historian who in 1786 translated *Julius Caesar*. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, translations and adaptations of Shakespeare's plays started to appear in a number of Central and East European countries, including Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia.

Although eighteenth-century German culture may appear a leading force in the process of appropriating Shakespeare in Continental Europe, recent research shows that Shakespeare's reception in France was an example of "intercultural communication" (Fischer 2007: 197) underlying the "debate on Shakespeare which was a part of a European discussion on literary values, their validity and transformation," where "the phenomenon Shakespeare functioned as an agent of revaluation of national literatures and literary canons" (Paulin 2007: 111).

Voltaire's derogatory comments on Shakespeare have overshadowed his more serious reflections on cultural, social, and political differences between England and France, as well as on the mediatory role of intercultural translation. According to Voltaire, the appropriation of Shakespeare by polite Enlightenment culture would require not only purging his plays of the features gratifying low-class taste but also, more importantly, a different kind of translation which could transcend "the diversity of tastes in different nations" (Voltaire 1901: 139) and communicate the universal value of Shakespeare's art: its "natural and sublime" force, elevating the mind "to an amazing height, soaring on the pinions of the metaphorical style" (Voltaire 1901: 45, 48).

Voltaire's influence is perceptible in Pierre Antoine de La Place's *Hamlet, prince de Dannemarc, tragédie*, published in an eight-volume anthology titled *Le Théâtre anglois* (1745–48), four volumes of which contained mostly prosaic adaptations of abridged Shakespeare plays. Although the main purpose of La Place's abridgements and summaries was to acquaint the French and French-speaking readers with the rough contours of Shakespeare's work, they held great importance for the development of literary and stage adaptations of Shakespeare in a large number of European cultures, where the main textual sources were the renderings of Shakespeare by Jean-François Ducis produced without any knowledge of English and fully dependent on La Place's texts. Ducis's stage adaptation of *Hamlet* (1769) leaves out the Ghost – and even the "To be, or not to be" soliloquy (included only in 1804). Strategically, Ducis chose a play discussed by Voltaire and made it resemble Pierre Corneille's chief tragedy, *Le Cid* (1637).

Similar to Voltaire's Shakespeare criticism, Ducis's adaptations can be said to display features of "cultural translation" (Asad 1986: 160) which adjusted Shakespeare's plays to the taste of a chiefly middle-class public. The success of these adaptations was immense: Ducis's *Hamlet* was in the repertory of the Comédie-Française until 1851, and the last production based on Ducis's version was launched in Amsterdam as late as 1882. Ducis's adaptations stimulated the theatrical and literary appropriations of Shakespeare in countries as diverse as Argentina, Belgium, Bohemia, Brazil, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden, and Turkey. Ducis adjusted Shakespeare to neoclassical rules and decorum; simplified the plots; and conventionalized the style of his plays, replacing neologisms and bold rhetorical figures with periphrases and conventional epithets. The popularity of Ducis's Shakespeare was the incentive for a monumental literary enterprise: a twenty-volume French edition of Shakespeare translated by Pierre Le Tourneur (1776–83) and dedicated to Louis XVI.

Ducis's *Hamlet* and the surging "Shakespearomania" in German-speaking countries were mocked in Johann Friedrich Schink's adaptations, especially *Schakspear in der Klemme, oder Wir wollen doch auch den Hamlet spielen* (*Shakespeare in a Fix, or Even We Want to Play Hamlet*, 1780). Schink was also influential as a dramaturg (collaborating with Schröder), critic, and reformer of German-language theatre, pioneering the psychological representations of Shakespeare's characters. Thanks to Schink's discussions of *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Richard III*, and *King Lear*, Shakespeare became a model of characterization no longer based on static types but understood in a romantic way, as a growth of individual subjectivity.

The two major representatives of the German *Klassik*, Friedrich Schiller and Johann Wolfgang Goethe, significantly transcend the limits of the Enlightenment understanding of Shakespeare. Schiller staged *Macbeth* (1801) and *Othello* (1804–05), and he extolled *Richard III* as the ideal of tragedy (against the principles of Lessing's Hamburg dramaturgy). Focusing on the cruelty in Shakespeare's plays and the unmotivated evil of such characters as Iago, he saw modern tragedy as the assertion of the freedom of will, emphasizing, no longer in moral terms, the limits of humanity in a world devoid of supreme metaphysical authority. In Book IV of his novel *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (*Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*, 1795), Goethe describes a production of *Hamlet*. Although Goethe saw Shakespeare's work as a cultural force able to change Germany, his description of the *Hamlet*

performance is in some respects consonant with Denis Diderot's *Paradoxe sur le comédien* (*The Paradox of Acting*, 1773–77), revealing the effects of the “absent presence” of the author and the character on stage.

Romantic Shakespeares: revolutions, ironies, and national movements

One of the events which triggered the revolution against the literature, theatre, and especially criticism of the French *Ancien Régime* was the publication of Stendhal's essay *Racine et Shakespeare* (1823, 1825). Although provoked by the anti-British riot in the Parisian theatre of la Porte Saint-Martin, which had disrupted a performance of *Othello* by the English actors, Stendhal's criticism was no mere response to the popular passions caused by Napoleon's defeat. Stendhal saw Shakespeare's work as an incentive for a radical transformation of French drama which should bring it closer to the problems and needs of contemporary society. His programme was both political and aesthetic, aimed against censorship, stereotypical poetic language, and the rigid verse form of the alexandrine.

The French *drame romantique*, no longer based on the rigorous concept of dramatic unities, soon asserted itself even on the most conservative stage, the Comédie-Française, with the adaptation of *Othello* (*Le More de Venise*, 1829) by Alfred de Vigny. Vigny, who in 1827 adapted *Romeo and Juliet* with Émile Deschamps de Saint-Amand, also reworked *The Merchant of Venice* as *Shylock* (1828). In contrast to Vigny, Deschamps's aim was to produce translations more faithful to the original and to reproduce the chief aesthetic features of Shakespeare's plays.

Vigny's adaptations and Deschamps's translations were consonant with the poetics of French romantic theatre expressed in Victor Hugo's preface to *Cromwell* (1827). Another play by Hugo, *Hernani, ou l'Honneur Castillan* (1830) – inspired by Vigny's adaptation of *Othello* – caused the famous “battle” between the adherents of classicism and the supporters of romanticism. Hugo was one of a few French romantics who saw the importance of Shakespeare for present-day France in a wider cultural and historical context. He emphasized the political impact and emotional expressivity of “Shakespeare without a muzzle” as forces necessary for the progress of democracy (Hugo 2001: 211). A much more pessimistic vision of Shakespeare's art, derived from *Hamlet* and the histories, is typical of Alfred de Musset's drama *Lorenzaccio* (1833) on the power struggle in Renaissance Florence. The play represents history as a complex and even chaotic movement with no explicit meaning or aim.

One of the most interesting examples of the French Shakespeare-inspired romantic dramas is *Kean, ou Désordre et génie* (*Kean, or Disorder and Genius*, 1836) by Alexandre Dumas, père, a mixture of *drame*, melodrama, and comedy, debunking the nascent conventions of French romantic theatre. As an author of a successful adaptation of *Hamlet* (produced in 1847 in collaboration with Paul Meurice), and a fan of the leading English romantic actor, Dumas represented Edmund Kean's art as a play of shifting identities based on major Shakespearean characters – namely Romeo, Othello, Hamlet, Hal, and Falstaff. Along with the mastery of a famous performer, the drama shows the negative effects of role-playing in public as well as private life.

More than a century after Voltaire and Ducis, the French romantic reception of Shakespeare was still dominated by the tragedies, and especially *Hamlet*. The cult of this play finally produced the myth of *hamlétisme*, conflating contemporary reflections of Hamlet's character with the fantasized personality of Shakespeare. As a result, the impact of Shakespeare's comedies on French stages is much smaller than that of the other dramatic genres. An interesting example is George Sand's adaptation of *As You Like It* (*Comme il vous plaira*, 1856), inspired by a performance of *Much Ado About Nothing* in 1849. The reasons for the failure of Sand's play can be seen in her effort to relate it to two authoritative models, emphasizing the analogies of Jaques with Hamlet and Alceste from Molière's *Misanthrope* (1666).

While French romantic culture was not able to overcome the eighteenth-century stereotype of Shakespeare as "a genius and a stranger" (Pemble 2005: xvi), in nineteenth-century Germany and Austria Shakespeare's appropriation advanced beyond the emphasis on his universality or otherness. Whereas August Wilhelm von Schlegel still interpreted Shakespeare's work according to the romantic aesthetics of organic unity, genius, and dramatic illusion, his fellow-translator of Shakespeare's complete works, Ludwig Tieck, focused on the historical reasons for Shakespeare's special status in German-speaking cultures. Comparing the apparent unity of Elizabethan England to the fragmentation of contemporary Germany, Tieck saw Shakespeare's popularity on Elizabethan and Jacobean stages as a culturally, morally, and politically integrating influence. In contrast to Tieck, who saw Shakespeare's drama as a force able to produce a collective subjectivity of the German *Volk*, the greatest German romantic playwright, Heinrich von Kleist, was attracted to the complexity of individual self-fashioning (especially in *Hamlet* or *Romeo and Juliet*) as a conflict of internal processes and external influences leading to the inevitable clash of the individual with society and its laws. These features are typical of all Kleist's tragedies, from *Die Familie Schroffenstein* (*The Schroffenstein Family*, 1803) to the posthumous *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg, oder die Schlacht bei Fehrbellin* (*The Prince of Homburg, or the Battle of Fehrbellin*, 1821).

The implicit irony of Kleist's tragedies was made explicit in the work of two late German romantics, Christian Dietrich Grabbe and Georg Büchner. Grabbe's critical piece *Über die Shakspeareo-Manie* (*On Shakespearomania*, 1827) pointed out the consequences of the cult of Shakespeare created by Schlegel and Tieck, whose translations he criticized. Romantic bardolatry is seen as an obstacle to the creation of authentic German drama which would develop the legacy of Schiller and Goethe. Surprisingly, Grabbe's criticism contrasts with a considerable influence of Shakespeare on his dramatic work.

Contrary to Grabbe's critical attitude, Georg Büchner's dramatic art creates a synthesis of Shakespearean influences with those of the *Sturm und Drang*, Goethe, and Musset. All of Büchner's plays abound in allusions to *Hamlet*, *Julius Caesar*, *Macbeth*, *King Lear*, *Othello*, *Richard III*, *Romeo and Juliet*, 2 *Henry VI*, 1 *Henry IV*, *Measure for Measure*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, and *The Merchant of Venice*. The political legacy of *Julius Caesar* and *Hamlet* is evident from *Dantons Tod* (*Danton's Death*, 1835), a tragedy set in the Jacobin Reign of Terror and probably the first modern political play in the history of European theatre. The comedy *Leonce und Lena* (1836) alludes to Jaques's sarcasm in *As You Like It* and mocks traditional authorities that had become powerless.

In contrast to his position in the romantic political and aesthetic revolutions of France or Germany, Shakespeare in early nineteenth-century Central and Eastern Europe was often identified with the ideological objectives of national emancipation movements. For example, the leaders of the early nineteenth-century Czech national revival appropriated Shakespeare primarily as a model for historical drama representing the ancient past as a cornerstone of national identity. Nonetheless, when they started to translate and perform Shakespeare, they were baffled by the complexity of his tragedies and histories. In 1834, the leading Czech dramatist Josef Kajetán Tyl adapted *King Lear* from the English original, and intended to do the same with the two parts of *Henry IV*. Unfortunately, the outcome did not match his expectations. Tyl's later plays demonstrate his inability to come to terms not only with the cruel scenes in *King Lear* but also chiefly with its political and historical implications, such as the loss of royal authority. Instead of the two parts of *Henry IV*, Tyl produced only a selection of comical scenes with Falstaff, expunged of bawdiness and subversiveness. Like many later Czech translators and directors, Tyl was unable to appreciate or even understand Shakespeare's representation of history as an all-encompassing and open-ended process present "in all men's lives" (2 *Henry IV* 3.1.75). This notion of history became crucial for Tyl's contemporary and the leading romantic poet Karel Hynek Mácha, who died before he was able to accomplish his project, writing historical dramas and novels.

Apart from its uses as a vehicle of ethnocentric national emancipation, Shakespeare's work started to function differently in multinational and multilingual settings. For instance, in nineteenth-century Transylvania (part of today's Romania with the diversity of German, Hungarian, and Rumanian cultures) Shakespeare was a means of negotiating tensions between widely different cultures, and even defending the political rights of minorities.

GROWING WITH TECHNOLOGY, ART, AND POLITICS (1848–1945)

Before World War I: the pictorial Shakespeare

The year 1848 marks a large movement against the European divisions introduced by the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Changes in European theatres after that date, whether technical, aesthetic, or conceptual, were connected with political situations as well as dynamic technical progress. The nineteenth century moved from candles to gas to electricity: the elevator stage was first installed in the Budapest Opera House in 1884; the revolving stage was introduced to Europe at the Residenztheater, Munich, in 1896. The technical improvements, particularly lighting, led in turn to a growing emphasis on realism in stage decoration and the construction of stage sets. Simultaneously, the growing number of translations of Shakespeare's plays into various European languages provided new texts for theatres; and with time they eliminated the trend for adaptations and translations from adaptations. By the beginning of the twentieth century Shakespeare's plays were appropriated by most European countries, and for many his drama became the medium for political and cultural self-expression. The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed a major shift towards director's theatre, yet star-actor theatre was still a major

attraction. The ideas of the *mise en scène*, the importance of the coordinated work of a whole ensemble, and the consistent interpretation of the whole play lessened but did not annihilate the romantic emphasis on character, thus creating ceaseless tension between tradition and innovation. Staging Shakespeare's plays was at the centre of attention of all important theatres.

By the 1850s German translations of Shakespeare had become important texts in German culture and language, and his plays increasingly gained the status of the classical repertoire in theatre. The earliest effort towards director's theatre is credited to the Burgtheater in Vienna. Under the directorship of Heinrich Laube Shakespeare's plays gradually became of central interest. For Laube, Shakespeare's works expressed a philosophy of life "which allows itself to be bound by no dogma and presents us with revelations that are deeply compatible to us" (Laube quoted in Williams 1990: 121). Laube made use of more liberal political censorship after 1848 and produced *Julius Caesar* (1850), *Richard III* (1852), and *Richard II* (1863) – all three critical of kingship and concerned with public themes such as the problem of power. Laube believed in ensemble work. His company performed in an unusually concerted way, giving full attention to even the smallest incidents and bit parts which served Shakespeare well. Yet Laube continued to cut extensively: he reduced violence and he simplified language, adapting it to a conversational style of acting. As a result, he remade Shakespeare in the manner of a well-made play suited to the style of the Burgtheater.

Franz Dingelstedt worked in Munich (1851–56) and then in Weimar (until 1867), finishing his career in Vienna. Dingelstedt's idea was to produce a brilliant spectacle for the eye. He made use of the newly introduced gaslight, often creating atmospheric effects; he invited artists to assure historical accuracy of settings; and he worked with teams of technicians, musicians, and dancers, trying to achieve the effect of the total work of art in the spirit of Wagner. His Shakespeare productions had an operatic aura. His *Macbeth* was particularly effective in visual terms, whereas *The Winter's Tale*'s special appeal was assured by Friedrich von Flotow's music. In Weimar Dingelstedt distinguished himself by presenting all of Shakespeare's historical plays on the stage for the first time in an unbroken cycle. This last achievement was compared to Wagner's *Ring* cycle by Ludwig Eckhardt in 1856 (see Williams 1990: 154).

The most influential work was done by the Court Theatre of Meiningen. Its owner, Duke Georg of Saxe-Meiningen, travelled to England, knew the work of Charles Kean, and became a great enthusiast of Shakespeare's dramatic art. Shakespeare loomed large in the repertoire of the Meininger under their first director, Ludwig Chronegk. From the beginning the Meiningen Ensemble developed a theatre company free of the star system. They centred on realistic acting and staging, and well-developed productions which were aesthetically homogenous and lifelike in their presentations. The Duke designed historically accurate scenery, costumes, and properties; he choreographed large crowd scenes admired by audiences across Europe.

At their height (1874–90) the Meininger toured Germany and other European countries, reaching as far as Moscow and St Petersburg. The essence of their achievement was to make the *mise en scène* a tool of interpretation of a play-text. Their most popular Shakespeare production was *Julius Caesar*, the great success of which

was assured by “the crowd scenes, the energy of the ensemble and the fidelity of the design to the historical period, down to the smallest details of costumes and personal props” (Williams 1990: 161). Comparable successes were enjoyed by *The Merchant of Venice*, with impressive crowds in the streets; *The Winter’s Tale*, with its Sicilian landscapes and costumes taken from Botticelli as well as Czech folklore; and *Twelfth Night*, with its fully exploited comic potential.

The Meininger’s concern for realism was coupled with the effort to produce total illusion, which forced them to rearrange the original sequences of scenes in order to avoid long and frequent changes of stage decoration. This was particularly striking in their *Merchant of Venice*. The greatest success of the Meininger was to increase the popularity of Shakespeare across Europe and to prove the particular quality of Shakespearean dramaturgy through emphasizing the pictorial qualities of those scenes which carry strong symbolic meaning or forceful commentary on the action. Even though the Meininger operated within illusionistic theatre conventions, their particular way of working with Shakespeare’s structures, as Williams aptly points out, would find correspondences in Brecht’s non-illusionistic epic theatre (1990: 168).

The Munich stage after 1889 was innovative in creating smooth and unbroken action without embarrassing breaks for changing the sets. The idea was to adapt the illusionistic stage to the needs of Shakespeare’s plays. Director Jozsa Savits and designer Karl Lautenschläger devised a Shakespeare stage “with a deep forestage, built out over the orchestra pit, a ‘middle’ platform reached by steps, and framed by an architectural façade, and, a third acting area beyond this” (Jackson 2004: 142). That third space was covered with a curtain which could reveal various backdrops – a compromise between Savits’s attempts at proposing a relatively non-illusionistic theatre and the general taste of the time for pictorial stage *décor*: “Actors on a bare forestage were playing in front of illusionist, changeable scenery” (Kennedy 1993: 38). The first play staged there was *King Lear* in 1889. William Poel praised the production as “the most stimulating performance of the tragedy” (quoted in Kennedy 1993: 37). The Shakespeare stage proved successful in allowing uninterrupted flow of action without cuts or rearrangements of scenes. Thus the unity of Shakespearean dramatic design could at last become apparent to the audience. Williams believes that the Shakespeare stage in Munich:

caught effectively the peculiar rhythms of Shakespeare’s drama [and] brought the production of his plays closer to the ideal initially articulated by *Sturm und Drang* than the spectacular and realistic productions of the 19th century had done.

(Williams 1990: 194)

Max Reinhardt had a great impact on staging Shakespeare across Europe. From 1905 to 1930 he worked for the Deutsches Theater in Berlin. In the last season before World War I he produced a cycle of ten Shakespeare plays which was a huge commercial success. Reinhardt’s specific vision of Shakespeare owed much to Dingelstedt’s magic spectacles of light, colour, dance, and music; to the Meininger’s ideas of ensemble work; and to the growing interest in representing characters’ psyches. His theatrical conceptions were influenced by art-for-art’s-sake ideas,

which made him abandon the traditions of moral and social didacticism looming large over German theatrical practice. He strove to create the illusion of a complete world on stage, the most successful and best known being that of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1905). Imaginative use of electric light gave the production a magical appeal; the ingeniously constructed forest acquired a symbolic function for the three groups of characters; and the revolving stage helped achieve a smooth flow of action stressed by Felix Mendelssohn's music. "Reinhardt came closer than any director of his era to effecting a coherent visual reform for Shakespeare" (Kennedy 1993: 59). His *Midsummer Night's Dream* broke with the traditional representation of Puck and benevolent and sentimental fairies; sexual impulses were given clear representation, while a general spirit of play marked the whole with a specific "lightness of being." Reinhardt's *Midsummer Night's Dream* was shown in Stockholm, Budapest, and Los Angeles with huge success. The film shot in 1935 retains much of the original magic of the production.

In France before World War I André Antoine, the father of modern French *mise en scène*, came to Shakespeare relatively late in his career and under the spell of Harley Granville-Barker's ideas. He produced the first complete version of *King Lear* in 1905, still in a fairly pictorial tradition. In 1910 *Coriolanus* was shown on a relatively empty forestage, yet the backdrop representing Roman buildings or interiors strongly suggested illusionist representation. This combination, reminiscent of Savits's ideas, "gave an exact reproduction of true-to-life scenery and gestures, and allowed for an uninterrupted performance" (Schwartz-Gastine 2003: 231). Jacques Copeau, important for the development of modernist French theatre, produced two plays by Shakespeare in his Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier: *Twelfth Night* (1914) and *The Winter's Tale* (1920). For the former his stage was bare except for coloured curtains which symbolically marked the play's spaces and became a landmark in modern theatre; the ensemble work and the approach to humour both indicated the impact of German achievements and of Granville-Barker (Kennedy 1993: 81).

Any account of developments in French Shakespeare of the time would be incomplete without mentioning Sarah Bernhardt's outstanding roles: in 1884 her Lady Macbeth enjoyed great success (although the production did not); in 1890 her Cleopatra, with a live serpent on her breast, was a triumph; in 1899 her daring Hamlet, much criticized, was a notable breakthrough in playing the part. Bernhardt became an international star who took her Shakespeare characters to England, Denmark, the United States, and even Australia. Her example was followed by Asta Nielsen, a Danish silent-film star. Nielsen played the part of the sweet prince in a 1920 film version of *Hamlet*. Her Hamlet was "a woman of action and decision dominating the screen with her alert energy and her ironic intelligence" (Thompson and Taylor 1998: 50).

The influence of Laube and of the Meininger was evident in staging Shakespeare in the City Theatre in Cracow, Poland, where an ambitious director, Stanisław Koźmian, created a well-managed ensemble in the years 1865 to 1885. Koźmian trained many talented actors, among them Helena Modjeska, who then took her greatest Shakespeare creations to Warsaw and ultimately to American stages.

In Tsarist Russia Shakespeare was played according to the star system; great foreign actors like Ira Aldridge, Ernesto Rossi, or Tommaso Salvini were invited to

perform. The breaking-point in introducing the idea of ensemble work was the visit of the Meininger with *Julius Caesar* in 1885. Konstantin Stanislavski and Vladimir Nemirovich-Danchenko, the founders of the famous Moscow Art Theatre, produced their own *Julius Caesar* in 1903. They orchestrated large crowds governed by mass psychology, thus “reflecting the drives of the broad social forces which were suppressed in the immediate revolution of 1905, but signalled the huge outburst in 1917” (Stříbrný 2000: 55). Stanislavski’s *Hamlet* was done in cooperation (and disagreement) with Edward Gordon Craig in 1911. He accepted Craig’s insistence on complete rejection of realistic and naturalistic settings. But Craig stressed symbolist readings of the tragedy in a monumental cubist setting, whereas Stanislavski demanded psychological realism based on inner experience. The problem of the production was a conflict of styles between playing and stage design which led to a fundamental question of “how to produce Shakespeare: play the characters or play the themes?” (Kennedy 1993: 57).

After World War I: politicizing Shakespeare

After World War I, the art of staging Shakespeare shifted towards increasingly political interpretation. Growing nationalism gave birth to fascist ideologies which emerged in Italy and Germany, and in some smaller European countries. The increasing pressure of communist ideology had its harvest, too. The apolitical aesthetics of early twentieth-century productions gradually gave way. Visually, the dominant style was either expressionist or constructivist, or a mixture of both. Stage architecture and *décor* were to reflect the essence of the play’s interpretation, thus emphasizing the ideological stance of the production.

Leopold Jessner produced a memorable *Richard III* in the Staatstheater Berlin in 1920, a most influential expressionist staging with a symbolically conceived setting by Emil Pirchan. A memorable feature of the stage was a construction of steps for the latter part of the play: it filled almost the entire space and had the emblematic function of representing the rise and fall of the tyrant. It was “a compelling prefigurement of Jan Kott’s image of history plays as a ‘grand mechanism’” (Kennedy 1993: 88). Six years later Jessner produced *Hamlet* in modern dress, and offered a straightforward political reading of the tragedy as a representation of militarism and the power of Prussian imperialism. The rejection of this production augured the approaching Nazi coup.

In Soviet Russia two great individualists of the theatre, Konstantin Stanislavski and Vsevolod Meyerhold, did not engage with Shakespeare during the 1920s. The 1921 *Romeo and Juliet* produced by Alexander Tairov had a memorable stage design by Alexandra Exeter, a leading avant-garde artist. She designed seven cubist pageants which visually symbolized the lovers’ tragic path to death and at the same time allowed for uninterrupted action. In 1929–30 Stanislavski returned to *Othello* (first produced in 1903), for which he wrote detailed notes published in 1945 in Russian. He planned the action against a background of clashing political and social forces, including the threat of a plebeian revolt, thus keeping in line with Soviet ideology. Sergei Radlov produced a memorable *Othello* in 1935: Iago was represented as an incarnation of racism, chauvinism, and fascist ideas belonging to the capitalist world, which was felt at that time in Europe as a real threat (Stříbrný 2000: 82). Another Russian director, Eugene (Yevgeny) Vakhtangov, staged an avant-garde *Macbeth* in

1921. After his death, but in Vakhtangov's theatre in Moscow, Nikolai Akimov produced an unusual *Hamlet*, "a zany play of political intrigue and struggle for the throne of Denmark" (Stříbrný 2000: 83). The grotesque features were stressed by Dmitri Shostakovich's music. As a whole, the production was a satirical reflection on the Soviet political scene of the time (Stříbrný 2000: 85).

The State Jewish Theatre, Moscow, produced *King Lear* in 1935, directed by Radlov. Solomon Mikhoels's interpretation of Lear won great praise from Edward Gordon Craig. The Jewish Theatre played *King Lear* at the time of World War II in far-off Tashkent, to where the company were evacuated, bringing whatever consolation they could at the time of the Nazi extermination of Jews, Slavs, and Gypsies. Radlov gets the credit for organizing the Leningrad Shakespeare Festival in 1939, where three of his Shakespeare productions were shown: *Othello* (1932), *Romeo and Juliet* (1934), and *Hamlet* (1938) – the latter with incidental music by Sergei Prokofiev. In 1941 *King Lear* was produced in Leningrad. Directed by Grigori Kozintsev, with music by Shostakovich, it was played throughout the war. That production stands behind Kozintsev's famous film of 1967. The first version of Prokofiev's *Romeo and Juliet* was completed in 1935. The world *première* took place in 1938 in Brno (part of the then Czechoslovakia). In 1940 it was shown at the Kirov Theatre in Leningrad, with the great ballerina Galina Ulanova dancing the part of Juliet.

In Poland between the two World Wars Arnold Szyfman mounted *Hamlet* in 1922 with stage design by Karol Frycz, who followed Craig's ideas; and in 1931 he staged *Romeo and Juliet*, designed by Frycz in a "sophisticated adaptation of expressionism" (Kennedy 1993: 104). Leon Schiller, also Craig's disciple, produced *Julius Caesar* in 1928. The performance expressed serious criticism of Poland's current politics. Kennedy sums up his achievement by stating that Schiller transformed aesthetic vision into political testimony (1993: 109).

The National Theatre in Prague between the two wars was the site of much exciting artistic preoccupation with Shakespeare. Karel Hugo Hilar drew on German expressionism; his vision was dynamic, taking shortcuts and leaning towards exaggeration and the grotesque. The 1926 *Hamlet* was admired for the effect of changeable screens; the Freudian reading of the play was visually stressed by large candlesticks of strikingly phallic shapes. In the 1930s a new artist, František Tröster, introduced larger-than-life elements onto the stage. *Julius Caesar* was produced in 1936 with an absurdly large statue of Caesar suggesting the megalomania of power and authority leading to inevitable fall and decomposition. The interpretation was an apt and frightening comment on the political developments in and around Czechoslovakia. It is revealing to note similarities and differences between the political appropriations of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* in Prague and in Warsaw. Europe was coming close to war.

FROM NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION TO POST-MODERN DECONSTRUCTION (1945–2015)

Shakespeare's theatre for all people: a vector of national reconstruction

In the aftermath of World War II, throughout the Cold War and beyond, Shakespeare offered an alternative to Theatre of the Absurd. Although turning to the humanist tradition after Auschwitz may sound a priori paradoxical, it expressed an optimistic

urge to envisage the renaissance of humanity by relying on the foundation of modern society. Shakespeare's drama and the Elizabethan model of popular theatre thus became a vector for the building of national identity and cohesion; and they provided a critical perspective on the reconstruction of Europe, the crises it underwent and still encounters. It is precisely because it is firmly rooted in the English Renaissance culture of borrowing and characterized by textual multiplicity that the adaptable Shakespearean corpus proves capable of emancipating itself from its national body. To paraphrase Marjorie Garber's well-known statement (2004: 3), every European country thus created its own Shakespeare in an attempt to bridge the gap between the humanist values that the war had shattered and the hope in a better future. A "cultural Marshall plan" as well as a "cold warrior," according to Kennedy (2009: 81; 2003), Shakespeare was used to address local issues and explore a diversity of national political contexts in Europe between 1945 and 1965.

In France, Shakespeare's popular theatre served both to ensure national cohesion and to regenerate the medium. Jean Vilar founded the international Avignon Festival with *Richard II* in 1947. He wanted to decentralize the theatre, which he thought of as a public service, from Paris to the provinces. He intended to break away from the model of the Italian playhouse in which the vertical distribution of the audience mirrors the social hierarchy and the architectural codes divide spectators instead of bringing them together. As new theatres could not be built, for obvious economic reasons, Vilar turned to a place that was not initially designed as a theatrical site: the Honour Court of the Popes' Palace, an open-air venue that could accommodate up to 2,000 spectators. Festive, aiming to restore the link between man and nature, addressing huge assemblies of socially mixed origins with a magnified sense of togetherness, Vilar's theatre for all people was inspired by ancient Greek and Elizabethan public-theatre traditions.

One may wonder how Shakespeare's historical drama, which presents a patriotically English – and sometimes decidedly anti-French – view of history, could become a vector of French national reconstruction. Vilar found in the Elizabethan "theatre of a nation" (Helgerson 1992: 197–98) an essential authority to invent a French civic theatre that would generate social cohesion through the construction of a collective memory and the critical appropriation of history. *Richard II*, in which the power and intensity of poetic language combine with the reflexive dimension, served Vilar's theatre of conscience, distinct from Bertolt Brecht's theatre in so far as it called on the spectator's emotions as much as on his or her critical faculty. Staged for the first time in France, in a new translation commissioned by Vilar, *Richard II* served as a theatre laboratory in which he experimented with the "aesthetic of the three stools," named after the prison scene which epitomized his use of a bare stage calling on the spectator's imagination. Vilar's idea of the spectator as a participant relied on the Elizabethan pact of performance defined in the prologue to *Henry V*. Since 1947, Shakespeare's drama has been running like a thread through the programming of the Festival as well as that of the Théâtre National Populaire, which Vilar directed from 1951 to 1963.

From political alternatives to heterotopias

On the post-war German stage, Shakespeare was alternately used for the construction and deconstruction of the national identity, qualifying as a Bourdieusian field

of struggles (Massai 2005: 7–11). Between 1945 and 1970, he undoubtedly ranked among the most frequently performed playwrights in Berlin, the number of annual performances of his plays surpassing Brecht's – a statistic which testifies to his importance in the cultural reconstruction of the country. A comedy like *The Merchant of Venice* was approached not as an anti-Semitic play but as a drama showing how anti-Semitic attitudes could arise historically. Back from exile in 1949, Brecht adapted classical plays that had been subverted by the Nazis with a view to rehabilitating them. From 1951 until his death in 1956, he worked on *Coriolanus*, which his company, the Berliner Ensemble (founded in 1949), performed in 1964. A play about heroism which dramatizes the fate of a man dominating a blind people, it was used in Nazi Germany as a vindication of military service and wiped off the repertory as anti-democratic after the Liberation. Brecht's adaptation focused on a collective logic rather than on the glorification of an individual, and shifted the balance of power between plebeians and patricians, making class warfare and the birth of democracy the main incentives for the plot. Brecht, who insisted on the necessity of creating a non-Aristotelian theatre, turned to Shakespeare's historical tragedies as catalysts for his epic theatre. Whether he discussed plans to put on *Julius Caesar* in 1928 with Erwin Piscator, whose theoretical work *The Political Theatre* (1929) deeply influenced him, or rewrote *Coriolanus* for the contemporary stage, Brecht aimed to highlight the historical significance of these classical texts, which he refused to consider as museum pieces and with which he rather sought to establish a dialogic relationship, as he explained in his essay "Intimidation by the Classics" (1954).

Giorgio Strehler, who founded his Piccolo Teatro in Milan in 1947, also revisited the European classical repertory, focusing largely on Shakespeare to regenerate the stage aesthetically and ideologically, and to create a civic theatre. Like Vilar, and like the Edinburgh Festival founded some three weeks before the one in Avignon, Strehler turned to *Richard II* for his first Shakespearean play (1948). At the cross-roads of epic theatre and grand opera, his powerfully poetic and visually striking productions of *The Tempest* in the Boboli Gardens in Florence (1948), of which he gave a different version thirty years later in 1978, and of *King Lear* (1972) left their innovative and daring marks on the stage history of Shakespeare's drama. Much influenced by Brecht, he contributed to the development of socialist theatre and politics in Italy by staging Shakespearean historical tragedies: *Richard III* (1950), *Henry IV* (1951), and *Julius Caesar* (1953). After the seminal European tour of the Berliner Ensemble in 1956, he directed *Coriolanus* (1957). Meant to promote democratic socialism, Brechtian theatre was viewed as a cultural and socio-political alternative to the dialectic of American capitalism and Soviet socialism that attempted to shape the world during the Cold War. In 1983, Strehler was invited by French Minister of Culture Jack Lang to found in Paris the Théâtre de l'Europe, whose vocation has consisted since then in programming productions in French and foreign languages. In 1990, he established the Union of the Theatres of Europe, the first pan-European theatre project, with the aim of contributing to the construction of a cultural Europe.

Shakespeare was very much present on Central and Eastern European stages as soon as December 1945, when *Hamlet* was put on in East Berlin. Highly controversial, dissident Shakespeare qualified as another field of struggles in the

de-/reconstruction of Central and Eastern Europe. Polish critic and theatre reviewer Jan Kott provided a new insight into Shakespearean drama, showing it as a prefiguration of tragic history in the twentieth century. A forerunner of presentism, Kott's foundational work *Shakespeare Our Contemporary* (1964) offered an innovative reading of Shakespeare's classical texts rooted in their adaptation to the contemporary stage by means of totalitarian experiences: Poland had suffered successively from the Nazi and Soviet occupations. Foregrounding the violence and brutality of the playwright's tragedies and histories, the critic showed a realistic Shakespeare, "Cruel and True" (Kott 1964: 345), that should be stripped of all aesthetic ornaments, a condition essential to avoiding "Shakespearean misunderstandings" (Kott 1953) as well as anachronistic productions. On the east side of the Iron Curtain, "Shakespearean productions thus became a way of commenting on political events without the risk of banning or imprisonment," for "Ministries of Culture were reluctant to take arms against the work of a playwright so central to European drama" (Elsom 1989: 2).

Kott's chapters in *Shakespeare Our Contemporary* analyse Shakespeare's drama in the light of post-war existentialist theories and the Theatre of the Absurd, whose corpus was banned from the so-called Eastern Bloc for fear of encouraging social pessimism. His work also strongly impacted Western European stages. Strehler's productions of *King Lear* (1972) and *The Tempest* (1978) were deeply influenced by Kott's essays "King Lear or [Beckett's] *Endgame*" and "Prospero's Staff," although Kott would severely criticize them. Kott also collaborated closely with Ariane Mnouchkine, the director of the Théâtre du Soleil in Paris, whose Shakespearean trilogy – including *Richard II* (1981), *Twelfth Night* (1982), and *1 Henry IV* (1984) – was informed by his essays on the histories ("The Kings") and on the comedies *As You Like It* and *Twelfth Night* ("Shakespeare's Bitter Arcadia"). Interestingly, the trilogy was programmed in Avignon, at the crossroads between festive popular theatre and Theatre of the Absurd. Although Mnouchkine claimed that "Shakespeare is not our contemporary and must not be treated as such," and Kott considered that her *Richard II* – inspired by Kabuki, Noh, and Bunraku – was "fake Japanese and fake Shakespeare," their approaches presented obvious similarities. Both denationalized Shakespeare, but on different scales: Kott was offering a European Shakespeare, whereas Mnouchkine staged a cosmopolitan, multicultural Shakespeare (Márkus 2012: 160–61).

Although Kott's radical approach was re-evaluated twenty-five years after its publication in a seminar in London – "Is Shakespeare Still Our Contemporary?" (see Elsom 1989) – it had a great impact on what J.L. Styan (1977) called "the Shakespeare revolution" of the twentieth century, or the advent of stage-centred criticism. The assumption that Shakespeare was first and foremost a man of the theatre, and that his plays ought to be analysed through this prism, prepared the way for the idea of Shakespeare's theatre as a laboratory rather than a museum.

In the context of the upsurge of nationalism deriving from the revolutions of 1989 in Central and Eastern Europe, culture – and the theatre in particular – proved again essential vectors of national (re)construction. Shakespeare festivals blossomed in Gdańsk, Poland (1993); the Czech Republic (where the festival was founded through President Václav Havel's initiative in 1994); Craiova, Romania (1994); Yerevan, Armenia (2004); and Gyula, Hungary (2005). All of these became

part of the European Shakespeare Festivals Network (ESFN) established in 2010, together with the Shakespeare festivals of Neuss in Germany (1991), Helsingør, Denmark (since 1816), Barcelona, Spain (2003), and York in the United Kingdom (2015). Inextricably bound to and framed by the specific histories of the host towns and cities, the festivals qualify as alternative arenas, “third spaces” or Foucauldian heterotopias – that is, localizable utopias (Foucault 1986) – which take place here and now in a festive atmosphere and open up critical, discursive spaces that contribute to building local, national, and European cohesion and identity. In the Babelic performances of these international festivals, where translation combines with surtitles, de-Englished Shakespeare becomes a multicultural crossroads.

Shakespeare revisited in the light of post-modern theories

In the last decades of the twentieth century and at the beginning of the new millennium, Shakespeare’s dramatic corpus was revisited on stage in the light of post-modern theories. The issue of authority raised by Roland Barthes (“The Death of the Author,” 1967) or Michel Foucault (“What Is an Author?,” 1969) paved the way for appropriation. It encouraged directors to imagine new ways of negotiating with mythologized Shakespearean texts and the demanding expectations of the audience, revisiting the form of the stage prologue as a zone of transaction in which the literary father is killed as well as revered. Problematic burials, subverted death rituals, and funeral wakes characterize German and French twenty-first-century productions of *Hamlet* by Hubert Colas (2005), Thomas Ostermeier (2008), David Bobée (2010), and Vincent Macaigne (2011). Open graves picture the two-fold attempt to exhume the classic text, to borrow Howard Barker’s metaphor (1998: 153), while inhuming Shakespeare’s cumbersome figure, or to evoke *Hamlet* while forgetting Shakespeare, to rephrase the title of Peter Brook’s essay (2003). Yet in Ostermeier’s production the coffin resists the grave, for it is too big to fit, just as the monumental dramatist resists oblivion (Figure 2.1). Macaigne’s creative prologue also consists of a parodic funeral service, in the presence of an anonymous body floating in the muddy water of a gaping tomb. The title of Macaigne’s stage rewriting of *Hamlet*, inspired by Antonin Artaud’s Theatre of Cruelty, foregrounds the dialectic of the corpus and the corpse: *Au moins j’aurai laissé un beau cadavre* (*At Least I Will Have Left a Beautiful Corpse*). Murdering Shakespeare thus conditions Macaigne’s conversation with *Hamlet*. The creative gesture is clearly named after the transgressive act. Whereas Hamlet’s desire to kill the surrogate father who sleeps with his mother remains repressed, contemporary directors enact their fantasy on stage.

Far from being showcased, Shakespeare is considered by the avant-garde as a laboratory for contemporary theatre, “a battleground for thought” (Kennedy 2009: 84), “anything but a museum or high altar” (Hortmann 1998: 221), even though such concepts imply deconstructing his plays in a presentist perspective – that is, to mean *by* Shakespeare (Hawkes 1992) rather than to look for an essential meaning in his plays. In *Enrico V* (*Henry V*, 1992), Italian director Pippo Delbono used Shakespeare’s dramatized history to put his own individual history into perspective, turning the Elizabethan fable on patriotic courage into a narrative of his own victorious fight against AIDS. In *Testament: Belated Preparations for a New Generation Based*



Figure 2.1 *Hamlet*, dir. Thomas Ostermeier (Avignon Festival, 2008).
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on *Lear* (2010), the German female collective She She Pop explored family relationships and generational pacts, bringing their real fathers on stage. Their experimental and daring show mixed autobiographical experiences and metatheatres as it displayed behind-the-scenes work.

In 2004, *Amleto, la veemente esteriorità della morte di un mollusco* (*Hamlet, the vehement externalism of a mollusc's death*), a deconstruction of Shakespeare's tragedy by Italian director Romeo Castellucci, explored suffering when it reaches beyond words. Building on the remnants of *Hamlet* and drawing on its metatheatrical dimension, this "autistic show" questioned the limits of acting as well as spectating and challenged the very pact of performance. Inspired by *Richard III*, *El Año de Ricardo* (*Richard's Year*, 2010) by Spanish director and performer Angelica Liddell deals with abjectness, the disintegration of body and mind and of social links, flirting with the limits of humanity. Tackling these multiple subjects in his Shakespearean productions, Polish director Krzysztof Warlikowski (former assistant to Brook, Krystian Lupa, and Giorgio Strehler) also explores textual limits as he confronts *King Lear*, *Othello*, and *The Merchant of Venice* with contemporary texts by J.M. Coetzee and Wajdi Mouawad in *African Tales* (2011). Umberto Eco's notion of an open text (1962), the Derridean concept of the constant difference of meaning (1967), or



Figure 2.2 *The Roman Tragedies*, dir. Ivo van Hove (Avignon Festival, 2007).
© Christophe Raynaud de Lage/Festival d'Avignon

Mikhail Bakhtin's dialogism (1958) provided a new frame through which to view stage adaptations in a dialogic relationship with the source-text, an effort to transcend what Linda Hutcheon (2013) has stigmatized as the reductive dialectic of faithfulness and betrayal.

The theory of the death of the author paved the way for the birth of an “emancipated spectator,” to borrow the title of French philosopher Jacques Rancière's translated essay and the book to which it gives its name (2009); the newer concept derived from the models of committed spectators in Elizabethan public playhouses as defined by the Prologue to *Henry V* and by Vilar's participating spectator. Convinced that using video and digital technologies as structuring elements of the performance generates new forms of popular theatre, Dutch-Belgian director Ivo van Hove re-created the spectators' familiar environment in *The Roman Tragedies* (2007), making audience members feel at home in the theatre (Figure 2.2). Throughout the marathon production the spectator 2.0, participating in a Web 2.0 environment, was invited to inform the performance by his or her presence on stage and by digital contributions. Van Hove thus broke the conventional frontiers between stage and auditorium, playhouse and street, as news reports were screened on stage and the actor playing Enobarbus ran out of the building followed by a camera-woman mediating the spectators' eyes. New technologies and video established a continuum between the theatre and the world outside, fiction and reality, revisiting the Shakespearean metaphor of the theatre of the world. Yet the notion of a continuous space was contradicted by the aesthetics of fragmentation and dissemination, as the stage was divided into

microcosms and provided a multiplicity of points of view. Free to choose an individual standpoint in the interactive set, each spectator was goaded into inventing his or her own theatrical experience, into finding a unique way of watching the play. He or she was made responsible for the reception process.

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CHAPTER THREE

SHAKESPEARE ON AMERICAN STAGES



James C. Bulman

“THE BRITISH ARE COMING!”: SHAKESPEARE REVERED

Theatres in mid-nineteenth-century America served much the same function as the Internet today. They were places where audiences drawn from different socio-economic groups could gather to be entertained, to argue about social and political issues, and to express opposition to the tastes and values of one another. Lawrence W. Levine writes:

How closely the theater registered societal dissonance can be seen in [working-class] audiences' volatile reaction to anything they considered condescending behavior, out of keeping with the unique nature of American society. Anything even bordering on unpatriotic or aristocratic behavior was anathema.

(Levine 1988: 60)

This jingoistic attitude posed a particular problem for English actors, whose tours had dominated Shakespearean performances in America since the eighteenth century and who were widely recognized as the most skilled interpreters of a playwright whom Americans were in the process of claiming as their own. These actors increasingly were viewed as representatives of a culture not only effete and élitist, but fundamentally at odds with the rugged individualism and democratic self-determination that Americans prized.

The riot outside the Astor Place Opera House on 10 May 1849 brought to a head the perceived rivalry between British and American actors over the ownership of Shakespeare on the American stage. The Opera House had been built as a venue for the upper echelons of New York society to exclude, through location and ticket prices, working-class audiences that had grown aggressively demonstrative at performances they disliked. Performing at the Opera House that week was William Macready, an English tragedian on his third American tour, celebrated by Anglophile audiences for an acting style both cerebral and refined, his verse-speaking richly nuanced and his capacity to inhabit a character subtly convincing (Shattuck 1976: 67–70). Performing

at the more populist Broadway Theatre that week was his rival Edwin Forrest, America's first native-born Shakespearean star, a handsome man of "the muscular school," according to one critic, who practised "the brawny art; the biceps aesthetics . . . [and] the bovine drama; rant, roar, and rigmarole" at odds with the more disciplined style of Macready (Curtis 1863, quoted in Levine 1988: 57). Forrest's histrionic acting and outspoken egalitarian views endeared him to those fans who saw Macready's affinity for New York's aristocracy as an affront to their own true American values.

Fans, of course, can get out of control. On the evening of 7 May, Macready and Forrest both performed *Macbeth*. Forrest, perhaps owing to jealousy, had a habit of shadowing Macready on his American tours, following him from city to city and at times performing the same role on a subsequent night (Shattuck 1976: 70–87). Thus, although Forrest's decision to play *Macbeth* on the same night as Macready in New York may not have been meant as a deliberate provocation, his fans certainly took it that way. They bought tickets in the galleries for Macready's performance, interrupted it with boos and insults, and hurled fruit, old shoes, rotten eggs, and even chairs onto the stage, forcing Macready to abandon the performance during the third act (Shattuck 1976: 82). Although Macready wished to leave the country to avoid further violence, he was persuaded by a letter signed by forty-seven persons of "highest respectability" (Levine 1988: 64) not to succumb to tyranny of the mob. Three nights later, when he again performed *Macbeth* at Astor Place, Forrest's fans, joined by others who shared their anti-British sentiments, rioted outside the theatre, their numbers swelling to at least 10,000; and armed militia were able to disperse the crowd only after opening fire, killing twenty-two and injuring more than 150 (Figure 3.1). As Nigel Cliff reports:

the victory in Astor Place went to the elite, but it was not a victory for Shakespeare. The segregation of audiences by class and taste which had provoked the riot was hastened by it.

(Cliff 2007: 263)

After the Civil War, more cities built so-called legitimate theatres for affluent audiences where Shakespeare was "performed with due deference to his genius" (Cliff 2007: 264). Stripped of the lowbrow entertainment that had accompanied performances of the plays for much of the century, Shakespeare was dropped from the repertory of popular theatres; and by the late nineteenth century his plays had come to be owned by the educated élite as serious fare – or, as the word came to be defined, as culture.

Not much has changed in the past century and a half. American Shakespeare is still deeply rooted in British theatrical practices, yet populist traditions persist on stages across the country. Furthermore, the emergence of Shakespeare as a player in public education has refashioned Shakespearean performance in subtle ways and altered the contest between highbrow and lowbrow cultures from what it was at the time of the Astor Place Riot. In the following pages, I offer two unfolding narratives to account for the evolution of Shakespeare on American stages since the period following the Civil War. The first addresses the abiding influence of British teachers, actors, and directors on Americans' view of how Shakespeare should be performed. The second traces how the emergence of Shakespeare as a Protestant moral voice in public

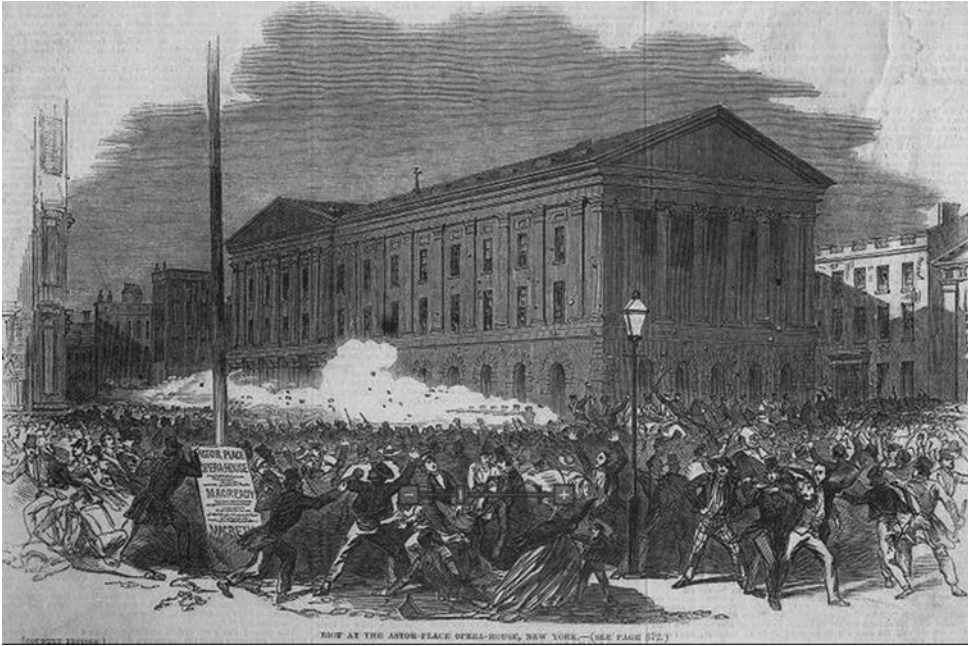


Figure 3.1 Riot at the Astor Place Opera House, New York.
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education since the late nineteenth century has led to a flowering of Shakespeare festivals around the country and seeded the growth of festival culture as an educational force. These two narratives alone, of course, cannot encompass the myriad influences that have shaped how Shakespeare is performed today. Nevertheless, the separate but intersecting claims that British theatre practitioners and American educators have staked to Shakespeare on American stages are worth exploring.

RIVAL MACBETHS REDUX

Persistent Anglophilia has ensured that in urban centres of culture the British are still regarded as the ultimate arbiters of Shakespeare. American actors are often derided as less skilled and less nuanced, and American directors as more willing to pander to popular tastes than their British counterparts. Let me illustrate. Within one year, from spring 2013 to spring 2014, four major productions of *Macbeth* were running in New York, three of them British and one American. Their reception reveals how deeply American theatre critics and educated audiences have absorbed a sense of cultural inferiority, and how readily they have embraced the idea that the British set the standard for performing Shakespeare. The three British productions show a range of imaginative responses to the play and a level of professionalism that American theatre, in the view of critics, seems unable to equal.

The first of them to open, and still running as I write this chapter, was a site-specific work created by British theatre company Punchdrunk that “replay[s] *Macbeth* as an ‘immersive’ event” (Worthen 2012: 96) in which scenes are mimed throughout

a six-storey warehouse rechristened the McKittick Hotel in homage to Alfred Hitchcock, whose film aesthetic deeply influenced the production design. *Sleep No More*, as the performance is called, requires spectators to don Venetian masks and leads them “on a merry, macabre chase up and down stairs and through minimally illuminated, furniture-cluttered rooms and corridors” (Ben Brantley, *New York Times*, 4/13/11) where they glimpse fragments of the play out of sequence until they are ushered at the end into a banquet hall where Macbeth is hanged. Apart from one line muttered by Lady Macbeth – “Yet who would have thought the old man to have had so much blood in him?” (5.1.36–8) – the performers do not speak Shakespeare’s text at all. Rather, they dance the play, their choreographed movements timed to a musical score that loops three times, giving spectators ample opportunity to choose where to go and what to watch, much as players do in an interactive video game, and occasionally to interact with performers who single them out for intimate one-on-one encounters. *Sleep No More* was praised by critics as “thrilling, mind-bending” and “unlike any *Macbeth* you’ve ever seen” (Elisabeth Vincintelli, *New York Post*, 4/14/11), and “a sensational interactive theater piece” (J.D. Ziemianowicz, *New York Daily News*, 4/14/11) that “encourages you to rethink the themes and motifs in *Macbeth* as well as the nature of theater itself” (Luke Murphy, *Entertainment Weekly*, 4/13/11).

The second *Macbeth* to open, directed by John Tiffany for the National Theatre of Scotland, was “a radical one-man reimagining” of the play (Mark Fisher, *Variety*, 4/21/13) in which Alan Cumming, playing a psychotic isolated in a mental ward who has obviously experienced or perpetrated a violent crime, enacts all the roles in *Macbeth* as a way to exorcise his personal demons. “One by one the characters take possession of this disturbed fellow, who flits manically around the green-tiled room as he snaps from one person to the next” (Charles Isherwood, *New York Times*, 4/21/13), using subtle shifts in vocal register, gait, and dress to mark the changes. “It is as if only Shakespeare’s characters . . . can articulate the mental trauma he is suffering” (Mark Fisher, *Variety*, 4/21/13). The result is “mesmerizing theater” (Thom Geier, *Entertainment Weekly*, 4/21/13), remarkably inventive in its compression of the play. It provides “a dark, visceral, altogether lucid bravura showcase” for Cumming, whose performance reveals “intensity,” “fierce discipline,” and extraordinary “range” (Linda Winer, *Newsday*, 4/21/13). Cumming’s verse-speaking is “outstanding,” wrote Jesse Green; “he’s tireless and brave” (*New York Magazine*, 4/21/13). Although this interpretation emphasizes psychopathology “at the expense of the play’s political and social qualities, yet such are Cumming’s gifts as an actor, we also get an uncommonly rich reading of the play” (Mark Fisher, *Variety*, 4/21/13).

The most eagerly anticipated *Macbeth* to open during the 2013/14 theatre season originated at the Manchester International Festival and featured Kenneth Branagh in his New York debut. This was a violent *Macbeth*, performed across a huge traverse set in the Drill Hall of the Park Avenue Armory that was full of dirt which turned to mud in the rain of battle. Set pieces at either end represented the polar cultures that pulled at the play’s characters: a Christian altar for spiritual enlightenment at one end; at the other, pagan stones resembling those at Stonehenge, home to the witches and to primal urges. Performances embodied this view of medieval Scotland as a place where the dark urges of the flesh struggled against the forces of light, and such urgency was manifested best in the visceral performance of Branagh himself. “It’s not hyperbole to say that Branagh was born to play Macbeth,” wrote Marilyn Stasio

(*Variety*, 6/6/14). Linda Winer concurred: the performance provided a “harrowing and surprisingly straightforward experience” in which “Branagh . . . speaks the familiar lines with enormous depth and a splendid lack of self-consciousness” (*Newsday*, 6/5/14). Ben Brantley’s praise for the acting was unalloyed: this “thrilling” production, he wrote, directed with immense “care and intelligence,” “saturates everyone in its adrenaline. . . . There’s not a line spoken that doesn’t seem to have grown organically from the wicked hurly-burly on the stage” (*New York Times*, 6/5/14). Unsurprisingly, this action-packed thriller, played to the hilt by one of Britain’s great Shakespeareans, proved to be the most sought-after Shakespeare of the season, with tickets going for up to \$350.

In contrast, the *Macbeth* directed by Jack O’Brien at Lincoln Center was condemned for pandering to the lowest common denominator of American tastes. It had lavish sets, impressive special effects, but forgettable performances. “The atmosphere is populist and adventurous,” asserted Chris Jones in his largely negative review (*Chicago Tribune*, 11/21/13); “a certain ‘Game of Thrones’ hotness juices up this play for Broadway.” But television-inspired Shakespeare seldom wins critical plaudits. “The play’s not quite the thing in this high-concept revival, and it sure isn’t the acting,” complained Marilyn Stasio; “but there’s much lowbrow fun to be had from the spectacular visual and acoustic effects of . . . Thunder! Lightning! Blood! Gore! Witches! Shiny weapons!” (*Variety*, 11/22/13). In the tradition of populist Shakespeare productions in the nineteenth century, O’Brien, long a director of the Old Globe in San Diego and now noted more for his productions of popular musicals than of Shakespeare, emphasized showy entertainment at the expense of the text. His biggest gimmick was to cast the witches as seasoned actors in drag and to expand their role as omnipotent agents who deprived Macbeth of any autonomy or responsibility, thus eviscerating the psychological dimension of the tragedy that Cumming and Branagh took pains to foreground.

As a result, the performances, especially Ethan Hawke’s Macbeth, seemed to lack purpose. Hawke “is a tragic hero without drive; a protagonist who forgets whose name is on the marquee; a reactive, overly inactive Macbeth” (Chris Jones, *Chicago Tribune*, 11/21/13); a “phlegmatic Macbeth, too apathetic to convey the ferocious ambition driving this tragic hero’s murderous deeds. And his muffled diction makes hash of Shakespeare’s poetry” (Marilyn Stasio, *Variety*, 11/22/13). Diction was clearly an issue for reviewers of this production. “Hawke . . . swallows many of his lines,” lamented Ben Brantley (*New York Times*, 11/21/13). “His is a mumblecore Macbeth, an heir to the petulant Hamlet he played on screen years ago . . . [H]ooded in impenetrable sullenness, he never gives us entry to an interior life with which we might identify.” And without an interior life, this Macbeth was dramatically inert. In the view of Jesse Green, this was the fault of casting a naturalistic screen actor in a role requiring different acting skills: “much of the text is garbled . . . [Hawke’s] technique is simply not stage technique. He makes the film actor’s mistake of thinking between the lines instead of during them. . . . And the verse [is] thus emptied of thought” (*New York Magazine*, 11/21/13). Yet Hawke was not alone in seeming devoid of thought: “few of the performers . . . give you a clue as to why their characters act as they do” (Ben Brantley, *New York Times*, 11/21/13). The exception was the Lady Macbeth of British actress Anne-Marie Duff, who “does most of the heavy lifting. . . . She’s fierce enough for both of them. And when she opens her mouth, a trained voice comes out”

(Marilyn Stasio, *Variety*, 11/22/13). This last remark cuts to the heart of the matter: in the judgement of educated American audiences, British actors are still regarded as better trained to understand – and therefore to speak – Shakespeare’s language than American actors are.

ROYAL WELCOMES

The critical reception of these productions attests to the persistence of Americans’ preference for British actors and directors in performances of Shakespeare, and to the clash between high and low culture that such productions ostensibly represent. Although America by now has a home-grown Shakespeare firmly in place – witness the myriad summer Shakespeare festivals that dot the country, about which I shall say more later – a residual Anglophilia continues to affect how educated Americans view Shakespeare. Just as, in the nineteenth century, British actors dominated American stages with their performances of Shakespeare’s greatest roles, so British theatre companies, directors, and actors continue to hold fascination for American audiences today. The following paragraphs will provide evidence of this cultural bias.

First, major British companies regularly bring Shakespeare to North America on tours. The Royal Shakespeare Company (RSC) has been doing so almost since its formation in 1961, sometimes playing in multiple cities and at other times in only one, as in 2011, when New York’s Park Avenue Armory was reconfigured with a replica of the RSC’s Stratford stage for a six-week residency of the five plays currently in its repertory. Furthermore, since 2001 the University of Michigan has provided generous sponsorship of the RSC to do residencies in Ann Arbor. Since 1997, productions from Shakespeare’s Globe have been brought to America to great acclaim: witness the two productions that sold out on Broadway in the same season that Jack O’Brien’s *Macbeth* played at Lincoln Center. Ben Brantley could not resist drawing an unfavourable comparison: “The triumphantly straightforward Shakespeare’s Globe productions of *Twelfth Night* and *Richard III* now on Broadway, which trust so completely in the original words, make [O’Brien’s] *Macbeth* seem ponderous and gaudy” (*New York Times*, 11/21/13).

British actors and directors, too, are regularly invited to direct American Shakespeare productions in major cities such as Boston, New York, and Washington, DC. Old Vic director Michael Benthall, for example, staged a number of acclaimed Shakespeare productions on Broadway in the 1950s. Avant-garde director Steven Berkoff staged controversial productions of *Coriolanus* in 1988 and *Richard II* in 1994 at the Public Theater. More recently, director David Leveaux staged a *Romeo and Juliet* starring British actor Orlando Bloom on Broadway in the same season as the *Macbeths* discussed above. The Shakespeare Theatre Company in Washington has been particularly receptive to employing British talent to strengthen its offerings. In 1997, for example, the company invited Jude Kelly, one of Britain’s foremost female directors, to stage what came to be called the “photo negative” *Othello*, which turned the play’s racism inside out by casting British actor Patrick Stewart in the lead role, the only white actor in an otherwise African-American cast. RSC director Bill Alexander’s production of the two parts of *Henry IV* (in which the King was played by Keith Baxter, a British actor who had played Hal in Orson Welles’s *Chimes at Midnight* more than forty years earlier) garnered enthusiastic press for the Shakespeare Theatre

Company during its 2004 season; and in 2014, the company's production of *As You Like It* was staged by another RSC director, Michael Attenborough, who brought his own Rosalind with him in the person of Zoë Waites, who acted rings around her American cast-mates. In the words of one reviewer surprised by the intelligence of Waites's delivery, "Her understanding of how to express emotion through the thick vernacular of the Bard's dated language is exceptional" (Amanda Gunther, TheatreBloom.com, 11/4/14). The same praise was not accorded to Waites's fellow actors.

During the past half century, the RSC has been increasingly looked to as the model for how Shakespeare should be performed. In 1975 Homer Swander – a Shakespeare scholar at the University of California, Santa Barbara, who had led frequent trips to the UK since the mid-1960s for students and teachers to attend RSC productions – worked with Patrick Stewart to launch an initiative called "Actors from the RSC," whose goal was to bring groups of five actors to America each year to tour colleges and universities, offering week-long residencies with workshops in voice, movement, and verse-speaking. The highlight of each residency was a fast-paced performance of a full Shakespeare play, typically without scenery, with minimal costumes, and with stunningly inventive use of doubling. The fact that five actors could manage to play as many as forty roles in one performance demonstrated the ingenuity, versatility, and expert training that RSC actors brought to American shores.

In its early years, the touring programme featured a roster of actors that included many of the best the RSC had to offer: Stewart himself, Tony Church, Lisa Harrow, Ben Kingsley, Estelle Kohler, Barbara Leigh-Hunt, Richard Pasco, Ian Richardson, and David Suchet. When the touring programme became financially independent in 1985, however, its name was altered to "Actors from the London Stage" (AFTLS) because it began using non-affiliated actors. Although the current programme claims that actors come "from such prestigious companies as the Royal Shakespeare Company; the Royal National Theatre of Great Britain; and Shakespeare's Globe," a survey of recent tours reveals that not all the actors have such credentials. Nevertheless, most of them have degrees from prestigious British drama schools – The Royal Academy of Dramatic Art (RADA), the London Academy of Music and Dramatic Art (LAMDA), and the Guildhall School of Music and Drama foremost among them – and thus can boast of training in Shakespearean acting that many American actors envy. The AFTLS website advertises that the one-week residence programme is "an actor driven tour-de-force" in which "our classically trained actors devote a large part of their time to student interaction" and "can handle any English text with equal aplomb" (<http://shakespeare.nd.edu/actors-from-the-london-stage/history>). For forty years, dozens of American colleges and universities have been willing to pay large sums of money to bring these actors to their campuses for a week. The assumption is that the British know how to perform Shakespeare with an ease and a command that Americans lack, and that British actors are better trained in verse-speaking and in classical repertory than American actors are.

Indeed, American Shakespeare would not be what it is today without British initiative and expertise. The most prestigious Shakespeare festival in North America – the Stratford Festival in Ontario, Canada – was, in effect, a British import. Tyrone Guthrie, director of the Old Vic, was asked by local businessman Tom Patterson to found a Shakespeare repertory company in Stratford, Ontario, in 1952, modelled on the festival in Stratford-upon-Avon. He enlisted English set designer Tanya Moiseiwitsch,

with whom he had worked at the Old Vic, to design an amphitheatre with a five-sided thrust stage that would allow him to produce Shakespeare in the manner of Elizabethan playhouses. That revolutionary theatre, covered by a tent, was ready for the first season in 1953; in 1956, a permanent structure was built to encase it. Guthrie remained artistic director of the Festival until 1956, when he was succeeded by fellow Englishman Michael Langham. Its first seasons drew a host of well-known British acting talent. Alec Guinness, who played Richard III in the Festival's inaugural production, was soon followed by such actors as Maggie Smith, Alan Bates, Paul Scofield, James Mason, Peter Ustinov, John Neville, and Brian Bedford. These names drew crowds to the Festival and within a decade helped establish it as one of Canada's biggest cultural attractions.

British theatre professionals also founded Shakespeare companies in the US. Tina Packer and Kristin Linklater, both of whom emigrated to America in the 1970s, together founded Shakespeare & Company in Lenox, Massachusetts, in 1978, "with the idea of creating and running a theatre company that merged the power suits of British actors and American actors: the spoken word and the physical body" (<http://www.shakespeare.org/about-shakespeare-company-2/about-company/company-history>). The hierarchy in such a statement is clear: to do justice to Shakespeare, American actors need to be trained by British teachers steeped in the arts of classical theatre and verse-speaking. Securing a performance venue and teaching spaces at the former estate of novelist Edith Wharton in the Berkshires, Packer and Linklater succeeded in launching "one of the most unique and extensive actor training programs by a regional theatre in the country," grounded in Linklater's unique approach to freeing the "natural voice," an approach influenced by her training at LAMDA and by her study of the Alexander Technique (<http://www.shakespeare.org/about/company-history>). Shakespeare & Company productions now draw more than 75,000 patrons annually, and its education programme reaches more than 50,000 students with performances, workshops, and residencies.

A few years later, on the West Coast, Audrey Stanley founded Shakespeare Santa Cruz. Her teaching methods, like those of Packer and Linklater, foregrounded verse-speaking and primacy of the text. Stanley, who had studied drama at the University of Bristol and acting at the Bristol Old Vic Theatre School, had moved to California in the 1960s to do a PhD in Dramatic Art at the University of California, Berkeley. Hired to teach at the University of California, Santa Cruz, she soon was directing Shakespeare productions not only on campus but also at the Colorado and Oregon Shakespeare festivals. When asked by her dean, eminent Shakespearean C.L. Barber, to found a Shakespeare festival on campus, she persuaded the five RSC actors recruited by Homer Swander for his "Actors from the RSC" programme to perform at a fundraiser, at which she secured a commitment from Tony Church to perform *King Lear* for her festival's inaugural season in 1982. For that production, Stanley used not a conflation of the play's Quarto and First Folio texts, as had been the common practice for two centuries, but the complete First Folio edition of the play prepared by pioneering scholar Michael Warren, who had recently been hired away from the UK by the English Department at Santa Cruz. "Our festival should link the very latest in scholarship with the best and most adventurous theater practitioners we could assemble," averred Stanley, by which she in effect meant the best in British scholarship and theatre practices. For the festival's first season, she recalled, "the Royal

Shakespeare Company actors only had two weeks of rehearsal before performing for only two weeks,” at which point they were replaced by local actors. “So as a director, I had to use great ingenuity and flexibility. But having actors like Tony Church and Julian Curry really lifted the whole level of performance” (<http://www.donrothman.com/audrey-stanley-and-karen-sinsheimer-the-readiness-is-all>). Indeed, it never hurts to enlist the services of RSC actors to help get a new Shakespeare festival off the ground.

SHAKESPEAREAN POEL DANCING

The academic goals of these women – Tina Packer, Kristin Linklater, and Audrey Stanley – were shaped by a movement in Britain in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century to pare back the pictorial opulence of Victorian stagings in order to allow Shakespeare’s text to determine the pace and rhythms of staging, an aesthetic most notable in the work of William Poel (pronounced *pōl*). Founding the Elizabethan Stage Society in 1895, Poel attempted to re-create Elizabethan performance practices by using uncut texts, a unified acting ensemble without star actors, an open stage, and a swift pace of performance unencumbered by scenery and special effects. His work deeply influenced the Shakespeare productions mounted by Harley Granville-Barker at the Savoy Theatre in 1912 and 1914, which sought to capture the Elizabethan spirit of the plays by having actors speak the text with speed and clarity; by eschewing elaborate, historically accurate scenery in favour of curtains which could be swiftly moved into place, consequently reducing the length of each performance; and by extending the stage into the first few rows of the stalls to bring the actors closer to the audience.

A disciple of Poel, Ben Iden Payne, came to the US as an academic in 1913 and soon introduced Poel’s principles into the teaching of Renaissance drama at the School of Drama at Carnegie Tech (now Carnegie Mellon, Pittsburgh). In his first year as chair, he directed a production of *Hamlet* using the technique he came to describe as “modified Elizabethan staging” (Payne 1977: 157–73). Although he left Carnegie Tech in 1928, he returned every year – with the exception of the eight years he spent in England as director of the Stratford Memorial Theatre – to direct a Shakespeare play, twenty-six in all, until 1951. His emphasis on simplified staging, on foregrounding actors over scenery, and on the pace of their delivery made his productions more immediately accessible to audiences than traditional stagings of Shakespeare had ever done and quickly won adherents in the world of academic theatre. In 1934, during the second year of the Chicago World’s Fair, Payne and his predecessor at Carnegie Tech, Thomas Woods Stevens, produced radically cut, hour-long productions of seven Shakespeare plays that were staged in a crude reconstruction of Shakespeare’s Globe Theatre. These productions were so successful, especially among schoolchildren (Kegl 2011), that they inspired the building of a replica of the Globe for the California Pacific International Exposition in San Diego in 1935, at which the seven abridged Shakespeares were remounted. Their popularity ensured that the replica of the Globe would be preserved following the Exposition, and Payne returned to the Old Globe Theatre (as it came to be called) to direct its first Summer Shakespeare Festival in 1949.

From the 1940s to the 1960s, as guest director, Payne took his staging practices to universities across North America, including, among others, Colorado, Iowa, Michigan, Missouri, Texas, and Washington. At each of these places he demonstrated the

viability of performing Shakespeare as it was believed Elizabethans might have done; and at Texas, where he became department chair, he directed twenty-four Shakespeare plays before he retired. Of perhaps more lasting importance, however, was his residency at the University of Washington in the summer of 1930, when he directed *Cymbeline* and *Love's Labour's Lost* on a temporary Elizabethan-style thrust stage. For those productions, he employed as his stage manager a graduate student named Angus Bowmer, who five years later, as a young faculty member at Southern Oregon Normal School, was inspired to found his own Shakespeare festival based on Payne's principles for Elizabethan staging. It became the Oregon Shakespeare Festival.

THEATRICAL SPINACH

Away from urban centres of culture, another story has unfolded which makes sense only if one looks into the role that Shakespeare has played in the deep cultural history of American life. As Alden and Virginia Vaughan document in their book *Shakespeare in America*, Shakespeare became central to American education following the Civil War. Sections of his plays were reprinted in the McGuffey *Reader*, a collection of extracts from "the best American and English writers" which generations of children in upper-school grades were made to study, recite, and even memorize in the interest of learning "industriousness, honesty, and moral probity" (Vaughan and Vaughan 2012: 82; see also Burton 2011). As early as 1848 Henry Norman Hudson declared that Shakespeare's plays provided "a far better school of virtuous discipline than half the moral and religious books which are now put into the hands of youth" (1848: 1.79); and as literature gradually replaced the Bible as required reading, successive editions of McGuffey included more Shakespeare passages for the "special purpose" of "influenc[ing] the heart by sound moral and religious instruction" (Vaughan and Vaughan 2012: 83).

By 1920, sales of the *Reader* were estimated to have exceeded 122 million (Simon 1932: 26), thus ensuring that many American children had a common secondary school experience. Simultaneously, while colleges and universities had been slow to develop literature curricula beyond Greek and Latin, in the final decades of the century they reduced their emphasis on the classics in order to make room for teaching practical sciences; and into the void left by the classics came modern languages and English. Two editors, Henry Norman Hudson and William J. Rolfe, prepared series of individual Shakespeare plays for college use so that "instructors could finally ask their students to read whole Shakespeare plays in affordable editions"; and by 1906, "twenty-five of America's thirty liberal arts colleges offered at least one course" devoted exclusively to Shakespeare (Vaughan and Vaughan 2012: 86–87; see also Albanese 2011).

In a parallel development, educated men and women, but mostly women, were forming Shakespeare clubs all across the country to read the plays aloud, discuss them, and attend performances, both amateur and professional, for purposes of cultural self-betterment (Scheil 2012). Now firmly in "the possession of the educated portions of society," Shakespeare had become the country's moral and cultural arbiter; his plays were disseminated with the conviction that they would enlighten "average folk who were to swallow him not for their entertainment but for their education" (Levine 1988: 31). In the more colloquial words of columnist Gerald Nachman, recalling

how he had been force-fed Shakespeare in school, “Shakespeare becomes theatrical spinach: He’s good for you. If you digest enough of his plays, you’ll grow up big and strong intellectually like teacher” (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 11/30/79).

It was with just such conviction that Angus Bowmer launched the Oregon Shakespeare Festival (OSF) in 1935, the first such festival in North America. Bowmer saw an opportunity for a festival to spring from his work with students at Southern Oregon Normal School; and indeed, his first productions, largely amateur affairs – two performances of *Twelfth Night* and one of *The Merchant of Venice* – featured students and townspeople in key roles, *Twelfth Night* being a revival of a student production he had directed during the academic year. Thus the OSF sprang in part from a sense of educational mission; and it has retained its affiliation with what is now Southern Oregon University to this day, employing students in minor roles and, through the theatre programme, training them to be apprentices and eventually company actors.

Bowmer’s inspiration to build an outdoor amphitheatre within the shell of what had been a huge domed structure built for the Circuit Chautauqua educational movement has achieved the status of myth. Touring Chautauqua shows had gone into rapid decline during the Depression, for towns in rural America could no longer sustain them; and Ashland’s dome had been dismantled in 1933, leaving only its circular perimeter wall within which to create an Elizabethan-style theatre. What has not been discussed is the richly symbolic passing of a cultural mantle from Circuit Chautauqua to festival Shakespeare, which served much the same function, bringing a blend of entertainment and moral education to middle-class Americans in rural areas. Having begun in upstate New York as a Methodist summer camp for preachers, Chautauqua had grown into an industry that brought travelling speakers, preachers, musicians, and eventually plays to the hinterland. By the 1910s, there were Chautauquas in every state in the nation; and while church-going audiences tended to frown upon theatrical performance as a frivolous temptation to do the devil’s work, Shakespeare was allowed as an exception: his plays were thought to promote the same values as those in Scripture, and thus to be consistent with Chautauqua’s educational mission.

The road to acceptance of Shakespearean performance was paved by Ben Greet, an English impresario who produced Shakespeare in the spare manner of William Poel, with whom he had once worked. His company, the Ben Greet Players, toured American college campuses with open-air productions from 1902 to 1914, including a celebrated stop at the White House to perform for Theodore Roosevelt. Armed with Poel’s legacy of a simplified stagecraft that struck “a note of adult education and sober self-improvement” (Speaight 1954: 74), and claiming to have done “important missionary work for the stage for some years” (The Ben Greet Players publicity brochure c. 1911; cited by Canning 2005: 195), Greet was the ideal person to introduce theatre to audiences on the Circuit. Eschewing the elaborate scenery, costumes, make-up, and other distractions that God-fearing Christians objected to, his productions were warmly received on the Circuit Chautauqua in 1913–14: they seemed to be a logical progression from those dramatic orators who for years had inculcated in Chautauqua audiences lessons of civic virtue and moral probity by quoting Shakespeare. “Greet’s approach promised to improve their understanding of an author they already revered; consequently, uplift and entertainment would be served”

(Canning 2005: 198). Owing to Greet's success, theatre became a mainstay of the Circuit Chautauquas until they closed.

Bowmer's project to offer a summer festival of Shakespeare's plays in a simplified outdoor Elizabethan theatre thus took up where Chautauqua left off: indeed, in his autobiography, *As I Remember, Adam* (1975), he explicitly acknowledged that the walls of the old Chautauqua dome "stimulated the germinal idea of a Shakespearean festival" that would "revive the tradition of Chautauqua's summer festival" (quoted in Leary and Richard 2009: 8–9) and in early years served much the same regional middle-class audiences, offering them what Dennis Kennedy has called "edutainment" (1998: 182). When the Festival resumed with a pledge of support from the Ashland Chamber of Commerce, following a six-year hiatus during which Bowmer fought in World War II, the length of the season grew and the number of plays expanded. In the 1950s, Bowmer began to employ professional actors; the Elizabethan theatre was rebuilt and enlarged in 1959, modelled on London's 1599 Fortune Theatre; a new indoor theatre named after Bowmer was completed in 1972; a smaller space was carved out of an existing store-front in 1977 (to be replaced by a new flexible-space theatre in 2002); and inevitably, as the OSF was promoted as a tourist destination, more modern plays and musicals were added to its repertory, so that now the Festival typically includes only four Shakespeare plays in a season of a dozen productions. But Shakespeare remains the cornerstone of the repertory, as it does at those other festivals which have similarly broadened their theatre base; and the audiences who make the trek to Ashland – still overwhelmingly affluent, educated, and white – do so with the expectation, similar to that of audiences who flocked to Chautauqua entertainments a century ago, that Shakespeare will satisfy their quest for cultural and moral enlightenment.

Cultural tourism has become big business, as the OSF can attest. With a budget of over \$30 million, an economic impact of \$250 million on the Ashland area, and 400,000 tickets sold annually, the OSF is now the largest theatre company in the US. It also has spawned numerous offspring. In the decades following the war, the success of the OSF led to the founding of similar "destination" festivals in different regions of the United States, many of them with university affiliations (see Bennett 2005 on festivals as vacation destinations). The popularity of such festivals reveals that Shakespeare continues to satisfy the hunger of audiences for entertainment that will educate them. These festivals share many characteristics.

Like the OSF, they appeal to an educated audience – largely white, middle class, and prosperous enough to afford a theatre vacation – intent on bettering themselves through edutainment. Thus their productions tend to be theatrically conservative, unadventurous, and broadly accessible. Little is inventive or discomfiting to an audience: directors stay within the limits of orthodoxy in order to keep audiences flocking to the festivals and business coming into the towns that promote them. The entertainment that often precedes performances – Elizabethan dancing, music, juggling, and comedy acts – has its roots in American populism.

Moreover, Shakespeare festivals typically use a mix of Equity and non-Equity actors to form a single company: some are amateurs, drawn from theatre programmes at the universities that house the festivals; big names seldom appear on these stages; actors are overwhelmingly American in nationality and training; and many of them move from one festival to another, building Shakespearean credentials

as they go. Furthermore, plays run in repertory. This system helps to ensure that a festival can offer a variety of plays over a short period, and thus appeal to tourists who use festival attendance as the purpose of their summer vacation. The motto adopted by the OSF in the late 1940s encouraged visitors to “Stay Four Days, See Four Plays” and provided a model for all of the OSF’s progeny to sell themselves as tourist destinations.

In addition, these festivals are often located on university campuses – in theatres purpose-built for Shakespearean performance, often Elizabethan-style amphitheatres – and get some of their financial and managerial support from the host institution as well. Understandably, festivals with such affiliations share an educational mission with the host university. Productions frequently are linked to academic seminars and workshops; and theatre groups, rather like the enthusiastic members of those Shakespeare clubs that sprang up a century ago, are encouraged to attend festivals for a few days of play-going, lectures, discussions, and meetings with actors.

Finally, in line with their educational mission, festivals have increasingly promoted outreach programmes to regional secondary schools and educators, whether by bringing students to campus for special matinees, by sending actors into schools to perform scenes and offer workshops, or by hosting seminars for teachers. Again, the OSF pioneered such activities, with educational outreach extending as far as southern California: currently nearly a half of OSF audiences are student groups. Such outreach has become a mainstay of Shakespeare festivals, a feature they publicize to demonstrate their seriousness of purpose to ensure the public of their commitment to promoting cultural literacy in schoolchildren and (although unspoken) to groom future audiences in order to guarantee their own economic viability.

A brief survey of three of the most notable festivals will serve to demonstrate these shared characteristics. The Colorado Shakespeare Festival (CSF) performs plays in the Mary Rippon outdoor theatre at the University of Colorado in Boulder. Although the theatre was completed in 1939 specifically for Shakespeare productions, the brain-child of Professor George F. Reynolds, the Festival was not founded until 1958. It currently runs four or five plays in repertory during the summer, primarily but not exclusively Shakespearean, at both the outdoor theatre and the indoor university theatre. Its finances are linked to those of the university, and it employs both professional actors and student interns drawn from colleges across the country. Crucially, the CSF website boasts that “the festival’s education programs reach tens of thousands of school children each year through camps, classes, and outreach performances that connect them with the continuing tradition and importance of Shakespeare” (<http://www.coloradoshakes.org/about>).

The Utah Shakespeare Festival (USF), on the campus of Southern Utah University, was founded three years later, in 1961, by Fred C. Adams, for whom Angus Bowmer served as a mentor through the early stages of planning. In many ways, this festival is modelled on the successful formula of the OSF. Its first season offered three plays performed by “a small company of college students and townspeople . . . on an outdoor platform backed by a partial replica of an Elizabethan stagehouse” (<http://www.bard.org/about/history.html>). It has grown considerably in fifty years. Currently, an eight-play season runs from June to October, and plays – a mixture of Shakespeare and modern fare – are performed, as at Ashland, in an outdoor replica of the Globe and in a smaller indoor theatre. A new studio theatre is under construction. Ticket sales

now number 130,000 each season; the budget has increased from \$1,000 in 1961 to \$7 million today; and in 2012, the economic impact of the USF on the area was estimated to exceed \$35 million annually. With a mission statement that promises “life-affirming classic and contemporary plays . . . enhanced by interactive festival experiences which entertain, enrich, and educate” (<http://www.bard.org/about/mission.html>), the company offers summer camps in acting and technical theatre, and hosts various events for schoolchildren. As the USF is near several national parks, it also trades on tourism.

The New Jersey Shakespeare Festival has had signal success on the East Coast. Founded as a small summer-stock company in Cape May in 1963, and led by veteran actor and director Paul Barry, this festival moved in 1972 to Drew University, where a gymnasium had been converted into a performance space a few years earlier. In 1998 a state-of-the-art theatre was built for the festival on campus, allowing its productions to run from May to December; an outdoor stage located on a nearby campus was added in 2002 for summer performances. By the time the company was renamed the Shakespeare Theatre of New Jersey in 2003, it had won numerous awards and grown into a big commercial enterprise, with 300 staff and artists annually and a budget of over \$4 million. Like other successful Shakespeare festivals, its repertory has expanded to include non-Shakespearean plays, although, as at the OSF, the three or four Shakespeare plays performed each year remain the cornerstone of its repertory. With New York City just an hour away, the company can draw on a rich pool of professional talent, so the quality of productions is unusually high. The company’s success may also have been enhanced by the fact that, apart from the free Shakespeare in the Park during the summer, New York City has no major Shakespeare company; and the American Shakespeare Theatre – founded in Stratford, Connecticut, in 1955 as the US answer to the Stratford-upon-Avon and Stratford, Ontario, festivals – was beset with financial and artistic problems from the outset, and closed its doors in 1982 (Cooper 1986). The Shakespeare Theatre of New Jersey thus has little competition for audiences in an area of huge population density.

Moreover, *Shakespeare LIVE!*, the company’s flagship education project launched in 1997, has become the mid-Atlantic region’s largest Shakespeare touring company to target junior and senior high school students: by 2012, fully half a million students had benefited from the theatre’s education programmes. With these programmes so central to its project, it is not surprising that the company’s mission statement sounds like that of a Chautauqua lecturer intent on inculcating civilized values and cultural literacy in frontier Americans a century ago:

The artists and trustees of The Shakespeare Theatre of New Jersey bring dramatic masterpieces of the past to dynamic new life in order to inspire present lives as well as future visions for the world. We are a teaching theatre, fervently dedicated to providing transformative experiences through our live performance of the classics. We integrate education and learning into all our endeavors, while promoting literacy, a culture of enlightenment, a dedication to excellence, and a keen awareness of how the arts are a necessity to the health of the collective mind and soul of any great civilization.

(<http://www.shakespearenj.org/AboutUs/mission.html>)

Ben Greet himself could not have put it better. Shakespeare is good for you.

CULTURAL FUSION

In focusing on the intersecting influences of British theatrical practice and Protestant educational imperatives on the evolution of American festival culture, I have ignored other Shakespearean stages that have likewise been shaped by such influences. There is not enough space in one chapter to cover the plurality of stages on which Shakespeare is performed in America today. Major commercial and non-profit companies such as the Chicago Shakespeare Theater, the Shakespeare Theatre Company in Washington, DC, and the Old Globe in San Diego deserve an essay unto themselves, as does the movement begun by Joseph Papp when he launched his free New York Shakespeare Festival in 1954, which shortly thereafter moved to Central Park and since 2002 has been called Shakespeare in the Park. Hundreds of such summer festivals now populate North America, in large cities and small towns, in urban parks and village greens and forest glens – most of them free, many of them under the aegis of colleges and universities. All of them offer audiences a chance to spend an evening *al-fresco*, enjoying the efforts of actors, both amateur and professional, who share their belief that Shakespeare is an indispensable part of American culture.

While American Shakespeare festivals do not compete – either for audiences or artistically – with those British Shakespeare companies that visit American shores, they have developed a home-grown aesthetic and sense of mission that set them apart from what many Anglophile Americans view as the greater depth and skill of British actors, directors, and technicians. Although the British may have won the laurels for the superior productions they export and for the influence of pioneers such as Ben Greet, Ben Payne, Tyrone Guthrie, Audrey Stanley, Tina Packer, and Kristin Linklater on the development of Shakespearean stagecraft in North America, they do not dominate American Shakespeare production as they once did; and American festivals have evolved into a popular staple of cultural tourism and a significant force in public education.

Yet one visionary academic has sought to build bridges between British theatre training and American populism. In much the same way that Homer Swander formed a touring company of five RSC actors after taking his students to Stratford-upon-Avon to see how Shakespeare “should” be done, Professor Ralph Alan Cohen was inspired by frequent trips to Stratford-upon-Avon with his students to launch a touring company of young actors who would perform plays using what have come to be called “original practices”: playing in an empty space, in universal lighting, with a focus on telling the story clearly, simply, and swiftly. This company, founded in 1988 by Cohen and his former student Jim Warren and modelled on the popular AFTLS, was called the Shenandoah Shakespeare Express after their home at James Madison University in Virginia’s Shenandoah Valley. They began by doing residencies at colleges and universities throughout the eastern US, offering workshops in acting and movement and performing plays in big auditoriums, small theatres, dining halls, chapels, lobbies, and lecture rooms – wherever they found a space large enough to surround themselves with an audience. Furthermore, they charged only a fraction of what AFTLS was commanding for the same services. These actors, many of them fresh out of college, were often raw and unskilled; but their youth and exuberance made them popular among student audiences. As they gained skill and confidence, the company was invited to perform at the Folger Shakespeare Library’s Elizabethan theatre, the Shakespeare

Globe Museum in London, the Edinburgh Fringe Festival, and elsewhere in Europe, Canada, and the US (<http://www.americanshakespearecenter.com>).

In 1999, Cohen and Warren moved the company a short distance to Staunton, Virginia, where they partnered with Mary Baldwin College to create a unique master's degree programme in the teaching, acting, and directing of Shakespeare, and where, with great entrepreneurial skill, Cohen raised the money to build a replica of the Blackfriars, the indoor theatre used by Shakespeare's company starting in 1608. Staunton's Blackfriars Playhouse, a magnificent venue which opened in 2001 for intimate productions of plays by Shakespeare and his contemporaries, has a deep thrust stage with audience surrounding it on three sides. Plays are performed in universal lighting to ensure an immediate connection between actors and spectators; audience members are recruited to sit on the stage, where they are incorporated into the performance; and there is virtually no scenery.

In 2002 Cohen and Warren cast a company of resident actors to perform at the Blackfriars while the younger company toured. This resident company has matured into a resource – the only one in North America – for performing Renaissance drama throughout the year. With an audacious spirit of invention, in 2005 the company debuted its Actors' Renaissance Season – now an annual event which attempts to replicate Elizabethan rehearsal practices by having actors prepare plays for performance with no directors, no designers, and few group rehearsals: just actors figuring out their parts on a bare stage with only two weeks to mount a production. This fusion of a British “original practices” aesthetic and training with an American spirit of exploration is producing noteworthy results.

And yet the American Shakespeare Center, as it was renamed in 2005, is not a rival to the RSC or Shakespeare's Globe. It works with a budget miniscule compared with those of British state-subsidized companies, draws its actors from an American pool (including recent graduates from the Mary Baldwin programme), casts no big names, and performs with more exuberance than subtlety. But, under Cohen's and Warren's direction, the actors' comfort in speaking Shakespearean English, their crisp articulation, their speed and clarity of delivery – goals of paramount importance in British actor training, but seldom achieved by American actors – have begun to rival those of the best British companies. At the same time, performances preserve the spirit of American populism and festive occasion by beginning with light entertainment – Elizabethan dancing, mime, clowning, games – and continuing them during intermissions, recalling how Shakespeare was performed in America through much of the nineteenth century. The company thus achieves an easy blend of high and low culture which is right at home in American Shakespeare, but with which British Shakespeare companies, in so many ways more technically accomplished, would not wish to compete.

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CHAPTER FOUR

SHAKESPEARE IN LATIN AMERICA

Appropriation politics and performance practices

*Maria Clara Versiani Galery and
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Central and South America encompass not only a vast geographical area, but also one of great cultural diversity. This is an important point to bear in mind in the organization of this chapter, for its broad scope necessarily requires a selection of material. The emphasis of the discussion will be on Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico, where some of the most noteworthy productions of Shakespeare have occurred. The chapter will focus mainly on Brazil, however, in order to provide a more detailed examination of the variety of approaches to the appropriation politics and performance practices of Shakespearean drama in a single Latin American nation. But no discussion of Shakespeare in the Americas can leave out the Caribbean, a region where *The Tempest* has had a strong – and post-colonial – resonance with the work of various writers, culminating with the appropriation of Caliban as a symbol of Latin American identity.

Appropriation is a term that causes discomfort to some scholars, who tend to see it as a corollary of colonization. As an aesthetic and cultural phenomenon, appropriation is characteristic of approaches that move away from blind reverence, raising questions of individual agency and authority. Although Julie Sanders makes a distinction between adaptation and appropriation – pointing out that “appropriation signals a more decisive journey away from the informing source into a wholly new cultural product and domain” (2006: 27) – the boundaries between the two are unstable, and the procedures often collide and slip into each other. Both terms appear in this discussion, acknowledging the different degrees of freedom taken by theatre practitioners in their explorations of what Shakespeare can mean for the distinct societies that compose Latin America.

Whereas performances of Shakespeare in Central and South America did not occur until the first decades of the nineteenth century, the well-educated élite were certainly familiar with the plays in translated or English editions. By the end of the eighteenth century, some of the works had already been translated into Portuguese and Spanish directly from English sources; but versions of Jean-François Ducis’s neoclassical adaptations continued to be popular and widely circulated.

Hamlet occupies a prominent place in the early productions. It was the first Shakespearean play produced in Argentina, in 1821; and its text was based on a translation

of Ducis into Spanish by the Peruvian Luis Ambrosio Morante, who also acted the leading role. Throughout the 1820s, at least two other productions, based on versions of Ducis, were mounted in Buenos Aires: *Otelo*, in 1822, and *Julia y Romeo*, in 1825. In the latter half of the decade, the Argentine capital became acquainted with a new type of adaptation, this time in operatic form. Rossini's *Otello*, presented by the company of Pablo Rosquellas, was performed in 1827 and during the two subsequent seasons, in 1828 and 1829.

The most reliable documentation regarding early performances of the plays in Brazil refers to the work of João Caetano (1808–63), credited with being the first Brazilian actor to put on Shakespeare. He performed *Hamlet* in 1835, but his *Otelo* of 1837 is considered the greatest role of his career, even though its source was a Portuguese version of Ducis's text. He also played in *Shylock ou A terrível vingança de um Judeu* (*Shylock, or the Terrible Vengeance of a Jew*) and in *Macbeth*, again in the first half of the nineteenth century. According to José Roberto O'Shea, Caetano's first rendering of *Hamlet* was based on a translation of the text directly from the English by Oliveira Silva. Yet the public did not appreciate the play. When Caetano performed Ducis's version translated into Portuguese five years later, however, "the same public that had rejected Shakespeare's translated [play] from English applauded the imitation" (O'Shea 2005: 30).

Hamlet was also the first work of Shakespeare to be staged in Mexico, again in 1821, but information regarding the production is scarce. Decades later, in 1886, a four-act rendering of the play was successfully performed in Mexico City, in a version that introduced some alterations to the plot but was generally well received. This was a verse translation by Manuel Pérez Bibbins and Francisco López Carvajal, who referred to their work as an *arreglo* (adaptation) of the *celebre drama trágico* (famous tragedy) by William Shakespeare. A significant modification is introduced to the ending of the play: it is Horatio, rather than Hamlet, who kills the King, giving him the poisoned cup meant for the Prince. This adaptation was dedicated to Leopoldo Burón, the Spanish actor who moved to Mexico in the last decades of the nineteenth century and performed the title-roles in works such as *Othello* and *Hamlet* (Modenessi 2001; Tronch-Pérez 2005).

Also significant for the reception of Shakespeare in South and Central America were visiting European touring companies in the latter half of the nineteenth century. They came from Spain, Italy, and France; and they included some Shakespearean drama in their repertory. The Italian companies were particularly successful, impressing local audiences with renowned casts. Some of the performers were Adelaida Ristori, playing Lady Macbeth in 1869; Tommaso Salvini, acting in *Othello* and *Hamlet* in 1871; and Giacinta Pezzana, performing as Hamlet in 1874, anticipating the famous cross-dressed rendering of the Prince by Sarah Bernhardt.

CALIBAN AND LATIN AMERICAN IDENTITY

In 1900, the Uruguayan essayist José Enrique Rodó published an influential monograph entitled *Ariel*, written in response to the imperial expansion of the United States south of its borders after Mexico's defeat in the Mexican–American War (1846–48). Rodó proposed an antithetical opposition between Europe and North America, identifying Ariel with the former and Caliban with the latter. His central argument was

that Latin Americans should take Europe, rather than the United States, as a model for spiritual and intellectual development. These two characters from *The Tempest*, Ariel and Caliban, thus appear as allegorical figures in the protracted quest for a Latin American identity.

Before Rodó's identification of the United States with Caliban, two other Hispanic authors had already made the connection: the Nicaraguan *modernista* poet Rubén Darío and the Argentine Paul Groussac. The image of Caliban conjured by them draws on a vision of Shakespeare's character as a coarse, primitive force. Rodó has a similar notion of Caliban. It is in opposition to this rough figure that he elaborates an emblematic, elevated image of Ariel to represent the goals Latin American intellectuals ought to pursue:

Ariel is the ideal toward which human selection ascends, the force that wields life's eternal chisel, effacing from aspiring mankind the clinging vestiges of Caliban, the play's symbol of brutal sensuality.

(Rodó 1988: 32)

Rodó's *Ariel* was influential throughout Spanish-speaking America to the extent that, in the early twentieth century, an ideological current known as *arielismo* – an affirmation of Latin American cultural unity and integrity – derived from the ideas presented by the Uruguayan writer. Nevertheless, in view of the Cuban Revolution and further historical developments, *Ariel* provoked the reaction of Roberto Fernández Retamar, one of Cuba's most distinguished intellectuals and president of the Casa de las Americas. Retamar's response was the essay "Calibán," written in 1971, where Shakespeare's "savage and deformed slave" is identified as a *mestizo* – a racially mixed figure compounded of the African, the Native American, and the European. The option towards a *mestizo* heritage, particularly one that includes non-European strains such as the African and the Native American, clearly indicates a refusal to imitate the metropolitan centres. What is proposed, instead, is the contamination of the culture of the former colonial powers with that of other nations which have been subjugated by the European colonizer. It is from the perspective of this *mestizo* heritage that Retamar asks: "What is our history, what is our culture, if not the history and the culture of Caliban?" (1989: 14).

Retamar's re-articulation of Caliban to express the voice and perspective of the oppressed is not unique in the Caribbean, where the best-known appropriations of *The Tempest* include the works of the Barbadian novelist George Lamming and of Aimé Césaire, from Martinique. But Retamar's vision of Caliban had a far-reaching, indeed hemispheric impact, signalling hybridity and the displacement of Europe as centre and origin of culture. This perspective becomes evident in the appropriation of Shakespeare by the countries discussed here: what emerges, in the performances of the plays, is a refashioning of the playwright through local voices and themes.

ARGENTINE RECONFIGURATIONS OF SHAKESPEARE

Touring with the Italian companies in the late nineteenth century, the celebrated Italian actor Ernesto Rossi made repeated visits to Buenos Aires, performing in *Othello*,

King Lear, *Macbeth*, *Richard III*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *Coriolanus*. The virtuosity of his performances strongly impressed the Argentines, and affected writers of the 1880s known as *la generación del ochenta* (the eighties generation), who made allusions to the plays in their works. Miguel Cané, a member of the *ochenta* group, translated *Henry IV* and wrote a prologue, *El Falstaff de Shakespeare*, that was also published separately.

In 1904, Ermete Zacconi visited the River Plate region of Argentina and Uruguay. It was the first time the Italian actor had performed in South America, and his repertory included *Othello*, *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, and *The Taming of the Shrew*. This triumphant season once again stirred the local literary circles; the Uruguayan playwright Florencio Sánchez established personal contact with the actor and was his constant companion in Montevideo. Sánchez's best-known play, *Barranca abajo* (*Down the Gully*), has many points of contact with *King Lear*, one of Zacconi's great roles.

Productions of Shakespeare with an Argentine cast produced in the first decades of the twentieth century include *The Tempest*, carried out by the company of Vittore-Pomar in 1924, who toured extensively in the Americas. In Buenos Aires, various plays were staged at the Teatro del Pueblo, which operated on the site where the Teatro General San Martín now stands. These include *Twelfth Night* (1924), *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1936), *The Merchant of Venice* (1940), *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1941), and *A Comedy of Errors* (1942). Indeed, a great variety of works from the canon were staged in the Argentine capital throughout the twentieth century, and the Teatro General San Martín – a large cultural complex located in the Avenida Corrientes, at the heart of the Buenos Aires theatre district – became an important reference for productions of Shakespeare from the 1960s onwards. The plays are also staged at other venues in the city and elsewhere in Argentina.

The work of Jorge Luis Borges, whose writing includes citations and a wide variety of references to the English poet, is a significant and unique contribution to the Argentine Shakespearean tradition. Labyrinthine incursions are conducted by Borges into Shakespeare. These occur not only in short stories such as “Everything and Nothing” or “Shakespeare’s Memory,” but also in numerous citations. For instance, in the well-known essay “The Argentine Writer and Tradition,” Borges addresses the issue of nationalism in literature, and ponders that:

Shakespeare would have been astonished if anyone had tried to limit him to English subjects, and if anyone told him that, as an Englishman, he had no right to write *Hamlet*, with its Scandinavian subject matter, or *Macbeth*, on a Scottish theme.

(Borges 1999: 423)

As an author whose poetics is centred on the reading and rewriting of tradition, Borges makes the claim that artists and intellectuals who move and create within a certain tradition, while maintaining a distinct identity, occupy a privileged position because their distance allows for a differentiated perspective. This claim has significant resonances regarding the appropriation of Shakespeare in Latin America. As Borges sees it,

Argentines, and South Americans in general . . . can take on all the European subjects, take them on without superstition and with an irreverence that can have, and already has had, fortunate consequences.

(Borges 1999: 423–26)

If Shakespeare's written word has been part of the universe that Argentines have chosen as their literary heritage, the theatrical tradition which inscribes his drama is an entirely different matter. But a distinctive or localized approach to Shakespeare is already present during the military dictatorship that lasted from 1976 to 1983, a period also known as the "Dirty War." It was a time of censorship and political oppression, when people were arbitrarily arrested and held without being formally charged. Many were tortured and never seen again. In Argentina, the number of the "Disappeared" is calculated as nearing 30,000 people. As the classics were considered a safe means of alluding to the current political situation, encoding subtexts that would be understood by the audience, some theatre practitioners staged Shakespeare in a manner akin to Jan Kott's vision of the plays as political allegories.

In 1980, *Hamlet* was staged at the Teatro Municipal General San Martín, in a production directed by Omar Grasso, and the title-role was performed by one of the country's greatest actors, Alfredo Alcón (1930–2014). Luis Gregorich translated the play in a clear and concise manner, approximating its language to the current Argentine *castellano* and underscoring the political subtext drawn from the play. This *Hamlet* highlighted the play's elements of political criticism, and took place under the auspices of an institution funded by the government and the private sector.

Other Argentine adaptations of Shakespeare – or "tradaptations," to use Quebec playwright Michel Garneau's apt coinage – to criticize the regime during the Dirty War include two works by Ricardo Somigliana: *Macbeth* (1980) and *Ricardo III sigue cabalgando* (*Richard III Rides On*, 1986). Somigliana (1932–87) was an important playwright who participated in the Teatro Abierto (Open Theatre) movement of cultural resistance against the military junta. While he basically followed Shakespeare's plotlines in his two adaptations, he made cuts and introduced modifications, echoing the rhetoric of terror and paranoia characteristic of the Argentine dictatorship period. In both plays, the bodies of the murdered pile up on stage throughout the performance, adding to the spectacle of violence. Somigliana's *Macbeth* was staged in 1980, under the direction of the author, in a semiprivate manner in a suburban venue, and it received little publicity. It was an act of courage to stage a work that presented a questioning of the military regime through such clear metaphors of violence: the ruthless methods employed by Macbeth to safeguard power were not unlike those employed by the Argentine military. For example, the violent and humiliating interrogation of Lady Macduff unmistakably alludes to the methodic procedures of torture employed by the military police.

The end of the dictatorship by no means diminished the interest in Shakespeare. Instead, local productions proliferated: in 1991, for the first time, ten renderings of Shakespeare's plays were made available simultaneously for the public in Buenos Aires, in productions that ranged from commercial to experimental theatre. Such diversity was considered a phenomenon by the local press; and Griselda Gambaro, the distinguished playwright and author of *La señora Macbeth*, commented that the Argentine

renditions of Shakespeare testified to “the most finished expression of [their] cultural hybridity.” She explained further: “Hybridity does not acknowledge borders, it works by appropriation, generating an autonomous product”; and she claimed that:

every once in a while, the brave people of our theatre will animate his texts so that we recognize, in the cannibal product of cultural hybridity, not his face, but ours.
(Gambaro, quoted in Mazas 1991: 3)

Such is the case with *Hamlet, o la guerra de los teatros* (*Hamlet, or the War of the Theatres*), a play staged in 1990. Ricardo Bartís, the director, is one of the most innovative presences in the theatre of Buenos Aires that emerged during the period of redemocratization beginning in 1983. He chose to stage *Hamlet* because of its paradigmatic status as a classic of Western theatre. The term “War of the Theatres” – which refers to the poetomachia or confrontation between the various London theatre companies in the period 1596–1605 – suggested to Bartís a self-referential *mise en scène* of the play, where the actors would deliver their lines in overt awareness of the various levels of representation underlying the text. Concerned about the saturation of daily life with a great variety of “dramatic,” role-playing situations, Bartís wanted his version of *Hamlet* to make a statement about the brutal theatricality underlying the political structure of his country.

Bartís’s *Hamlet* is a “chamber version” of Shakespeare’s play that comprises twelve scenes and eight characters: Hamlet, Claudio, Gertrudis, El muerto (The Dead) or Hamlet’s father, Polonio, Ofelia, Laertes, and El actor, a role doubled by the actor who plays Polonio. El muerto, the corpse of King Hamlet, has no spoken lines but remains on stage throughout the performance. As Bartís sees it, El muerto has a fundamental role, considering that the dead King unleashes the action, producing the eruption of the play’s potential energies. This omnipresent body demanding revenge was interpreted as the ghost of President Juan Perón. Although Bartís insisted that he had no wish to create immediate correspondences between political and theatrical levels of representation, he also acknowledged that the Argentines have a lot of difficulty burying their dead. The choice to stage the unburied established a striking political metaphor for the victims of the dictatorship, as did the many pieces of women’s shoes present on stage throughout the performance.

The memory of the Disappeared still haunts contemporary Argentina; its echoes are heard in Gambaro’s *La señora Macbeth*, a play that complies with most of the themes, elements, and motifs of its Shakespearean source, yet takes an altogether different direction. It is reduced to six scenes and to the characters of Lady Macbeth, the three Witches, and the Ghost of Banquo, which appears briefly. The play was staged in Buenos Aires in 2004 under the acclaimed direction of Pompeyo Audivert, with Cristina Banegas playing the title-role, one of the great performances of her distinguished career. This work signals a new course in the work of the Argentine playwright. Unlike the evident socio-political criticism of her previous texts, the references to politics in *La señora Macbeth* underlie the text, yet are more oblique. Sharon Magnarelli claims that “the Gambaro text is primarily a response to the events of the Dirty War and the abuses of power at that point of history,” which appear highlighted by Audivert’s astute directorial perception (2008: 371). Gambaro’s reconfiguration of Shakespeare’s plot also underscores issues of gender and patriarchy, since Señora

Macbeth is unable to question, escape, or stop the acts of violence unleashed by the seizure of power through illicit actions, mirroring the lamentable events in Argentina during the 1970s and 1980s.

Another wound that remains open in contemporary Argentina is the Malvinas/Falklands War (1982), to which various allusions can be found in Luis Cano's play *Hamlet, de William Shakespeare*. The structure of this intertextual, postmodern collage reflects on contemporary theatrical practices, on authorship and ownership, as well as on the Malvinas/Falklands War, fought during the Argentine military dictatorship. Shakespeare's play is thus "deterritorialized" and appropriated to comment on the armed conflict against the United Kingdom. When staged in Buenos Aires in 2004, at the Teatro Sarmiento, a venue dedicated to experimental productions, the setting recalled a "military headquarters in the open air" covered in "rust and saltpeter." References to the war over the archipelago include Hamlet's statement that he had been murdering Englishmen, and that there were "seven hundred soldiers (roughly the number of Argentine casualties) fighting for a piece of land not large enough to bury them" (Montezanti 2005: 68). The many occurrences of the word *sheep* allude, contiguously, to the islands. Hamlet's "¡Qué pedazo de mierda es el hombre!" ("What a piece of shit is man") speech conveys the overall tone of this gloomy exploration of Shakespeare.

The productions above illustrate ways in which Shakespeare's works provide a powerful and productive paradigm for Argentine theatre practitioners. Treated as a signifying matrix, the canon is appropriated as it becomes a resource for the projection of national themes, aesthetics, and concerns.

DISTINCTIVE MEXICAN PERSPECTIVES

Mexican explorations of Shakespeare from the twentieth century onwards have also yielded thought-provoking renditions of his works. Generally, the canon has been held as object of reverence and the plays are staple fare with some theatre companies. Throughout the twentieth century, a variety of works were made available locally, following different directorial approaches. It is a fallacy to say that some stagings have taken a "traditional" direction, given that Shakespeare's tradition lies elsewhere. One of Mexico's foremost Shakespearean scholars and also a translator, Alfredo Michel Modenessi, identifies the 1990s as the time when Mexican directors started mounting the plays through more "disruptive or dissident approaches" (2005: 106), deconstructing the myth of Shakespeare's universal appeal and appropriating the texts by blending in distinctive local characteristics. While conventional – and commercial – approaches to the works are still undertaken so as to offer cultural entertainment, radical appropriations are also conducted, providing highly effective and striking visions of Shakespeare.

An intriguing intercultural *Hamlet* was conceived in 1990, rendering the play in an indigenous language, P'urhépecha, by members of the native community of Zacán. This venture was the brain-child of Juan Carlos Arvide and took place in the state of Michoacán. A fascinating aspect of this appropriation, which illustrates how Shakespeare's canon offers many possibilities, is that it occurred in a remote village rather than in an urban context. The project was backed by the Fondo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes (National Fund for Culture and Arts), aiming at the revitalization

of the P'urhépecha language and culture, which only recently acquired a writing system and previously relied on the spoken word for the preservation of its memory and traditions. To prevent its disappearance, several initiatives have been undertaken. A written form of the language was devised, transcribing its sound systems to the Latin alphabet. Furthermore, texts exterior to the indigenous tongue, such as the Bible, have been translated into it. In 1989, the “Hamlet P'urhépecha” project was presented, with the aim of translating and adapting the play into the local context. *Hamlet* was chosen because of its similarity to a local, pre-Columbian legend. The adaptation was located in the ancestral region of Zacapu, and native names were given to the characters. Many incidents of the source text were eliminated, and the final version “included only what was left after editorial work in pursuit of a text matching the cultural framework” (Modenessi 2001: 161). The translation relied on Spanish versions of the play, rather than on English editions.

In a much different vein, an important name linked to local appropriations of Shakespeare is that of Jesusa Rodríguez, a Mexican performance artist, activist, and playwright. Diana Taylor and Roselyn Costantino refer to her *espetáculos* as creations that “challenge traditional classification, crossing with ease generic boundaries” (2003: 209). Moreover, as an uncompromising and confrontational feminist artist, Rodríguez has, for over three decades, been an important presence on the cultural, political, and social stages of Mexico. She directed two versions of *Macbeth*, spaced twenty years apart. The first, done in 1981 and called *¿Como va la noche, Macbeth?* (*How is the night going, Macbeth?*), pursued an “exploration of sleeplessness as a political metaphor” (Modenessi 2005: 108). She continued in the same vein with her 2002 rendition of the play, simply called *Macbeth*, put on at the Teatro Julio Castillo in Mexico City. The latter production has been viewed as a “parody, drawing an analogy with the new presidential couple, Vicente Fox and Martha Sahagún” (Azor 2013: 216). Clarissa Malheiros and Arturo Ríos, important names in the Mexican performing arts, played the leading roles. The translation was by Aurora Luz.

In this version, a king-size bed placed in the centre of the stage demands the attention of the audience. The opening of the play, set in the contemporary period, is very intense, underscoring Shakespeare's violent theme: the characters march across the stage in procession, shouting “Macbeth has murdered sleep!” as each of them throws a knife into a wooden board on the floor. Three uniformed servants work in the bedroom of an upper-class residence, where they meticulously make the bed, scrub the bath-tub, and straighten the objects on a dressing-table. A doll figures prominently among the props, which also include bottles of sleeping-pills, a fax machine, and a remote control for the television. Above the bed, on a crucifix, is mounted a live Christ figure – who turns out to be King Duncan – bearing stigmata and a crown of thorns, one of the various, controversial references to Catholicism in the performance:

the use of Catholic icons, so appreciated by the new governmental party – the New Action Party – provoked many violent reactions in the audience, presenting a leftist view about a watershed moment.

(Azor 2013: 216)

Servitude in a very marked system of social class, where one class exists to serve another, is emphasized in the performance, as the maids help the couple undress and

get into bed. The scenic image of the three women emerging from beneath the covers when the Macbeths try to sleep, as bare-breasted revolutionaries, can be pointed out as one of the most effective. The servants, in tatters in a later scene, are revealed as the Weird Sisters, as they sing while washing, wringing, and hanging rags on a clothes-line. In contrast to the Macbeths, who are light-skinned, the actresses who play the Weird Sisters have local indigenous features, thus underscoring issues of class and race. The Porter, in act 2, scene 3, is performed as a *campesino* (peasant), wearing a sombrero and a straw cloak. Simultaneously endearing yet sinister, he has a water tap attached to his belt, which he uses to urinate into a pot.

In this visually stunning production, the colours red, white, and black dominate the palette, while bloody images proliferate. Action takes place on different levels of the stage, and it includes even the audience, who are given branches that are waved to signify Birnam Wood coming to Dunsinane. References are made to the violence of contemporary politics: images of the 2001 attack on the World Trade Center appear on the television screen the morning after the murder of King Duncan, after the lines “The night has been unruly. Where we lay/Our chimneys were blown down” (2.3.53–4) are spoken by a newscaster. Other television images shown during the performance include well-known icons of twentieth-century violence, such as the Vietnam War and the Holocaust. In this manner, the bloodshed shown on stage is linked to the world at large; it is not endogenous to the Mexican context.

Mexican appropriations of Shakespeare have also been performed for global audiences, and no other site is more representative of such occurrences than the Globe to Globe International Theatre Festival in London. As part of the Cultural Olympiad in 2012, the two parts of *Henry IV* were put on at the Festival by two Latin American companies, La Compañía Nacional de Teatro México and Argentina’s Elkafka Espacio Teatral, respectively. Initially conceived as street theatre, the energetic Mexican rendition of 1 *Henry IV* was directed by Hugo Arrevillaga. Its staging at the Globe received very enthusiastic reviews for portraying the “ebb and flow of life” (Modenessi, quoted in Brown 2014) and “the instability of a world stuck in patterns of destructive violence through internecine struggle” (Brown 2014). The direction, along with Modenessi’s translation, explored the affinity between the political history of Henry’s England and Mexico’s corruption and violence. The boisterous performance encouraged audience interaction, and it received “no fewer than four curtain calls” each time (Rutter 2013: 183). Although both plays cover common ground, the approaches were different: the Argentine version of Part 2, directed by Rubén Szuchmacher and translated by Lautaro Vilo, was more restrained; but the two productions generally worked well together, bringing a Latin American perspective to the history plays at the Globe Theatre, a site “which claims a unique performative relationship with Shakespeare’s texts” (Worthen 2003: 98).

BRAZILIAN RENDITIONS IN MULTIPLE CONTEXTS

After João Caetano’s death in 1863, it was not until the late 1930s that Shakespeare, produced with a local cast, reappeared on Brazilian stages. In 1938, Paschoal Carlos Magno founded the amateur group Teatro do Estudante do Brasil (TEB), and their first production was *Romeu e Julieta*. One of the many innovations that the production

brought to the national theatre was the use of Brazilian Portuguese as the language spoken on stage: previously, it had been customary for Brazilian actors to speak with a Lisbon accent. But the groundbreaking success of TEB was to take place ten years later with its production of *Hamlet*, directed by Wolfgang Hoffmann Harnish, a German director who had emigrated to Brazil. Contemporary critics affirm that the 1948 production of *Hamlet* simply “took over” Rio de Janeiro. Performances were sold out for the entire run, and watching the play became a trendy cultural experience. One of the assets of the production was the individual performance of Sérgio Cardoso, then only twenty-two years old, as Hamlet. He went on to become a successful actor and founded his own company in 1956, when he directed the play and performed the title-role once again.

During the turbulent years of the Brazilian dictatorship period (1964–85), mass media and artistic activities experienced the weight of oppression. A great number of intellectuals and artists were pursued by the secret police, arrested, and tortured. Censorship became extremely rigid after the promulgation in 1968 of AI-5 (Institutional Act Number Five), which, among other severe repressive measures, prohibited any kind of political activity against the government. In spite of these grim circumstances, the theatre became one of the main platforms of resistance against the authoritarian military rule, and a series of provocative leftist-oriented productions dominated the Brazilian theatre scene. For obvious reasons, Bertolt Brecht’s politically engaged dramaturgy and the theatre practices developed by Augusto Boal for the politicized Arena Theatre were used on a larger scale than Shakespeare’s plays to challenge the status quo. During the period of redemocratization, and from then onwards, however, Shakespeare assumed a position at the top of the political agenda.

By the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, theatrical opposition to the military regime was divided into two main groups with different ideological positions: the centre-leftists, who preferred producing “Brazilian texts or foreign classics with relevance to the current national reality” (Rocha 2005: 39); and the radical leftists who privileged left-wing theatre experiments based on premises developed by Brazilian and European modernist avant-garde theoreticians, mainly Oswald de Andrade, Brecht, and Antonin Artaud. Representing the first group, Antunes Filho, one of the most respected Brazilian stage directors, presented *Júlio César* in 1966 at the Teatro Municipal de São Paulo; and, in 1970, Fauzi Arap staged *Macbeth*, casting Paulo Autran, Brazil’s most distinguished actor, in the title-role. Both productions were artistic and commercial disasters; and they failed in their critical intent to express indignation against the repressive power of the state.

From 1968 to 1973, Brazil witnessed the Milagre Econômico (Economic Miracle), artificial economic growth that had provided internal and external legitimacy to the military regime. Paradoxically, however, the economic development of the period widened the gap between rich and poor people. Starting in 1974, the breakdown of the Milagre Econômico made General Ernesto Geisel (1974–79), the fourth president of the dictatorship government, an unpopular political figure. In such circumstances, *Coriolano* – directed by Celso Nunes, with Paulo Autran as producer and protagonist – was staged in 1974 to suggest a parallelism between the popular discontent and class struggle in early Republican Rome and the Brazilian socio-political realities of the 1970s. Nevertheless, as Roberto Ferreira da Rocha has aptly put it, the production,

which was idealized to constitute a critical reading and show the protagonist as a villain, ended up by glorifying Coriolanus (2005: 49).

Whereas none of the politicized renderings of Shakespeare's plays mentioned above reached their proposed goals, Boal's "cannibalized version" of *The Tempest* constituted the first Shakespearean production that effectively denounced the cruel measures of the military rule. Titled *A tempestade*, Boal's version was written in 1979 according to the tenets of his poetics of the oppressed (Boal 1993); it ran in Rio de Janeiro between December 1981 and February 1982. Regardless of its Manichean approach, the importance of Boal's critical reflection on Shakespeare's text has been extensively recognized because of its wider implications. According to Marlene Soares dos Santos, it includes a discussion on colonialism and neo-colonialism and their different mechanisms of oppression, shedding light on the predicament of Latin American nations forced "to fight against the old and new colonizers, Europeans and North Americans" (Santos 2002: 50–51). Furthermore, the sharp-edged discourse voiced by Caliban, analysed in detail by Aimara da Cunha Resende (1999) and by Sirlei Santos Dudalski and Mariana De-Lazzari Gomes (2012), alludes to remote and immediate consequences of colonialist oppression in Brazil. Two years later, near the end of the dictatorship regime, *Romeu e Julieta* (1984), a successful adaptation of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, was presented in São Paulo, directed by Antunes Filho, who borrowed Roland Barthes's antidogmatic love-discourse to undermine authoritarian postures.

Shakespeare's growing popularity in Brazil started in the 1980s, when two politicized TV Globo miniseries brought him closer to the masses. *Romeu e Julieta* (1980), adapted by Walter George Durst, and *Otelo de Oliveira* (1983), adapted by Aguinaldo Silva – both productions directed by Paulo Afonso Grisolli – combined Shakespearean themes with Brazilian social realities and problems such as poverty, violence, and issues of class, race, and gender. These popular renderings for the small screen represented a turning-point in Shakespearean performance in Brazil: "it was Shakespeare, but its components were Brazilian" (Resende 2002: 19).

Grisolli's *Romeu e Julieta* is set in Ouro Preto, an historical site built during the mining cycle in Minas Gerais, when Portuguese colonizers explored the natural resources of the region at the expense of slave labour. Instead of placing his main emphasis on the love-tale, Grisolli privileged the conflict among three opposed social strata who "lived in controlled disagreement" (Resende 2002: 20), highlighting social tensions and power struggles during a time when voices were suppressed and silenced. Although the plot in Grisolli's *Otelo de Oliveira* is relocated to a Rio de Janeiro *favela* (shanty town), the themes of passion, betrayal, and death remain close to the early modern tragedy. Yet the miniseries is thoroughly informed by issues pre-eminent in Brazilian culture during the 1980s, such as "class and racial segregation represented by the favela inhabitants and specifically by the protagonist . . . and the objectification of the Brazilian Desdemona as a representation of oppression and violence against women" (Smith 2014: 296).

Shakespeare's tragedies, mainly *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*, were continually appropriated to denounce political corruption, urban violence, and abuse of power after the civilian government was restored in 1985. In Curitiba, Marcelo Marchioro's *Hamlet* premiered on 20 August 1992, coincidentally one month before Fernando Collor de Mello, the first president elected directly by the people after dictatorship,

was forced to resign during the impeachment proceedings against him. To underscore the nation's state of degradation, a set drowned in mud with many bloodstains and numerous pieces of junk was constructed to stand for the disintegration of Brazilian political institutions. To suggest the rottenness of the Brazilian political scenario, the director positioned big, original Petrobras oil barrels, painted with the colours of the Brazilian flag, to represent the battlements of the castle. In these ways, he provided a link between the issues foregrounded in the appropriated classic text and the local prevailing circumstances. The memorable set created by the director gained added significance in 2014, after the uncovering of schemes of corruption, widely disseminated by mass media, involving several levels of the Petrobras administration.

Ulysses Cruz's production of *Macbeth* and Antunes Filho's *Trono de sangue* (*Throne of Blood*) also emerged from the ferment of popular riots in the streets against President Collor's administration in 1992. The anxieties and tensions in Shakespeare's tragedy were recontextualized and reconfigured in contemporary terms to jolt audiences out of their inertia. Antunes Filho's *Trono de sangue* borrowed not only the title of Akira Kurosawa's homonymous film (1957) but also the Japanese Noh aesthetics, which reminds the audience of the recurring violence in history, from medieval Scotland to early modern England or from feudal Japan to contemporary Brazil.

In Cruz's *Macbeth* (1992), the set and props constituted powerful political signifiers. When the curtain opened, the audience visualized a large canvas cloth covering the stage. The cloth was then lifted at five points, metamorphosing into a tent in the form of a huge crown. Three African-Brazilian boys, standing for the Witches and representing yorubá entities, emerged from this tent, exhibiting tribal motifs painted on their bodies. They uttered sacred words in yorubá, a Nigerian-Congolese language that has been incorporated into Afro-Brazilian religious rituals since the time of slavery. The yorubá sonority mixed with the windy soundscape created an uncanny effect, similar to but different from Shakespeare's introduction of the Witches, relocating the action of the play from Scotland to Brazil (Cintra 2006: 125–28). Later, when Macbeth crowns himself, he picks up the canvas (which now represents his robe) and puts it on his shoulders. In an effort to cope with its unbearable weight, he drags it along the stage, fashioning a map of Brazil with its heavy train.

One of the most significant Shakespearean productions of the post-dictatorship period was *Ham-let* (1993), mixed with Brazilian matter and directed by José Celso Martinez Correa for the Teatro Oficina. His hybrid performance aesthetics combined ritual, dance, music, carnivalization, and devices developed by Brecht and Artaud, reconfigured according to Oswald de Andrade's concept of creative cannibalism; it simultaneously challenged the Brazilian status quo and freed Brazilian theatre from colonial ideology and aesthetic dependency.

After the turn of the millennium, Enrique Diaz's 2004 production for the Cia. of Atores (Company of Actors), titled *Ensaio. Hamlet (Rehearsal. Hamlet)*, explored current problems surfacing after the election of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, the first candidate the Workers' Party (PT) elected for president in Brazil. In 2006, two Shakespearean productions of *Richard III* protested against the turmoil and scandals that emerged near the end of the first term of President Lula's administration (2003–06): *Ricardo III*, adapted and directed by Jô Soares; and *Ricardo III*, adapted by Celso Frateschi and directed by Roberto Lage.

The progressive impact of mass media and popular artistic manifestations can be pointed out as being responsible for paradigm shifts in Shakespearean performance aesthetics, encouraging Brazilian theatre practitioners to reject orthodox theatre practices in order to desacralize and/or Brazilianize Shakespeare. In the last three decades, Brazil has witnessed considerable expansion of Shakespearean productions in traditional and alternative theatre spaces. Besides politically engaged renderings, a wide range of other appropriations have emerged, among them street theatre, musicals, and intercultural readings. Since the 1990s, for example, theatre groups from different Brazilian regions – such as Grupo Galpão (Minas Gerais), Clowns de Shakespeare (Rio Grande do Norte), and Grupo Ueba Produtos Notáveis (Rio Grande do Sul) – have tended to renegotiate the function of Shakespeare in Brazil by displacing his legacy from the realm of the elite. Their main objective has been to adapt Shakespeare's plays for popular audiences, performing them in outdoor venues with great public circulation and easy access.

A decisive role was played by Grupo Galpão, a southeastern Brazilian street company founded in 1982, whose groundbreaking *Romeu e Julieta* (1992), directed by Gabriel Villela, was successfully presented twice at London's Globe Theatre in 2000 and 2012. It is worth mentioning that this intercultural spectacle was initially designed for the streets and performed in the open in Brazil and abroad, and that only much later was it adapted for indoor venues. The troupe developed a hybrid performance aesthetics, freely appropriating elements from high art and popular culture, mixing and combining multiple forms, genres, and styles. *Romeu e Julieta* premiered in the historic city of Ouro Preto, in Minas Gerais, receiving immediate popular and critical acclaim. It transposed the tragic love-story of Romeo and Juliet to the *sertão* (remote Brazilian backlands), amalgamating the Shakespearean tradition with the cultural imaginary of Minas Gerais. In the heavily cut adaptation of Shakespeare's text, devised for street audiences, a narrator was created, characterized as a clownish Shakespeare who intervened between the scenes with narrative passages that mixed the Shakespearean idiom (translated by Onestaldo de Pennafort) with *sertanês*, the language of Guimarães Rosa, one of Brazil's most innovative twentieth-century writers. The circus metaphor which ran through the production was constantly underscored by comic sword-play, puppetry, physical buffoonery, mimed physical action, well-known folk-songs, and popular music played by the actors themselves.

Another prolific street-theatre company, the Clowns de Shakespeare, is located in the northeast of Brazil. Like Grupo Galpão, its members draw on a wide range of art-forms and performance practices. Based in Natal, they have been working on a collaborative basis, and have been following the path of outdoor Shakespearean comedy since 1993. In 2010, they embraced a risky enterprise when deciding to adapt a historical play for outdoor audiences. They chose Shakespeare's *Richard III*, retitled *Sua Incelença, Ricardo III (His Excellency, Richard III)*. The new title of the production announces that it is not a conventional rendering, but an appropriation that shifts meanings in the process of transculturation. In the Clowns' production, the core of the dramatic narrative of Shakespeare's *Richard III* was translated into the northeastern Brazilian universe by insertion into the performance of allusions to the phenomenon of the *cangaço* (social banditry) that prevailed in the semi-arid northeastern *sertão*, where a backward, almost feudal political organization prevailed until the beginning of the twentieth century. Ironic parallels

are drawn between medieval Britain and Brazilian socio-political issues, since Richard is equated with a despotic, corrupt *coronel* (rich landowner), hiring a ruthless *cangaceiro* (social bandit) to eliminate all who threaten his hegemonic position (Figure 4.1). The Clowns explored the dynamics of farce “to underscore the villainous nature of the title character and expose corrupt political systems then and now” (Camati and Leão 2013: 341).

In southern Brazil, the Ueba Troupe, based in Caxias do Sul (Rio Grande do Sul), is one of the many active street-theatre ensembles touring in Brazil and Latin America. Their street spectacle *A megera domada* (2009) – a free adaptation of Shakespeare’s *The Taming of the Shrew*, directed by Jessé Oliveira (Figure 4.2) – relied on elements borrowed from the *commedia dell’arte*, among them comic/grotesque acting techniques, stereotyped characterization, improvisation, and theatre in the round with no separation between audience and performers. They also privileged features from rough theatre:

Salt, sweat, noise, smell; the theatre that’s not in a theatre, the theatre on carts, on wagons, on trestles, audiences standing, drinking, sitting round tables, audiences joining in, answering back.

(Brook 1968: 65)

While Grupo Galpão and Clowns de Shakespeare are more concerned with contemporary theatre’s intercultural discourse, opting for a kind of expression that incorporates the popular traditions of the regions they represent, the Ueba Troupe tends to



Figure 4.1 Tyrrel Jararaca dressed as a *cangaceiro* in *Sua Incelença, Ricardo III* by Clowns de Shakespeare.

© Clowns de Shakespeare. Courtesy of Pablo Pinheiro



Figure 4.2 Dispute between Katherina and Petruchio from *A megera domada* (*The Taming of the Shrew*).

Courtesy of Jessé Moacir Faria Oliveira

explore Shakespeare's dramaturgy to problematize issues of class, gender, and sexuality, thus also restoring the political significance of street theatre.

Brazilian musical adaptations of Shakespeare's plays, combining theatre, music, and dance, have also increased Shakespeare's popularity in Brazil. The production of *Sonho de uma noite de verão* (*A Midsummer Night's Dream*) in 1991 – staged in Portuguese by Teatro do Ornitórrinco (Duckbilled Platypus Theatre) in Central Park under Cacá Rosset's direction and with José de Anchieta's design – was originally commissioned by the New York Shakespeare Festival, and later also presented in Brazil and Mexico. José Roberto O'Shea states that this visual-aural spectacle, with Shakespeare's language (in translation) drastically cut, attempted to express much more than eroticism and tropical carnival. He believes that taking the cue from the fact that Hippolyta is Queen of the Amazons, Anchieta's set, "with defoliated trees and more than a dozen tree stumps, two meters each in diameter" (O'Shea 2003/2004: 124), invoked the nightmare of the destruction of the Amazon rainforest.

Otelo da Mangueira (2006), inspired by Shakespeare's *Othello*, was rescripted by Gustavo Gasparani and directed by Daniel Herz. This musical show transposed the Shakespearean universe to the vibrant world of the Mangueira Samba School in Rio de Janeiro in 1940, the year when samba was elected as the national rhythm *par excellence*. Although a series of radical alterations were made to imprint the local colour of the *favela*, the plot and themes remained close to Shakespeare's text. A great number of dialogues were suppressed and substituted by the lyrics of a variety of pre-existing popular samba songs created by famous Brazilian composers (Miranda

2012). Another successful Brazilian musical version of Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is Patricia Fagundes's *Sonho de uma noite de verão* (2006). The director combined theatre, dance, music, and cinematic devices adapted for the theatre in a fresh and new way, relocating the action of the spectacle from the sixteenth-century Forest of Arden to a twentieth-century cabaret or nightclub.

Radical experiments in which the members of the audience participate in the performance as "spect-actors" (Boal 1993) were successfully presented by Margarida Rauen in alternative spaces from 2003 to 2007 in Curitiba. To express revolt against the victimization of women, she wrote, directed, and produced *Shadows of Sycorax* (2003), *Ophelias/A-VOID-ING* (2004), and *Juliets* (2007), which "examine contradictions of humankind in the twenty-first century, such as having the latest technology of digital culture, but still being threatened by several types of abuse" (Rauen 2013: 199). The three interactive scenic pieces were later joined into a trilogy named *Digital Women*.

Most Brazilian theatre ensembles who work on a collaborative basis tend to subordinate the Shakespearean universe to local issues and values. Among them are Nós do Morro (We from the Hillside), a community-based theatre group at the Vidigal *favela* in Rio de Janeiro, directed by Guti Fraga, who investigates the possibilities of the universe of the *favela*; and Caixa-Preta (Black Box), a group of African-Brazilian actors based in Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, directed by Jessé Oliveira, who approaches Shakespeare from an intercultural perspective, highlighting Afro-Brazilian traditions and mythologies. *Os dois cavalheiros de Verona* (*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*), by Nós do Morro, was commissioned by the Royal Shakespeare Company for their 2006 festival *The Complete Works*; and in 2008 the group was invited to return to England to perform their production at the Barbican Theatre (Coutinho and Nogueira 2009).

In *Hamlet sincrético* (*Syncretic Hamlet*, 2005), Shakespeare's *Hamlet* was appropriated and transposed to the Afro-Brazilian context and imaginary, and the dialogues were translated into Afro-Brazilian parlance. To value their roots, traditions, and identity, Caixa-Preta fused the characters of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* with mythological entities of the Umbanda, a syncretic Afro-Brazilian religion developed at the time of slavery. Their choice of an alternative scenic space, namely the mental hospital São Pedro in Porto Alegre, established a dialogue between the historicity of the building and the scenic event. The nineteenth-century architectural monument, where many brilliant African-Brazilian intellectuals were incarcerated as a result of racist policies, stirred up an ambiance of cruelty, oppression, and suffering in the audience's imaginary. Shakespeare was used to contest hegemonic discourses, to challenge discrimination, and to voice concerns that were silenced or marginalized by the dominant culture.

In 2012, the producer Alexandre Brazil conceived and launched an ambitious project, titled *39 x Shakespeare*, which aims at performing all of Shakespeare's works, including the collaborative ones, over a period of ten years in Brazil. Each production is to be directed by a different renowned Brazilian theatre director and played by experienced actors. The project started in 2013, with *Ricardo III*, which *premiered* at the Teatro Sérgio Cardoso in São Paulo and was directed by Marco Antonio Rodrigues.

As the productions discussed here illustrate, throughout Latin America Shakespeare has served multiple purposes to meet the demands of new circumstances,

ideologies, and cultural politics. From the second half of the twentieth century onwards, the plays have been performed in a diversity of forms and styles that no longer conform strictly to the authority of the official canon. Instead, they have been adapted and appropriated, thus establishing a dialogue between cultures, in interplay of past and present voices. Radical departures from Shakespeare's texts show that Latin America has established "its place on the map of Western civilization by actively and destructively diverting the European norm and re-signifying pre-established and immutable elements that were exported to the New World by the Europeans" (Santiago 2002: 30–31).

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CHAPTER FIVE

MIDDLE EASTERN SHAKESPEARES



Margaret Litvin, Avraham Oz, and Parviz Partovi

The history of Middle Eastern Shakespeares offers a vivid set of case-studies of the ways Shakespeare reception and appropriation take place everywhere in the world, including, we would argue, the Anglophone world. Each Middle Eastern nation acquired its particular Shakespeare by a different winding path, shaped by its distinctive history and political needs. The student of this field must be armed with multiple sets of reading glasses and always open to surprises.

In some cases – as where newly independent states built show-piece national theatres, with doublet-and-hose productions of Shakespeare’s plays anchoring the repertoire – our frame of “each Middle Eastern nation” is a useful one. For many more cases, nation-state borders are less relevant: the most important modern trends in Shakespeare interpretation have been transnational. But although in principle an artist can borrow from anywhere, in practice transnational has not meant unstructured. In Iran, Turkey, Israel, and Arab countries, local Shakespeare traditions have been shaped by the trajectories of imperial examples (English, French, or some combination, whether adopted as positive or negative models); artistic styles diffused via “soft power” (e.g., Soviet film); immigration (intra-Ottoman and from Russia, Ukraine, Germany, etc.); regional political imperatives (e.g., modernization, revitalization of the Hebrew language, Arab nationalism); patterns of study abroad and cultural exchange; and global artistic fashions (e.g., neoclassical plotting, operatic performance, existentialism, theatre of the absurd, postmodernism, fringe minimalism).

Our historical survey takes three grounding assumptions. First, reception of a prestigious literary text is seldom direct: the more prestigious, the less direct. Almost never does a would-be adapter first encounter a canonical author by sitting down to read him or her. Instead, exposure comes through what one of us has termed a “global kaleidoscope” (Litvin 2011) of indirect references, adaptations, and offshoots, as well as local interpretive traditions accumulated around particular texts. A high-prestige literary culture (e.g., French or Russian) can help regulate which sources and models are available at a particular place and time, which shards in the kaleidoscope loom large, whom they attract, and what they are taken to mean. Second, and relatedly, intertexts are multiple, and they can hide. Authors can deliberately obscure the intermediary sources through which they accessed Shakespeare, and historical shifts can

occlude them from view. Third, artists have some agency and choice, and Shakespeare can serve as an ally. Once a Shakespeare tradition is established, it offers artists and institutions a ready-made idiom, a kind of language through which to “negotiate [their] own future, shake off [their] own cramps, revise [their] own traditions, and expand [their] own performative styles” (Loomba 1998: 163).

We shall first consider the French-flavoured origins of Shakespeare in the nineteenth-century Islamicate world (late Ottoman Anatolia and Arab lands, Qajar Iran) before turning to mid-twentieth-century nationalist theatre and translation movements, incorporating into the narrative the state of Israel (founded 1948), with its unique linguistic ambitions and immigration history, and finally spotlighting some notable postmodern Shakespeare appropriations in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Hebrew, and hybridized combinations of the above. For reasons of space as well as geographic contiguity, we shall (with regret) leave out entirely North Africa (Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco) and its vibrant theatre traditions.

FRENCH ROOTS, OTTOMAN AND QAJAR SHOOTS

In Turkish-, Arabic-, and Persian (Farsi)-speaking contexts, Shakespeare appropriation followed a basic pattern. A late nineteenth-century period of carefree adaptation and localization, often drawing on third-language (notably French) sources rather than directly on Shakespeare’s English, produced Italian-, French-, or Arabic-inflected melodramatic or operatic performances. These early adaptations grew out of intensified cultural contacts with Western Europe and fed the new Western-style theatres that modernizing nationalist autocrats were establishing in their capitals. Shakespeare was script-fodder: adapters localized some proper names, inserted local proverbs and literary flourishes, and sometimes added songs. *Romeo and Juliet*, in this period, underwrote many a box-office success. The post-World War I period brought a new wave of Shakespeare products more focused on fidelity to texts now seen as somewhat intimidating examples of the world literary heritage. Identities remained somewhat fluid, but nationalism grew in importance. Translating and performing Shakespeare accurately were intended to guarantee a nation’s place on the world cultural map, and hence showcase its readiness for political self-determination.

In late Ottoman Turkey, locally based European, Greek, and Armenian theatre troupes, as well as travelling Italian troupes, had brought Shakespeare plays in their own languages. For instance, the Armenian director Güllü Agop staged Shakespeare’s major tragedies in his private theatre (Burian 1951: 127). *The Merchant of Venice*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Othello* were performed in Armenian in 1842; *Othello*, in Armenian twice more in the following decades; *King Lear*, in Armenian around 1860; and *Hamlet*, in Greek in 1842 and in Armenian in 1866 (Enginun 1979: 16; Silahtaroglu 1989: 7). Meanwhile, some Armenian priests (Minasyan, Hekimyan, Terziyan, and Baronyan) had taken a special interest in Shakespeare, writing and presenting Shakespeare-inspired plays on early Armenian history in the 1840s (Enginun 1979: 16).

Shakespeare entered the Turkish language during a translation push fostered by the Tanzimat modernizing reform movement (1839–76). The first Shakespeare play performed in Turkish was *Othello*, translated by Hasan Bedreddin and Mehmet Rifat from Jean-François Ducis’s French text in 1876. The first complete Turkish *Hamlet* was Abdullah Cevdet’s, translated from French and published in Cairo in 1908

(Arslan 2008: 159). This first generation of translations also included *Romeo and Juliet* and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*. They were mostly abridged adaptations from French sources, notably Ducis. Ducis's self-described Shakespeare "imitations" followed neoclassical French conventions, reshaping the dramatis personae and plots (for instance, his 1769 *Hamlet* was subtitled "Filial Piety"). They also brought the declamatory Comédie-Française acting style. But the earliest translations published in book form (in the Arabic script then used for Turkish) were rendered directly from English into Turkish: *The Merchant of Venice* (1885) and *The Comedy of Errors* (1886–87), translated and introduced by Hasan Sirri Bey (Enginun 1979: 32).

Besides the usual puzzles (linguistic equivalence, cultural difference), Ottoman-era translators and producers also confronted state censorship. Italian actor Ernesto Rossi – although the censors did not let him stage *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, or *King Lear* – got the permission from Sultan Abdülhamid II to perform parts of *Othello* and an abridgement called *Shylock* in Italian in 1889 (Enginun 1979: 16–17). "In other early adaptations, the pillow Othello uses to murder Desdemona became a dagger, because the latter was perceived to be a more valiant weapon for killing people" (Bakay 2004). Meanwhile, translators of *Othello* in the Ottoman period "expunged the negative imagery" of the Turks (Bakay 2004).

Similar dynamics governed Shakespeare translation and performance in late Ottoman Egypt. Arabic-speaking audiences first met Shakespeare via the Egyptian stage, where French translations of the plays were retailed to suit the tastes of Cairo's emerging middle class, often by Syrian-Lebanese immigrants who knew French better than English. Najib al-Haddad adapted *Romeo and Juliet* around 1892 as *Shuhada al-gharam* (*The Martyrs of Love*) (Bayer 2007). Influenced by Italian opera and featuring star singers such as Shaykh Salama Hijazi, other turn-of-the-century adaptations were likewise musicals in rhymed prose. Tanyus 'Abdu's adaptation of *Hamlet* (1901, published 1902) ended happily: Hamlet killed Claudius and took the throne as the Ghost applauded. Hamlet even married Ophelia in some performances. To attract Hijazi's fans, songs by poet Ahmad Shawqi were included (Hanna 2005: 185–87). Like other adapters of this period (and perhaps every period), 'Abdu preferred to present himself in unmediated dialogue with a great canonical author, erasing other intertexts from view. Unsurprisingly, 'Abdu's title-page credits "Shakespeare the renowned English poet" rather than his true source for *Hamlet*: a verse adaptation by the far more popular and sensationalist French writer Alexandre Dumas (Litvin 2011: 64–66). The first known Arabic *Othello* adaptation, thought also to be 'Abdu's, was titled *Khayal al-rijal* (*The Wiles of Men*). Performed in 1898 and published in 1910, it focused on the theme of domestic violence rather than (for instance) race or religious difference.

A shift came with the literary-minded Khalil Mutran, a Christian Lebanese poet who had found refuge in Egypt from the heavier hand of Ottoman despotism in Syria-Lebanon. He translated *Othello* (1912) into an archaized classical Arabic for Lebanese-Egyptian actor-producer George Abyad. Mutran claimed Shakespeare had "something Arabic" in his style, including "audacity for metaphor" and a "Bedouin spirit" (quoted in Ghazoul 1998: 3–4). But his own "Arabization" (*ta'rib*) of *Othello* removed race and religion (strumpets versus Christians, malignant turbaned Turks, circumcised dogs, etc.) from the play, deleting references to the Ottoman Empire (still formally ruling Egypt at that time) even as he turned the Moor into an articulate

civic-minded soldier, fitting spokesman for Arab cultural nationalism (Hanna 2005). Like his *Othello*, Mutran's classicizing translations of *Macbeth* (1917), *Hamlet* (1918), and *The Merchant of Venice* (1922) remain in print today.

Politically pointed Arab Shakespeare adaptations began before and continued after World War I, gaining prominence during Britain's formal protectorate over Egypt (1914). *Masra' Kliyubatra* (*The Death of Cleopatra*, 1927) by Ahmad Shawqi made Cleopatra a nationalist heroine and aimed some barbs at the British occupation (Daragi 2008). In 1935, Egypt's future president, Gamal Abdel Nasser, starred in a Cairo high school *Julius Caesar*, playing Caesar as a nationalist liberating hero (because Caesar had defeated Great Britain). In 1945, Cairo-based Yemeni poet-playwright 'Ali Ahmad Bakathir, who had earlier translated *Romeo and Juliet* into a precursor of Arabic free verse (1936), adapted *The Merchant of Venice* in *Shayluk al-jadid* (*The New Shylock*), a political allegory about what he saw as the growing threat of Zionism (Al-Shetawi 1994; Bayer 2007).

In late nineteenth-century Persia, meanwhile, the Qajar king Nasir al-Din Shah (ruled 1848–96) likewise launched a wave of play translation and sought texts for his new theatre. At the arts academy Dar al-Fonoon (established 1851) the instructors were mostly French nationals, the classes taught in French. Iranians began by adapting French plays, mainly Molière, Persianizing the French characters and ambiance and incorporating local proverbs and stories. The first published Shakespeare text in Persian was a comedy, Hosseinqoli Saloor's translation of *The Taming of the Shrew* (published 1900). The Paris-educated Saloor worked from a French adaptation. The Constitutional Revolution (1905–07) inspired a new translation wave, as intellectuals founded newspapers and associations, and translated Western authors they hoped would edify the Iranian public: Alexandre Dumas, Friedrich Schiller, Nikolai Gogol, Victor Hugo, French dramatist Eugène Labiche, and Shakespeare. Between 1910 and 1914, Abolghasem Gharaguzlu translated *Othello* and *The Merchant of Venice* (Bozorgmehr 2000: 40).

Shakespeare's works were translated for performance, but the only well-documented nineteenth-century production was in Turkish rather than Persian: an 1888 *Othello* staged in Tabriz (*Ruznameh Akhtar* 1888). With trans-Caucasus ties to Francophone, Turcophone, and Russophone theatre cultures, Tabriz was an early cradle of Iranian theatre: pioneering playwright Mirza Agha Tabrizi had been writing plays there since the 1870s. The landmark Tabriz Opera Theatre was built in the early twentieth century. Other cities eventually caught up: Mashhad and Rasht, then Shiraz, and the capital Tehran. By the end of the Qajar dynasty, Shakespeare was being performed in Tehran: Reza Azarakhshi directed *The Merchant of Venice* and *Much Ado About Nothing* between 1903 and 1921.

Iranian Shakespeare continued to draw on a regional range of connections. In 1933 Reza Shah Pahlavi (who had declared himself Shah in 1925, four years after overthrowing the last Qajar ruler) established the National State Theatre Company. He invited Vahram Papazian, a talented Armenian actor famous for Shakespearean roles, to stage plays including *Othello* and *Hamlet*. The Istanbul-born Papazian and his Soviet-based troupe had already enriched the theatre scene in Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Turkey before coming to Iran. Meanwhile, souvenirs from a 1928 *Merchant of Venice* directed at Tehran's Zoroastrian Club by Majid Rezvani, who had studied in Russia (Rezvani 2015), show the Zoroastrian Iranian actor and theatre impresario

Arbab Aflatoon as Shylock, the image preserved in a family archive labelled in both Persian and Russian. A decade later, a new *Merchant of Venice* translation (Ahmad Bahmanyar, 1937) used an Arabic intermediary source text (Horri 2003: 81).

In Hebrew, meanwhile, the early Shakespeare translations, isolated late nineteenth-century efforts, fit into the Haskalah (Jewish Enlightenment)-inspired project to revive Hebrew as a living language. These early writers translated Shakespeare into biblical Hebrew, seeking both to match Shakespeare's lexical richness and to create continuity with what they saw as the Hebrew collective memory. Lexically and rhythmically archaic, these texts were notactable (anyway, no Hebrew-language theatre existed yet) and were not necessarily connected to the actual development of modern Hebrew.

By the early twentieth century, however, Hebrew-language plays were staged, first in Poland and Russia and later in Palestine and then Israel, challenging translators to find an appropriate register between biblical and spoken language. Most achieved some distance from spoken Hebrew by reverting to the idiom of modern Hebrew poetry once removed – that is, drawing on the poetic diction of the respectively former wave of Hebrew poetry for a subtle, slightly archaic effect. This practice remained the norm for decades. Only more recently has translation become a facet of performance, with many directors commissioning new translations to suit their readings. Questions of language and translation – the text's speakability and linguistic register, the precision of the actors' delivery – have remained key to Israeli theatre criticism.

SHAKESPEARE AND POST-INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

In the post-World War II period, Shakespeare served nationalist and post-colonial aspirations throughout the region. National theatres gravitated to the great tragedies, particularly *Othello* and *Hamlet*. Directors also favoured *The Merchant of Venice* because of its thematic attention to minority ethnic issues, and later its perceived relevance to the Arab–Israeli conflict; and *Romeo and Juliet*, which was seen as providing timely social commentary. Meanwhile, Arab, Turkish, Iranian, and Israeli publishing houses have sought to produce increasingly complete and scholarly translations of Shakespeare's works.

In the Arab Middle East, after Egypt's independence from Britain (1952), Shakespeare was drafted to Egyptian President Nasser's Arab nationalist cause. The Cairo-based Arab League undertook to translate all of Shakespeare's plays between 1955 and 1965, spearheaded by Egyptian literary giant Taha Husayn. Egypt's state theatre produced a Shakespeare play each year from 1962 to 1965 (*Macbeth*, 1962; *The Merchant of Venice*, 1963; *Othello*, 1964; *Hamlet*, 1964–65). In 1964, Egypt commemorated the quadricentennial of Shakespeare's birth with a flurry of productions, seminars, film screenings, and publications.

Hamlet and *Othello* have been the Shakespeare plays most frequently translated and adapted into Arabic, both interpreted as relevant to Arab realities in different periods. Many *Othello* appropriations have focused on Othello's Arab identity, with names in Arabized forms (Othello translated as 'Utayl, 'Attalah, or the Moroccan General; and Iago sometimes becoming Ya'qub, Arabic for Jacob). Some Egyptian

Othello adaptations have focused on gender, jealousy, and violence. Mahmud Isma'il Jad's *'Attalah: A Popular Epic* (1960s, restaged in 1991) adopted a "rural, peasant, folkloristic and socialist perspective" (Ghazoul 1998: 14–15), using traditional folk-songs and Muslim religious chants to explore a doomed marriage across a class and age divide. A 1983 Egyptian film adaptation – *Al-Ghira al-qatila* (*Murderous Jealousy*), directed by 'Atif al-Tayib – explored the play's gender issues in an upwardly mobile urban setting. Substituting Cairo and Alexandria for Venice and Cyprus, it also reflected the tradition of altered endings: the Iago figure was exposed and the Desdemona character saved.

Hamlet, by contrast, has been interpreted as a play about justice and tyranny. "To be, or not to be" – often translated to the plural "Shall we be or not be?" – is a slogan used across the Arab political spectrum (Litvin 2011: 13–34). Since the 1970s, *Hamlet* has been presented as a fighter for justice brutally martyred by the corrupt and autocratic Claudius regime. This reading draws on the Soviet and Eastern European *Hamlet* tradition, notably Grigori Kozintsev's 1964 film *Gamlet*. After the mid-1970s, Arab adapters approached *Hamlet* more ironically. Ra'fat Al-Duwayri's *Shaksbir malikan* (*Shakespeare Rex*, 1975) – staged in Cairo as *Shakespeare in 'Ataba* (1976) – satirized the "open-door" policy adopted by President Anwar Sadat in the 1970s by imagining a Shakespeare torn between art and commerce (Ghazoul 1998: 27). Other post-1975 satirical offshoots have critiqued the previous generation's political hero-martyr *Hamlet*.

In Syria, Shakespeare was a drama-school and state-theatre staple through the 1960s, and became a vehicle for political allegory in the 1970s. A 1973 high-school *Hamlet* in Damascus (directed by Riyad 'Ismat) drew on Jan Kott, presenting *Hamlet* as a revolutionary martyr. That same year, Syrian poet-playwright Muhammad al-Maghut's *Al-Muharrij* (*The Jester*) featured a play within a play, where a working-class Arab audience disrespects the Arab hero *Othello*. Both paved the way for the satire *Hamlet Yastaykiz Muta'akhiran* (*Hamlet Wakes Up Late*, 1976) by Syrian playwright Mamduh 'Adwan. Like other Arab *Hamlet* adaptations performed between 1976 and 2002, this play bitterly laments Arab nationalism's failure: an "out-of-joint" (1.5.189) temporal framework begins at the end and proceeds in flashback, as Claudius's villainy fills the vacuum left by the inadequate *Hamlet*.

In Iraq, Shakespeare production has taken place in two main venues in Baghdad: the National Theatre (founded in 1928 by Haqqi al-Shibli, whose company had staged *Hamlet* and *Julius Caesar* by 1930) and the Modern Art Theatre (founded in 1952). Iraq saw nine professional Shakespeare productions between 1962 and 1985. All were tragedies except *The Merchant of Venice* (1965) and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1982), both directed by Sami Abdel Hamid. A *Romeo and Juliet* directed by Muhsin al-'Azzawi (1973) critiqued some Iraqi customs (arranged marriages, family feuds) and featured the first (and for a long time, only) on-stage kiss between male and female actors in Iraq (Alsenad 1988: 152).

Iraqi adaptations have played with localization and universal (locally resonant) themes of truth and trust. Sa'd al-Khadim's adaptation *Doctor Othello* (1965) focused on murder and revenge. But poet Yusuf al-Sayigh's adaptation *Desdemona* (1989) turned *Othello* into a contemporary detective story, presenting contradictory views of *Desdemona*'s murder and its motivation through an investigation with hidden tape recorders and secret confession chambers, questioning the idea of truth

(Ghazoul 1998: 18). Adapting *Hamlet*, Sami Abdel Hamid's *Hamlet Arabian* (1973) used Arab-style costumes, music, and cultural details to explore how a foreign-educated intellectual confronts crime and corruption at home (with oblique reference to a recent Qatar succession scandal) – but it flopped. Exiled Iraqi director-playwright Jawad al-Assadi had a freer hand, producing *Insu Hamlit* (*Forget Hamlet*, 1994) in Cairo; the play's Claudius transparently parodies Saddam Hussein.

Iraqi Shakespeare appropriation continued under the international economic sanctions (1991–2003), halted after the 2003 invasion led by the United States, but seemed to be revitalized after 2008 as theatres began to reopen. The witty adaptation by Kirkuk-born poet-playwright Khaz'al al-Majidi, *Hamlit bila hamlit* (*Hamlet without Hamlet*, 1992) opens with news of Hamlet's death by shipwreck en route from Wittenberg to his father's funeral. Directed at the Iraqi National Theatre by Naji 'abd al-Amir (1997), *Hamlit bila hamlit* was then staged in Paris by Michel Cerda and Haytham Abderrazak in 2007. In 2009 actor-director Monadhil Daood inaugurated his new Iraqi Theatre Company in Baghdad with a *Hamlet without Hamlet* spin-off titled *This is Baghdad* that incorporated aspects of *ta'ziya* theatre, the traditional Shi'a passion plays for the Prophet Muhammad's grandson Husayn. Daood later went on to create *Romeo and Juliet in Baghdad* (2012), an adaptation focused on Sunni–Shi'a sectarian conflict, commissioned for the World Shakespeare Festival in Britain. In a moving sign of Iraqi theatre's hard-won continuity, a dignified (now octogenarian) Sami Abdel Hamid appeared as the Friar; his wife, Fawzia Mohammed Arif, played Lady Montague.

In Lebanon, Mounir Abou Debs's Modern Theatre Company staged *Macbeth* (1962) and *Hamlet* (1964) at the Baalbeck International Festival. Decades later, a revived Baalbeck Festival hosted the dance adaptation of *Much Ado About Nothing* (1999) by the Beirut-based Caracalla Dance Theatre, which by then had already taken a *Taming of the Shrew* (1982) on world tour and staged a *Midsummer Night's Dream* in Lebanon in 1990, at the end of the Civil War.

Palestine's Arabic theatre scene pre-dates the creation of the state of Israel. The Palestinian group Carmel performed *Hamlet* in Arabic in Haifa in 1932 (translated by Tanyus 'Abdu and directed by Jamil Khoury, with Iskandar Ayyub as Hamlet), in a performance that included two female actors (Asma Khoury and Thuraya Ayoub). In 1942 the Theatrical Group of the Faculty of Arts of Birzeit College staged *Othello* in English. A very prominent contributor to the Arab Shakespeare tradition was a Palestinian immigrant to Iraq: renowned translator, novelist, poet, painter, and critic Jabra Ibrahim Jabra. Besides *Othello* (1978), Jabra also translated *King Lear* (1968), *Coriolanus* (1974), *Macbeth* (1978), *Hamlet* (1979), *The Tempest* (1979), forty of the Sonnets (1983), and Jan Kott's *Shakespeare Our Contemporary* (1979).

Turkey's modern Shakespeare tradition, like much else about the Republic of Turkey, is premised on the myth of a clean cultural break from the Ottoman past. After the Latin alphabet replaced the Arabic one in 1929, Turkish literature looked towards Europe, with new translations of its masterpieces: Friedrich Schiller's *Brigands* and Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, and *The Taming of the Shrew*. Like other emerging Middle Eastern republics, Turkey commissioned writers and academics to translate Shakespeare from the 1940s to the 1960s. This enterprise yielded eleven translations of *Romeo and Juliet*, nine of *Hamlet*, eight of *The Merchant of Venice*, seven of *Othello*, and six each of *Macbeth* and *Antony and Cleopatra*. Even in this relatively late

period some translators, including the very influential Sabahattin Eyüboğlu, worked from French sources (Bozkurt 2005: 43). By 2000 the complete tragedies, comedies, histories, and sonnets had been translated into Turkish, but some of the long poems (*Venus and Adonis*, *The Rape of Lucrece*, and *A Lover's Complaint*) were still untranslated; these were published in Talat Halman's translation in 2014.

On the Turkish stage Shakespeare is closely linked with the name Muhsin Ertuğrul, who played the first Turkish Hamlet in 1911 (Burian 1951: 127). After the Republic of Turkey was declared in 1923 and the former Darülbeydi (founded 1914) was renamed the Municipal Theatre of Istanbul in 1931, Ertuğrul as its director began opening every new season with a Shakespeare play (*Hamlet*, *Othello*, or *Macbeth*); this tradition still continues.

Meanwhile, in Turkish academia, polymath and returned exile Halide Edip Adıvar worked with Vahit Turhan and University of Istanbul students to make the country's first translation of *Hamlet* directly from English (1941). Their version – containing a detailed introduction explaining the play's sources, characters, themes, and more obscure allusions – was used in a 1941 Istanbul production that ran for a record-breaking fifty performances (Paker 1986: 98). The translators later collaborated on *Coriolanus*, *As You Like It*, and *Antony and Cleopatra*.

The most popular, most often performed Shakespeare play in Turkey is *Othello*, prized for topical themes including otherness, betrayal, soldierly life, the problem of Cyprus, and the betrayal of fathers. Also, some claim, "Turkish people see themselves in Othello, proud and soldierly . . . Turkish people identify with Othello's jealous nature" (Bakay 2004). Turkey's militarized culture has shaped the reception of other plays as well. Halman (2014) relates how *Macbeth* responded to its Turkish context during one production:

In 1962, there was a major production [of *Macbeth*] in the open-air rotunda of the mid-fifteenth-century fortress, overlooking the Bosphorus. . . . The Director understandably wanted scores, hundreds of extras, especially for the battle scenes. They managed to obtain the approval of the military authorities to employ the 66th Battalion. Four hundred soldiers came to the fortress the evening of the premiere. The Director gave the necessary instructions to the commanding officer and instructed his men about all necessary issues. However, late in the evening, as darkness descends and *Macbeth* starts, Turkish soldiers, as in Act V where Macbeth's men and Macduff's soldiers would fight, start running down the slopes with their traditional Turkish-Islamic battle-cry: "Allah! Allah! Allah! Allah! Allah! Allah! Allah! Allah!"

Iran, too, saw state-backed efforts to translate and appropriate Shakespeare. Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi (ruled 1941–79) built Western-style theatre halls and fostered the performance of hundreds of foreign plays. Abdolhossein Noushin, known as the father of modern Iranian drama, and Nima Yushij, the founder of modern Persian poetry, collaborated in translating *Much Ado About Nothing* in 1951, producing an accurate and speakable text. Meanwhile, Ala'udin Pazargady published his translations of Shakespeare's plays in two volumes comprising all the comedies and tragedies. He did not translate the histories, however, explaining that "they were all about the kings of England, and the explanation of local events of their times would be of no

interest to Iranian readers” (Pazargady 2002: 10). But the famous writer and critic Reza Baraheni soon translated *Richard III* (1965), used for several performances in Tehran.

Although this period was fruitful for Shakespeare translations (ten versions of *Hamlet*, eight of *Romeo and Juliet*, seven of *Othello*, six of *Macbeth*, three of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, and three of *Julius Caesar*), they were not staged in the theatres because “the Pahlavi regime was opposed to the performance of those plays in which kings are murdered” (Malekpour 1984: 62). Hence, only a handful of Shakespeare’s plays were permitted on stage (notably, Derek Jacobi’s *Hamlet* toured to Iran in 1977). This relative scarcity of Shakespeare continued after the 1979 revolution, since the Islamic Republic’s rulers opposed elements of Iranian art and culture they saw as Western. As the revolution’s early ideological intensity has faded, however, theatre and Shakespeare have returned. Today Iranian theatre companies and drama students often perform Shakespeare’s works in both English and Farsi.

In the Jewish community in Palestine, and since 1948 in Israel, Shakespeare has served the same two nationalist purposes described above: a prestigious prop for showing off modern Hebrew-language mastery of global high culture to the community and the world; and a source of topical signifiers about Israeli politics and life. The stage history of *The Merchant of Venice* and a landmark *Hamlet* production illustrate the tension between these goals.

Tel Aviv’s Habima Theatre, first established in Eastern Europe and enjoying ties with European and Soviet theatres, did not begin with *The Merchant of Venice*. In 1930, the great Russian *émigré* actor-director Michael Chekhov (formerly of the Moscow Art Theatre) directed a kinetic, colourful *Twelfth Night* with Habima’s Russian-speaking actors. Nevertheless, Habima’s more tone-setting Shakespeare début was *The Merchant of Venice*, which soon became a signature Shakespeare play for the Hebrew-language stage. Directed in 1936 by Leopold Jessner, this first *Merchant of Venice* in what was then Palestine occurred at a heroic moment: rising pressure in Europe and the start of the Arab Revolt. Jewish national pathos was a standard theme, and Shylock had to conform. Jessner, a founding figure of German expressionism in 1920s Berlin, had surely seen Max Reinhardt’s 1921 production, with Werner Krauss’s flat-footed, boisterous, almost farcical Shylock. Rather than a patient Shylock, quietly accepting his tragic lot, Jessner envisioned a long-struggling fighter eventually undone by his adversaries’ betrayals. Not just one Shylock defeated by Christian society: Jessner’s Shylock was to be The Jew. This topical interpretation dictated all aspects of the production. The music, scenery, and (bowdlerized) text faithfully served the solemn moralism. So did the casting: the two rival Habima leaders, Aharon Meskin and Shimon Finkel, alternated as Shylock, both repressing the character’s comic potential. Meskin was a heroic figure, commandingly tall and stentorian-voiced; Finkel emphasized Shylock’s spiteful bitterness.

Finkel soon starred in Habima’s *Hamlet* (1946), the first in Hebrew. Like others debuting Shakespearean tragedies on Middle Eastern stages during that period, Habima resident director Zvi Friedland provided a conservative reading. A monumental set represented the columned royal palace of Elsinore – and also the pompous directorial approach. The bombastic music (sixteen musicians strong) recalled exuberant Soviet productions, while the interpretation barely extended current British and American readings. But local critics saw a “significant and monumental cultural project, educating the audience, and the youth in particular, in theatre and in

thought,” with Finkel’s Prince considered “a poet-philosopher and a man of action at once, a fighter for justice and an awesome, heroic victim” (Zusman 1946).

Typical of the needs served by Middle Eastern Shakespeare in the 1940s–1960s, this *Hamlet* and its reception also exemplify an interpretive agenda specific to the Jewish community in Palestine. World War II had ended just a year earlier; the revelation of Auschwitz’s atrocities was still raw. Even in an aesthetically conservative production, topical references and controversies intruded. Depicting a hero as victim carried a political charge. For instance, reviewers debated Friedland’s decision to omit Fortinbras’s final scene (and, we might add, the entire opening ramparts scene). A *Palestine Post* writer (F.M., 4 June 1946) read it as the director’s correct response to the Nazi practice of presenting Fortinbras as the pure, determined, Aryan-like hero – a counterpoint to the hesitant and melancholic Hamlet who, since the nineteenth century, had allegorized a passive and fragmented Germany (see Freiligrath 1844). In a Nazi (or early Zionist) vein, such weakness and passivity could be read as stereotypical Jewish qualities. But *Achdut Ha’avoda*’s Margot Klausner (1946) opposed cutting Fortinbras, whom she saw as universally embodying the new man and new life reborn from a dead world’s ruins: “Every poet knows that every death gives rise to resurrection.” This knowledge should be the play’s message, she implied, for a Jewish community rising in the Land of Israel from the ashes of the Holocaust.

By 1959, the tone of heroic pathos had lightened somewhat. Its independence struggle resolved, the Israeli community was stabilizing in its eleven-year-old state. Although the Israeli national character was still vulnerable and the Holocaust’s trauma still fresh, one could now risk a Shylock who did not shoulder the full weight of Jewish history. That year Habima invited a non-Jewish British director, Stratford (Ontario) Shakespeare Festival founder Tyrone Guthrie, to revive *The Merchant of Venice*. Although the same two actors reprised Shylock, actors and critics expected a shift. Guthrie saw Shakespeare’s Jew as “a kind of Rothschild”: a thriving merchant, human if a touch fanatical. Unlike Jessner, more famed for Shakespearean tragedies, Guthrie felt more at home in Shakespearean comedy; his production aimed for that realm. Guthrie’s colourful fantasia of mercenary Venice worked, to a point. The Shylock problem, however, proved recalcitrant: despite their neat, modern Orthodox appearance, both Shylocks reimported the former production’s pathos.

The next Israeli *Merchant of Venice* followed the 1967 war. Israel responded to its victory and occupation of territories with euphoric pride, reminiscent of the Elizabethans after the Spanish Armada. This new confidence permitted a grotesque, stereotyped portrayal of Shylock. Israeli-born Yossi Yzraeli’s production at Tel Aviv’s Cameri Theatre (1972) eschewed realism. Shylock was played by Avner Hyskiah, a well-known staccato-voiced comedian in a dark robe and a black bell-shaped hat who stood out among blond, white-clad Venetians and abstract white scenery. Tubal, in black, underlined the Jew’s foreign look; the eloped Jessica (not unpredictably) wore a black-and-white striped dress. Yzraeli’s characters were archetypes, not individuals (for example, it was hard to pity his overdeterminedly Christlike Antonio). Yzraeli’s framework further circumscribed the action: symbolic processions associated with the Passion, masked mummers, and a set of puppets peering constantly over the back wall to mimic and multiply events on stage. The puppet-show provided visual commentary, sometimes comically imitating the action, sometimes making interscenic connections, and occasionally providing alternative action (while

Lorenzo discoursed on music, the puppets enacted a symbolic ritual in which the Christians baptized Shylock).

Hyskiahu played Shylock again at Cameri under the non-Jewish British director Barry Kyle (1980). For once in Israeli stage history, this production stood at a distance from the Mideast location. Instead it focused on value: the value of friendship, of the marriage pledge, and of money. Shylock is condemned not because of his Jewishness, but because he lets money rule him. This judgement is not anti-Semitic, Kyle suggested: it also applies to the princes of Morocco and Aragon and to the young Christians of Venice, including Bassanio. Shylock, his world stamped by gold and silver, ignores the quality of mercy. Once wronged, he easily falls prey to revenge in succumbing to the logic and mentality of terrorism. But here Kyle's originally alienated interpretation came crashing back to topicality, triggering all the provocations the charged term "terrorism" entails. Kyle's exploration may have prompted Israeli director Omri Nitzan's 1994 production, yet again at the Cameri. Early during rehearsals a terrorist attack had occurred: settler-doctor Baruch Goldstein's massacre of twenty-nine Muslims praying at the Hebron mosque. There and then, director Nitzan costumed Yossi Graber (Shylock) as a fanatical religious Jewish settler (Figure 5.1). This decision aroused some controversy.

In 2011, Ilan Ronen's Habima production contained no clear conception or political reading of the charged play. But when it was performed at London's Globe to

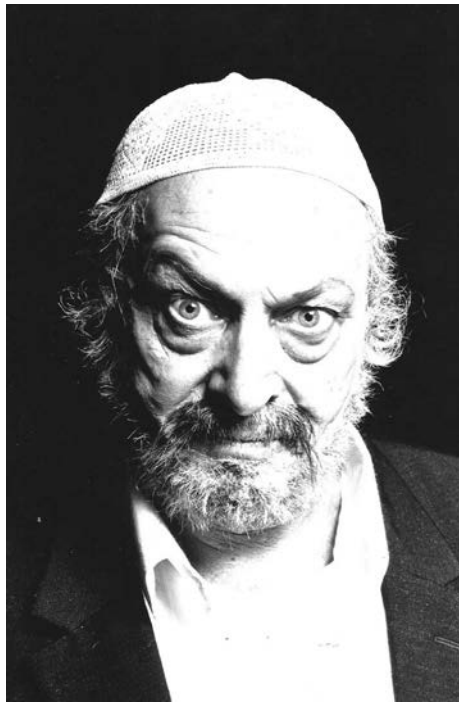


Figure 5.1 Yossi Graber's portrayal of Shylock in Omri Nitzan's 1994 production at the Cameri Theatre, Tel Aviv.
© Cameri Theatre/Israel Haramaty

Globe Festival (part of the World Shakespeare Festival keyed to the 2012 Olympics), the fact of Habima's presence was the news. The show drew boycott calls and protests against Israeli policies vis-à-vis the Palestinians.

POSTMODERN APPROPRIATIONS

As Arab, Iranian, Turkish, and Israeli theatre cultures gained confidence – and as those countries' artists grew to doubt their governments' promises of national dignity and in some cases of independence from meddling Western governments – the last few decades of the twentieth century saw a blossoming of Shakespeare adaptations, rewritings, and offshoot plays published in journals and/or performed in the theatres of Syria, Egypt, Iraq, Palestine, Israel, Turkey, and Iran. Rather than taking Shakespeare as a target for parody, most of these plays enlist him as an ally against the forces of entrenched corruption, cultural stagnation, and political cant – mostly without abandoning their dreams of collective dignity, now projected onto heroes such as Shakespeare's Hamlet and Othello. These waves of adaptation belong to the growing world-wide trend of postmodern adaptation; many respond to seminal adapters and critics including Bertolt Brecht, Heiner Müller, and Jan Kott.

In Turkey, Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* have fed into a wide variety of high-cultural genres. For instance, Hamlet's graveyard scene is echoed in Namik Kemal's historical drama *Homeland and Silistre*. The title character in Kemal's melodramatic play *Gulnihal* strongly recalls Shakespeare's Lady Macbeth. The year 2004 saw a ballet adaptation called *Naked Hamlet*. Yet non-urban, non-élite cultural productions have also drawn on these plays. For instance, a 2009 *Hamlet* adaptation by the Arslanköy Women's Theatre Group from rural Anatolia domesticated the characters' names, simplified the plot, and cast women in goatskin moustaches for male parts. Founded by Ümmiye Koçak, a farmworker with a primary-school education, and seven female fellow villagers, the troupe reached an essential vein in the play. Journalist Elif Batuman writes:

Her production opens with the appearance of the ghost of Hamlet's father, played by a woman wearing a white sheet with eyeholes. It's funny, because it looks a bit like Charlie Brown awaiting the Great Pumpkin, but it's also scary, because what's under the sheet is something the women have suffered at first hand, whether you call it tradition, economy, patriarchy, or fate . . . Who is this guy who's ordering me to leave school and come home, to die in the place where I was born: a real father or a fictive demon? Is my life mine or does it belong to my parents? Is it a blessing or is it a curse? . . . Rural Turkey is a place where revenge killings, honor suicides, and blood feuds are real. The question of whether it's better to be alive or dead is a genuine one for village women, many of whom have had the occasion to ask themselves.

(Batuman 2012: 80)

In contemporary Iran, too, theatre is prized for its social commentary, whatever the political constraints. Thus local playwrights' Shakespeare adaptations and metaplays have sometimes appealed to audiences even more than Shakespeare productions. For instance, *Hamlet with Season Salad* (1988), by renowned playwright Akbar Radi, is

an absurdist tragicomedy: its protagonist is a middle-aged failed Iranian intellectual, married to an aristocrat, so submissive that he ultimately abandons his main asset, wisdom, and turns into a giant mouse. Gholam Hussein Saidi (also spelled Sa'edi) created *Othello in Wonderland* (1980s, trans. Kaveh Saffa; see Sa'edi 1996), a satiric metaplay about a troupe's efforts to get an *Othello* production past the Islamic Republic's censors. Atila Pesyani's *Qajari Coffee* (2008), a bitter *Hamlet* parody in the traditional farce style called *Takht-e Hoz*i, turns Shakespeare's story into the play within the play staged during a failed Iranian revenge plot. Armenian-Iranian director Varuzh Karim Masihi's 2009 film *Tardid* (*Doubt*) adapts *Hamlet* to a contemporary Iranian setting. Mahmud Sabahi's *Hamlet Narrates Hamlet* (2009), a minimalistic version consisting of twelve monologues, focused on the 2009 Iranian presidential election and advocated an uprising (Partovi 2013).

In Israel, the stage history of *Romeo and Juliet* offers a rich example of the tension between formal experimentation and national allegory. The plot tempts directors to analogize either the local conflict between Israelis and Palestinians or the generational struggle within Israeli society; yet critics judge most productions on their technical merits. No topicality marked the play's debut on the Hebrew professional stage: Joseph Millo's 1957 Cameri version which tried to replicate a classical European production. In 1975, however, Haifa Theatre's production attempted to capture the decade's youthful spirit: the rather inexperienced cast in contemporary modern dress, on a minimalist set that reduced Verona to three bare scaffolds, did indeed recall early 1970s stage characters. It drew criticism for the young actors' crude realism, lacking any touch of heightened tragic style, and their insensitive delivery of the (specially retranslated) Shakespearean verse. A minimalist set also characterized Yoram Falk's 1978 *Romeo and Juliet* at the Be'er Sheva Municipal Theatre, this time dominated by a crude pine-tree arena with a crude rope-spanned pine bridge. Here, too, reviewers saw the minimalist set and modern props (swords became penknives) as attempting to contemporize the atmosphere; some mourned the "Lilliputian measures" (Evron 1978) of this departure from the grandeur allegedly required by Shakespeare's romantic tragedy.

Self-referential and self-critical work shortly ensued. Just a few years after commissioning the 1975 production, Haifa Municipal Theatre artistic director Oded Kotler offered the same Haifa audience a self-conscious adaptation dubbed *Shakespearement* (1981). His cast, including some of the 1975 performers, skimmed the surface of Shakespeare's tragic themes, showing instead the futility of young Israeli actors trying to mount a classic production. In a manifesto-like programme note, Kotler (1981) claimed the freedom to explore the text "without falling into imitation of the way a British company would cope with a Shakespeare play." He multiplied the major characters: a traditional Romeo and Juliet; a Palestinian Bedouin Romeo and a Jewish Juliet; and a third couple, dancing ballet to Sergei Prokofiev's *Romeo and Juliet*. His script interpolated other texts, some documentary, some written by the actors. The Mediterranean setting (long hot nights, boiling young blood) was emphasized and Israelized, downplaying Shakespeare's mediating marks of northern decorum. Kotler argued that the play's deep setting:

is one which always exists, in all times and all places. A society characterized by its propensity to hate, to hinder, to gather material assets, and still live in full

harmony. But when it tackles a true love story, spontaneous and passionate, it gets stunned, loses direction, falls out of track, becomes crazy and kills. . . . The love of Romeo and Juliet is our own youthful love. . . .

(Kotler 1981)

The critics, while supporting his concept, bemoaned the pretentious, superficially Brechtian, and literarily shallow result (Evron 1981). Michael Handelsaltz complained:

An Arab Romeo and Jewish Juliet standing side by side on stage indeed create expectations with the audience . . . yet it soon becomes clear that but for the mere display, Kotler and his actors have nothing to say about this conflict.

(Handelsaltz 1981)

Kotler's 1981 sketches were elaborated in the following decade. Rina Yerushalmi's abstract deconstruction of the play (Itim Ensemble, 1993) pursued the formalistic experiment. Establishing a common space for actors and spectators, ensemble members mingled and danced with the audience at the entrance, drawing them to sit around the arena at the centre of the white, intimate, rectangular auditorium. The arena held a sculpture of a horse, parts of which were dismantled and moved around during the performance. Similarly to the horse, and echoing Kotler's 1981 production, the characters were multiplied (three actresses and a male actor playing Juliet, three actors playing Romeo) "for the audience to grasp them as entities, rather than psychological personalities," Yerushalmi wrote (Cameri Theatre 1993). Nevertheless, most critics censured the production for its lack of passion and for the cold, stylized rituals that obscured the play's tragedy. Although commended for its attentive enunciation – not a habitual quality for Israelis rendering classical texts – Yerushalmi's production was much criticized for relying more on visual effects than the verbal core to convey meaning. This disjunction may account for the much warmer reception it enjoyed among foreign critics when it toured to London.

Meanwhile, against the background of the recently signed Oslo Accords, a joint production by the Palestinian Al-Kasaba Theatre and the Jewish Khan Theatre in Jerusalem (1994) appropriated Shakespeare's early experiment in tragedy to comment on local politics. In a dual-language production co-led by Palestinian director Fuad Awad and Jewish director Eran Baniel, the Montagues were played by Palestinian actors speaking Arabic, while the Jewish Capulets performed in Hebrew. The show was celebrated or judged more as a media event than as an artistic achievement: for instance, Al-Kasaba founder Georges Ibrahim said it aimed "to enable Palestinians and Israelis to know one another through a way other than the army and the Intifada" (1994). Some Jewish Israeli critics saw the political analogy as artificial and detrimental to the text's poetic values. Moreover, as far as transposing the story into the Middle East situation, the project missed its mark: whereas Shakespeare makes a point of emphasizing that no one remembers how the ancient feud between Montagues and Capulets began (deliberately omitting the one vague explanation in Arthur Brooke's poem), the cause of the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians is far from unknown. Such an interpretive approach would better fit a different play: *Troilus and Cressida*. Yet a 1980 production of *Troilus and Cressida* by Romanian

director David Essrig at Habima failed to register as a topical political allegory for the Middle East conflict. Received instead as an East European fable, it soon closed.

Shunning both classicism and further localization, many young directors have approached *Romeo and Juliet* as calling for intimate, stylized projects focusing on youthful energy. A third *Romeo and Juliet* at the Haifa Theatre (directed by Yossi Pollak, 2000) created an intimate enclosure, with the audience closely bordering the acting space and scenes divided between different levels. The scenography suggested a morbid death-wish; the two lovers were brought on stage in their coffins at the outset, visually indicating their doom. Nevertheless, despite a promising cast, the interesting theatrical environment, and live rock music by popular group The Tractor's Revenge led by Avi Belleli, critics complained of a lack of "romantic heroism" (Dudai 2000), coarse poetic diction, and stereotyped acting.

Another experiment fared better, Tmuna Theatre's production (2008) teaming up three young directors: Dafna Rubinstein, Tal Brenner, and Ido Shaked. Dividing the play into three parts, each director took command of some scenes. Yet the three perspectives came together in a dramatic unity thanks to the unified space (a white circus arena surrounded by black curtains) and the six young, black-and-white-clad actors. Critics found it successfully captured the play's exuberant richness with its co-ordinated acting, clear delivery of the verse, well-tuned movement and dance (the dying Romeo carrying the fainted Juliet in a dance from which she wakes, in a continuity of movement, to see him falling lifeless), modern sound adaptation of ancient music, creative lighting, and well-balanced mixture of comedy and passion.

Shakespeare appropriations in Arabic, as noted above, began to take postmodern approaches in the late 1970s. The two decades immediately preceding the 2010–11 Arab uprisings saw many stripped-down experimental appropriations with no evident political bite. In Egypt, for example, Muhammad Abdel Hadi directed a Peter Brook-inspired absurdist *King Lear* (1991); Khaled El Sawy created *Antorio wa-Kilo Batta* (*Antory and a Kilo of Duck*, 1998), a pantomime *Antony and Cleopatra*; Khaled Galal staged clown-based pastiches of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (2002) and *Hamlet* (2005); and Amir Shawqi directed a *Hamlet* (2004) where the Ghost was played simultaneously by three actors. Hani Afifi's *Ana Hamlit* (*I Am Hamlet*, 2009) highlighted a young man's lack of life options through his identification with Shakespeare's Prince. In the mainstream theatre, meanwhile, television personality Yahya El-Fakharani starred in a block-buster Egyptian National Theatre *King Lear* (2002). The pageantry-rich production gently nodded to political Shakespeares, with the Fool singing mildly subversive lyrics by colloquial poet Ahmad Fuad Negm (Selaiha 2002). A 2007 agitprop musical *Merchant of Venice* directed by Galal El-Sharqawi caused little controversy, although the play has rarely been performed in Egypt. One of several youth-theatre Shakespeare adaptations at the Egyptian National Theatre Festival that year, it struck a leading critic as suffering from "forced" application to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict (Selaiha 2007). At the same 2007 festival, a *Tempest* adaptation by Essam al-Sayyed (in Egyptian Arabic) produced a Brechtian alienation effect by citing classic Egyptian films and interrupting the performance to converse with the audience.

Although Shakespeare is usually translated into literary (modern standard) Arabic, several other Egyptian colloquial Arabic translations have been tried, most in the 1980s and most driven by a desire for actable scripts. Mohamed Enani's colloquial

Merry Wives of Windsor at Cairo's state-run al-Tali'a theatre (1981) impressed audiences but outraged classical-minded critics. Playwright-academic Samir Sarhan translated *As You Like It* (1983) and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1984) into Egyptian colloquial Arabic, while playwright Nu'man 'Ashur published a colloquial *Othello* in 1984. Two later vernacular *Othellos* were Muhammad Safi al-Din's adaptation '*Utayl: Al-jawla al-akhira* (*Othello: The Last Round*, 1988) (Ghazoul 1998) and a 1998 translation by France-based psychoanalyst Mustafa Safouan (Hanna 2003). Other *Othello* pastiches have included Sameh Mahran's *Doditello* (2001), a farce about Diana Princess of Wales and her (Egyptian) lover Dodi Fayed (Selaiha 2001); and Ahmad El Attar and Nevine El-Ibiary's *About Othello, or Who's Afraid of William Shakespeare?* (2006), a self-styled "Elizabethan collage," staged in Cairo and Switzerland, about the difficulty of interracial and intercultural unions.

In Syria, Ramzi Shuqayr's *Zayr Salim and Prince Hamlet* – staged first in Arabic in Damascus (2002–03) and then, in Arabic and French with different casts, in Paris (2005) and Damascus (2006) – stressed the ugly side of vengeance, bringing together Hamlet and the legendary medieval Arab hero Zayr Salim in a dialogue where their opposed revenge claims produce disastrous consequences. Shuqayr alluded to *Al-Zayr Salim*, a well-known 1967 play by Alfred Farag, whose eponymous protagonist had resembled Hamlet and demanded absolute justice. A remarkable Lebanese production was *Akhir Yom* (*The Last Day*, 2004), an Arabic *Romeo and Juliet* adaptation directed by Marwan al-Rahbani and created by composer Oussama al-Rahbani in collaboration with American actress/choreographer Debbie Allen, who had performed in *West Side Story* on Broadway (1980). Also invoking Baz Luhrmann's 1996 film *Romeo + Juliet*, it transformed these influences into a rivalry between basketball teams from (Christian) East and (Muslim) West Beirut. An added sub-plot – a love-story across class, religious, and neighbourhood lines – revealed the "depth of integration between East and West in Beirut and the Arab world" (Khoury 2008: 61) and complicated any simple binary thinking about post-Civil War Lebanon.

More recently, a technically polished Palestinian *Richard II*, produced by the Ashtar Theatre Company with Irish guest director Conall Morrison, reprised the mid-twentieth-century artistic strategy of staging high-quality Shakespeare productions to argue for international recognition. The show appeared at the 2012 Globe to Globe, the same London festival where the Israeli Habima Theatre's *Merchant of Venice* drew protests. Although new to the play, Ashtar seized the commission. Artistic director Iman Aoun later joked at a talkback, "When you have a king who does battle in Ireland and then goes on pilgrimage to Palestine, we knew we had to collaborate with Conall!" (Aoun *et al.* 2012). Rather than localize the play through Palestinian dialect or scenography, Ashtar defied the festival organizers' multicultural show-case agenda and instead produced a high-quality, pointedly literary Shakespeare production. (Palestinian poet Ghassan Zaqtan updated Mohamed Enani's literary Arabic translation for speakability, not locality.) This overtly depoliticized approach sent a subtextual nationalist message: a Palestinian company can produce real world-class Shakespeare, not folk or local retellings.

The best-known postmodern Arab Shakespeare adapter has been the Anglo-Kuwaiti Sulayman Al-Bassam, whose *Arab Shakespeare Trilogy* has responded to the key turning-points of Arab history since 2001. *The Al-Hamlet Summit* engaged the events and aftermath of 9/11, turning Hamlet into an Islamist militant who ends up

“firing mortars from the Mosque” while the secular autocrat Claudius fires back from the palace (Al-Bassam 2014: 55). The 2007 *Richard III: An Arab Tragedy* deployed Gulf Arab performance traditions and examined the invasion of Iraq by the United States. The problematic, semi-finished *The Speaker’s Progress* (2011) intertextualized *Twelfth Night* to reflect on censorship, desire, and the problematically unfinished 2011 Arab uprisings (Litvin 2014).

CONCLUSION

As we have shown, while less than a century and a half old, Middle Eastern traditions of Shakespeare translation and performance have been abundant and diverse, producing many artistically inventive and politically acute works. They have drawn on many sources in many countries and languages, including some hitherto overlooked by research into global Shakespeare appropriation. We believe this co-authored chapter represents the first attempt to consider the distinct theatre worlds and Shakespeare traditions of this region, usually researched separately, in a single regionally angled narrative. We hope other scholars will also adopt this multiperspectival strategy in considering the rich cultural histories of the Middle East that have shaped Shakespearean theatre in the region.

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CHAPTER SIX

SHAKESPEARE IN AFRICA

—♦—
Sandra Young

Shakespeare's relationship with Africa is as old as the plays themselves. This is not because the plays made their way to Africa during the playwright's own lifetime: despite frequent allusions to the first recorded staging of *Hamlet* aboard the Red Dragon in 1607, anchored off the coast of Sierra Leone, recent scholarship by Bernice W. Kliman (2011) has cast doubt on the authenticity of this tale. The tenacity of the myth of the Red Dragon *Hamlet* points to the ongoing fascination of the Shakespearean world, and its population of scholars and theatre-practitioners, with the idea of Africa.

The relationship between Africa and Shakespeare may have begun in the plays themselves, because English fascination and anxiety regarding Africa and the Africans who were already part of their realm are reflected in the preoccupations and language of the plays. The figure of the "swarthy Ethiope" is conjured, not only as a negative point of comparison to external standards of beauty, in a declaration by Proteus in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*: Julia is rendered "but a swarthy Ethiope" through the comparison with "fair" Silvia (2.6.25–26). The quality of being "black," as embodied in the figure of the Ethiopian, is also a matter of perceived moral abhorrence; and it is applicable to words as well as to "countenance" so that, in *As You Like It*, Rosalind ascribes the quality of being "Ethiop" (that is, as an adjective) to iniquitous words as much as to bodies when she declaims: "Such Ethiop words, blacker in their effect/ Than in their countenance" (4.3.36–37). This is not to say that one need attribute to the playwright the bigotry that some of his characters exhibit. When Iago maligns Othello in incendiary images that render the protagonist more animal than human, "an old black ram" (1.1.88) and "a Barbary horse" (1.1.113), the offensive images emerge from Iago's evident mischief-making and do not gain gravity, despite their catalysing effects in the world of the play itself. Still, the prevalence and bigotry of tropes such as "Ethiop" and "Barbary horse" point to the rhetorical purchase of an eminently malignable Africa already in discursive circulation by the time Shakespeare was producing his plays.

Early modern ideas of African difference colour the perceived alterity of other groups, including the Irish, where skin colour was not at issue, as Kim F. Hall has argued. Through her analyses of a variety of cultural texts, Hall has demonstrated

that the early modern discourse of “blackness” is widespread and powerful, and that it “depend[s] on a visual schema that itself relies on an idea of African difference” (1995: 7). What we see at work in ideas coalescing around Africa and Africans in Shakespeare’s plays reflects an emerging discourse shaping notions of human difference at a time when the English were imagining themselves as an expansionist nation through compilations such as Richard Hakluyt’s *Principall Navigations . . . of the English nation* (1589), which helped to assert English claims in the New World and to shift from the idea of England as a feudal realm to the more modern sense of England as a nation. The compilations project a vision of England as politically coherent within its borders and ascendant beyond them, and offer English readers the vicarious experience of encountering the worlds beyond their shorelines.

The fact that there are not many references to Africa in Shakespeare’s works does not minimize the weight of its signifying presence in helping to give shape to the outsider, a figure against whom an idea of Englishness could take hold. Ania Loomba urges us to recognize the formative roles of Shakespeare’s outsiders – the Turks, Jews, and Ethiops – who populate the margins of his plays:

For many years influential critics regarded such figures as mere footnotes to a theatre that was seen as predominantly European in its focus and interest. But, in fact, they help us scrutinize the very boundary between European and non-European, and see how it is constructed at a time when Europe’s interactions with other worlds were becoming increasingly complicated.

(Loomba 2002: 8)

As a result:

although in numerical terms there were few Turks, or Africans, or Jews in England, representations of them are crucial for understanding the culture as a whole and its changing relationship with the rest of the world.

(Loomba 2002: 10)

The few Africans we do encounter in Shakespeare’s plays help establish a powerful imaginary which has fuelled centuries of cultural and scholarly engagements.

From the start, then, the relationship between Shakespeare and Africa is characterized by ambivalence. While there is much to celebrate, the cultural inheritance of Shakespeare’s plays across the continent is affected by his association with a particular form of Englishness, made exclusionary through the power relations of colonization and its racialized imaginary. But Shakespeare’s works have also offered opportunities to unsettle those deprecatory associations and to recognize their partisan deployments and modes of resistance.

The inquiry this chapter seeks to make has to do with the life Shakespearean drama has found since the earliest encounters between Shakespeare and Africa. In the four centuries since their creation, the plays have been reanimated through their encounters with more cultures than the playwright himself could have imagined. Translocated into new contexts and revived by their idioms, Shakespeare’s dramas have found new life. This chapter on Shakespeare in Africa offers an opportunity to

explore the mutual resonances that Shakespeare and Africa have found, and to consider how these have been exploited by theatre-practitioners in ways that confound expectations of an antagonistic relationship shaped by histories of imperialism and colonization. For veteran South African actor and liberation activist John Kani, there are many ways in which Shakespeare is “relevant to us as Africans,” as he explains in the *British Theatre Guide* (2008):

We have a history of colonisation by the British. Through missionaries at schools, we were taught to speak good English, the Queen’s language. Why Shakespeare is relevant to us as Africans is that he tells stories of great kingdoms, great wars and battles, great love stories, stories of hatred, good vs. evil, mythology. These things make up the African culture. What makes Shakespeare’s work classic is that it still has relevance today in African society.

Shakespeare is not synonymous with British colonization, Kani seems to suggest. African theatre-makers have found within Shakespeare’s creative works resonances and sympathies with which to connect their own. These continuities are not only a result of the rich potentiality of Shakespeare’s work. They are also a product of the creative input and resourcefulness of those working with Shakespeare’s plays here and now. Generations of Africans have made Shakespeare uniquely theirs. His work has been a resource for African writers and activists, for example in the vibrant life of Sophiatown (a suburb of Johannesburg), as Natasha Distiller has argued convincingly (2003). In her study of the culture of 1960s Sophiatown, with its music-halls and the writers’ associations feeding *Drum* magazine, Distiller has described Shakespeare’s place in building a cultural landscape within which to imagine an Africa at liberty.

The crucial point for scholarship is not to take Shakespeare’s ongoing life in Africa as just cause to reiterate the dominant partner in the dyad “African Shakespeare.” The vividness of African interpretations of Shakespeare does not affirm Shakespeare’s supposed universalism or mythical relevance. Rather, vivid reworkings contribute to the reinvigoration of Shakespeare’s work which, having crossed over multiple borders in time and space, is transformed and set aglow in a process of mutual enlivening – *affiliation*, to use Edward Said’s term – rather than contest. Said explains his vision of the transformation of “traveling texts” in this way: “To speak here only of borrowing and adaptation is not adequate. There is in particular an intellectual, and perhaps moral, community of a remarkable kind, *affiliation* in the deepest and most interesting sense of the word” (2002: 452). The invitation to Shakespearean scholars is to trace this process of (mutual) invigoration and reflect on its significance.

THE AFRICANIZATION OF SHAKESPEARE

In exploring the ongoing presence of Shakespeare across Africa, my emphasis is not on the remarkable phenomenon of Shakespeare’s ability to travel across the expanses of time, place, and human difference. More noteworthy, it seems to me, is the capacity of generations of cultural workers, politicians, and theatre-practitioners to draw Shakespeare into their worlds, imagining new encounters with creative resources as seemingly diverse as Hamlet’s eloquent meditations on how to exist under an

illegitimate regime and the visceral effects of cowhide drumming. Shakespeare in Africa is necessarily a transformed artefact, brought to life in new ways. The relationship of influence works in both directions, and beyond; that is, the reimagining of Shakespeare in Africa makes apparent both the impact of Shakespeare as a rich resource of creative and public life when he has travelled to places beyond his conceiving, and also the ways in which Shakespeare has been transformed and invigorated during his travels in Africa.

It is well to ask what Africa might be understood to offer Shakespeare, and what it is that Shakespeare has offered to various parts of Africa, its leaders, and the social activists who work within the world of the theatre. The discussion below will consider Shakespeare's complex entanglements with colonial histories and the insistence by anti-colonial intellectuals, such as the Kenyan scholar Alamin M. Mazrui, on the need to produce challenging "reinterpretation[s]" of Shakespeare within Africa (1996: 68). It will also consider Shakespeare's availability as a *resource* for African writers, activists, and post-colonial politicians – for example, in the life of Sophiatown, as Natasha Distiller (2003) has shown, and in the humanist and literary associations of political figures like Julius Nyerere. An investigation into the ways in which Shakespeare has been reproduced and transformed in various African contexts over the last century or so promises to reward us not only with a sense of the rich possibilities invoked by his plays, but also with theoretical insights into the cultural and political contestations emerging from the global south.

But many versions of what is thought of as Africa have appeared since Shakespeare was at work. Malvern van Wyk Smith reminds us that "the concept of 'Africa' has always been a construct" (2009: 64). His study of the figuration of Africa from antiquity until the early modern period demonstrates the tenacity of the myths about the supposedly dark continent, myths that were inherited by early modern writers, compilers, and cartographers. A number of recent studies have drawn attention to the rhetorical and linguistic instabilities in early modern representations of Africa and the New World. In *Race and Rhetoric in the Renaissance: Barbarian Errors*, Ian Smith investigates the "erroneous" but enduring association between Africa and barbarism, a concept saturating centuries of language usage (2009: 85). The lingering effects of this early modern association of Africa and Africans with the quality of beastliness are identified in the work of the philosopher Achille Mbembe, who finds that the "discourse on Africa is almost always deployed in the framework (or on the fringes) of a meta-text about the *animal* – to be exact, about the *beast*: its experience, its world, and its spectacle" (2001: 1; emphasis in the original).

The conjuring of an idea of Africa within the world of Shakespearean theatre is an ambivalent matter, not universally to be celebrated. An Africanized Shakespeare is as likely to reproduce, uncritically, the appeal of the exotic as it is to signal new resonances of Shakespeare's work. The tension is apparent in an appropriation such as Welcome Msomi's *uMabatha: The Zulu Macbeth* in 1960 and in its post-apartheid revival. Distiller argues that Msomi's *uMabatha* participates in "a particular performance of 'Africa' and 'Africanness,' which can be traced to typical colonial discourses of African landscapes and people" (2004: 149). I, too, am interested in the work Africa has been asked to do in productions that self-consciously locate themselves within an African imaginary, such as the Royal Shakespeare Company (RSC)/Baxter Theatre's explicitly "Africanized" *Tempest* (2009), which is discussed

below as a case-study. There are undoubtedly risks, as well as benefits, in the conscious Africanization of Shakespeare.

The acclaimed Shakespearean actor Sir Antony Sher articulates the spine-chillingly powerful effect of Africanization in a production of *Macbeth*. He describes seeing a Zulu “witch” sneeze as part of an on-stage witchcraft ritual in a 1995 revival of *uMabatha: The Zulu Macbeth* by its original director-deviser, Welcome Msomi. It is, he says, “like a cold finger stroking my spine” (Doran and Sher 1996: 237):

Seeing the play done in this context, in a society with a real relationship to witchcraft – like Shakespeare’s society – makes me realise why ninety-nine per cent of modern British *Macbeths* fail. Once you’ve witnessed the ferocity and conviction of the Zulu witches, you blush at the memory of assorted British actresses in ragged shawls, prosthetic warts and Celtic accents.

(Doran and Sher 1996: 237)

This tribute to the virtuosity of Msomi’s production suggests that the contribution of the idea of Shakespeare to the idea of Africa works in reverse, too. When Shakespeare is taken out of the centre and reconfigured in other cultural and political contexts, he returns affirmed, enlivened, and authenticated – to an extent that “prosthetic” warts could not achieve (Doran and Sher 1996: 237). Sher describes a similar effect in his own production of *Titus Andronicus*, produced by the RSC and staged in South Africa in 1995, during the country’s heady first months of democracy. Acts of brutality that seemed comically out of place in modern-day Stratford suddenly made sense in South Africa:

Whereas the scene can be absurd and revolting elsewhere, doing the play here in South Africa, a society which has suffered decades of atrocious violence, a strange reversal occurs. The acts of brutality, instead of being gratuitous or extreme, seem only too familiar, and the focus turns instead on to how the characters deal with that violence and the impact of grief.

(Doran and Sher 1996: 150)

Africa seems to offer new life to the Shakespearean stage. But what kind of Africa is being set up as interlocutor here? It seems to me that the invocation of an Africa that is hideously violent, in the case of *Titus Andronicus*, or an Africa practised in the art of forgiveness and catharsis, in the case of *The Tempest*, is not neutral or uninflected by cultural and political interests.

A joint production of *The Tempest* in Cape Town and Stratford provocatively prompts the question of what happens when an unapologetic, celebratory Africa is invited into conversation with Shakespeare. This Africanized *Tempest* harnessed a powerful blend of creative and institutional capacity, from both north and south. The production was jointly produced (and funded) by the RSC and Cape Town’s Baxter Theatre Centre (Figure 6.1). Conceived and directed by well-known South African theatre director Janice Honeyman, it starred two internationally acclaimed actors, John Kani and Antony Sher. In discussing this staging, I would like to raise questions about the gains in cultural capital that come with Africanization, for Shakespeare and for as established an institution as the RSC.



Figure 6.1 The Baxter Theatre Centre's *The Tempest*.
© Eric Miller/Baxter Theatre Centre

This consciously Africanized production, with its racialized binaries, warrants further reflection, particularly in relation to the interpretative function that Africa performs in the conversation between Shakespeare and Africa.

The production addressed itself boldly to South African racial history and engaged the discourse of forgiveness that was so current in public culture at the time. Shakespeare was thus invited to share in the sociality of *ubuntu*, with its relational approach to personhood, invoked in this staging despite all that has transpired during colonialism's abuses. The category of Englishness, too, is arguably a beneficiary of this sociality and goodwill through the iconic figure of Shakespeare. Translated into a post-apartheid South Africa, canonical Shakespeare was brought to life and renewed beyond what

would be possible in a less innovative staging. This particular Africanization of *The Tempest* creates for Prospero, the colonizer, an opportunity to stage a confession and to be rehumanized through the subtle but compelling invocation of the discourse of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). It is a post-TRC South Africa that provides the field of meanings within which this production is placed. The figure of the tyrant is given a stage (of his own making) and a hearing, TRC-style, through which to offer his half-hearted acknowledgement of wrongs perpetrated, and then, following Caliban's absolution, to re-enter civil society and take up his dukedom.

It is worth reflecting on how the reversal that renders the colonial tyrant vulnerable becomes possible, and how the production's racial coding helped it to achieve this interpretative effect. For one, the chilling brutality was reserved, in this production, for the underlings – the so-called “masterless men,” Trinculo and Stephano – whose aspirations to join the ruling classes are manifestly absurd and given expression most articulately in the terrifying gesture of the *sjambok*, or whip. South African theatre-goers would have recognized their aspirations as absurd, because these characters were marked, racially and culturally, as coming from the serving classes in the Western Cape's race history – that is to say, those classified as so-called “coloured.” The apartheid racial classification process forced racial categories onto complex and fluid historical allegiances, and this legacy of coercion and resistance in relation to racial categories lingers in post-apartheid South Africa. The word *coloured* became an all-encompassing term, rejected during the political struggle against apartheid for people of mixed racial origin, many of whom were descendants of slaves. The effect of Honeyman's casting strategy was to displace the violence of imperialist power onto those who had also been at its mercy. Moreover, the humour created by choosing to play Trinculo and Stephano as Cape minstrels, or *Kaapse Klopse* – made all the more loose-tongued through drink – rendered hilarious both their ham-fisted but vicious treatment of Caliban and the history of slavery in South Africa. The *Kaapse* accent; the references to the characteristically local fish, *snoek*; the breaking into minstrel songs, “Gatiema, Fatiema”; and Trinculo's pathetic, drunken lugubriousness, along with his wit, were key sources of the striking comedy in this production.

The play's racially coded logic required that the other, more respectable serving class be given a different inflection within the broad racial stratum. The wise old man, Gonzalo, and the ship's master were presented as imam-like figures, turbaned and bespectacled (in the case of Gonzalo), their accents less broad, their demeanour more dignified. The casting of John Kani in the role of Caliban, on the other hand, had a different effect. Kani is the master of the (post-)apartheid stage, internationally recognized for his role in bringing anti-apartheid theatre (or “struggle theatre,” as it is popularly known) to the attention of the world. He is the Madiba of the stage. To cast him as the supposed monster, Caliban, is to invite outrage before he has spoken a word in Caliban's voice. Caliban's challenge to Prospero – “This island's mine, by Sycorax my mother,/ Which thou tak'st from me” (I.2.333–34) – addressed a post-apartheid hermeneutic intense with anger at decades of injustice. The subjugation of Kani's elderly Caliban by the younger so-called “coloured” boors was distressing to witness. This Caliban's inability to read the social order correctly – taking a drunken, comic fool for a god and master, and offering Stephano his foot-licking subjugation – was disturbing rather than comic.

The play's preoccupation with the abuse of power, and the righting of wrongful exercise of power with recourse to the giving and receiving of forgiveness, was made much of in this production. It was impossible not to interpret the play in the light of the TRC. In the words of one UK reviewer, it "cannot help but remind us of the birth of the new South Africa and the pressing need for reconciliation, truth and forgiveness" (Spencer 2009). The audience witnessed the *sjambok* being fiercely cracked. Caliban *toyi-toyed* (danced) in protest, as another critic put it, with the dignity of a Nelson Mandela; he uttered his curses in *isiXhosa*, whose mysterious power was evident, but not translated, for the largely English-speaking audience. Ariel appealed for *nkululeko*, freedom from an oppressor whose victimization was rendered immediately recognizable, at least to South African audiences. In laying down his rifle, the chilling weapon of the apartheid-serving South African Defence Force, Prospero got to model the forgiveness he would shortly solicit from his wronged slave, celebrating this exercise of his "nobler reason" over "fury" as a "virtue" and closing down the possibility of "vengeance" as a legitimate choice (5.1.26, 28).

Perhaps the most significant staging innovation was that Caliban remained on stage once the other players had left, to hear – indeed, to receive directly – Prospero's address. The final two lines of his Epilogue's plea, in particular, were delivered as an instruction: "As you from crimes would pardoned be/ Let your indulgence set me free" (19–20). Despite what Prospero has just told us about his lack of enforcing spirits and his strength, which now is "most faint" (Epilogue 1–18), the power dynamic has not shifted, in that an admittedly weakened Prospero is still the primary agent. The coup lies in his ongoing ability to direct the proceedings, having sought forgiveness for what he calls his "faults" (Epilogue 18), the cruelties that are now rendered, simply, as mistakes. After the very public extension of forgiveness to his would-be assailants, comic though they are, he seeks reciprocity.

The effect of this particular staging decision was to give life both to the partisan discourse of public forgiveness in South Africa and to the powerful figure of Shakespeare in his uncanny capacity to speak to a radically different context after 400 years. But, in order to achieve this uncanny prescience, the production depended upon an uncritical reproduction of racial stereotypes as a source of humour and pathos in the play, and the final resolution rendered the powerful figure of Prospero admirable and forgivable in the mode of South Africa's TRC. Admittedly, this staging consciously brought colonial oppression to the fore. Even so, the iconic status of Shakespeare and a sentimentalized and aestheticized Africa made it difficult to think critically about the relationship between Shakespeare's play and South African political history without reproducing the colonial relations that have structured thought and identity.

TRANSLATION AND INDIGENIZATION

To be sure, Shakespeare in Africa brings into view the impact of contextual complexity in generating meaning and the impact of lingering legacies of apartheid, colonialist educational and cultural practices, and globalization. To translate Shakespeare into a here and now – to indigenize Shakespeare and to make him "our" own – is to traverse daunting terrain, historical, geographical, and political. The Shakespeare

that emerged at an earlier moment of coloniality in Africa – before the independence movements of the 1960s and 1970s – presents a more ambiguous figure, by turns the guarantor of elevated cultural standing on the one hand and of localized appropriation on the other.

Even where English is spoken as an official language, as the legacy of English colonialism, the problem of translation is likely to emerge in post-independence engagement with Shakespeare's work. It therefore invites consideration of the complicating effects of linguistic translation, which David Schalkwyk argues "betrays" even as it "also recuperates, by giving new life to dead letters within it" (2006: 39). It is this apparent betrayal and the possibilities that derive from it that demand our attention. Recent scholarship calls for an acknowledgement that Shakespeare's language, too, is always already polyglot and multiply translated, his cultural and linguistic formation never singular. For Pier Paolo Frassinelli, "Shakespeare comes to us already translated" (2014: 57). Indeed, one way to further "the project of decentring Shakespeare" and, one might add, opening up his creative legacy, is to consider "the multilingual and creolised character of Shakespeare's own language, and therefore the multicultural dimension that Shakespeare's texts embody" (57). If the putative original is understood to be less fixed, more provisional, it becomes more welcoming to new interpretations, and open to the affinities and resonances generated in new cultural contexts. The translocation of Shakespeare into Africa brings this kind of change into view more clearly.

A staging context which calls for visible cultural and linguistic translation makes plain the interpretative distance that in a sense all audiences are invited to traverse, through their own resourcefulness and through that of the theatre-makers. A Shakespeare who has travelled beyond the borders of the English-speaking world is a transformed Shakespeare, enriched by the soil of each new place, shaped by its winds. Shakespeare in Africa invites us to think of Shakespeare beyond a familiar, Stratford-based version. As Schalkwyk writes in his discussion of Afrikaans poet Uys Krige's *Twaalfde Nag*, if we free ourselves to see translations "not as a falling off from a pristine original, but rather as an extension of Shakespeare – part of a more broadly conceived Shakespearean text confined to no single language or nation" (2006: 47), then we are open to recognizing more fully the rich inheritance that Africa has bequeathed to Shakespeare.

The translation of Shakespeare into indigenous languages has produced a complex set of transformations, evident in plays such as Julius Nyerere's *Juliasi Kaizari* (1963) and *Mabepari wa Venisi* (1969), published by Oxford University Press during his tenure as president of Tanzania; the translations into seTswana by the South African intellectual Sol Plaatje of *A Comedy of Errors* or *Diphosphoso* (1930) and *Julius Caesar* or *Dintshontsho tsa bo-Juliuse Kesara* (1937); and Uys Krige's translation of *Twelfth Night* into *Twaalfde Nag* (1967). Shakespeare becomes the site of Nyerere's affirmation of the linguistic sophistication of Swahili and the political sovereignty of his people, in much the same way as Plaatje's literary work has been understood. Plaatje's engagement with Shakespeare marked a significant turn: despite the effects of chauvinistic English-school education, Shakespeare in Africa in the twentieth century was not synonymous with a series of oppressive regimes – from the paternalistic colonial governments of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to the lethal racism of the apartheid state in South Africa.

In West Africa, Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* was reimagined as a powerful figure of *Krio* democracy in Thomas Decker's *Juliohs Siza*. More recently, Mauritian playwright Dev Virahsawmy has refashioned Shakespeare's plays entirely by inserting them into an Indian Ocean world. Virahsawmy's celebration of the language and politics of Creole in works such as *Toufann* (1999) renders Shakespeare's world irrepressibly polyvocal.

The array of translations and reworkings of Shakespeare from across the continent and its oceanic worlds signals decisively that Shakespeare was deemed to belong, as "ours," to a time and place and constituency far removed from Stratford-upon-Avon at the turn of the seventeenth century. African practitioners bring to light the possibility of forging networks of solidarity across time and space – from twentieth-century anti-colonial Mauritius to London, the city from which an increasingly nation-conscious England sought to engage the seemingly expanding world at the end of the sixteenth century.

Recent scholarship acknowledges the unique cultural artefact constituted by a seTswana *Julius Caesar*. For example, Brian Willan argues that Plaatje's translations involved a significant degree of revision:

Far from seeking to emulate Shakespeare with a literal translation, Plaatje sought rather to transform Shakespeare to his own ends, using Shakespeare to explore the linguistic riches and resources of Setswana.

(Willan 2012: 4)

Meanwhile Natasha Distiller argues that Plaatje's *Diphosophoso* and *Dintshontsho tsa bo-Julius Kesara* are more like originals in their own rights than translations.

Given that he translated the plays idiomatically there is a case to be made for viewing this work as using Shakespeare as a source in much the same way Shakespeare himself relied on source material. Making his work available to those of us who do not speak seTswana would enable much more sustained engagements with how Plaatje used Shakespeare, as well as with his plays as texts in their own rights.

(Distiller 2008: 143)

A shift in priorities in post-apartheid South African public culture and educational policy has rendered this wish as yet unrealized. With the advent of democracy and its revisions to the South African National Curriculum, Shakespeare's position in South African schools has changed, an alteration noted by South African poet and literary scholar Siphokazi Jonas (2014). In post-apartheid South Africa, Shakespeare has had to take a back seat, even in first-language literary studies at the high-school level, as one of a number of choices.

SHAKESPEARE AND DECOLONIZATION IN AFRICA

This shift in educational policy, post-apartheid in South Africa and post-independence elsewhere on the continent, marks an appropriate change. Arguably it frees Shakespeare from his place in the tool-box of English colonial power, given

his pre-eminence within English literary studies. In her seminal study of Indian education policy in the nineteenth century, *Masks of Conquest* (1989), Gauri Viswanathan has shown how anxious colonial administrators were able to use the discipline of English literary studies to produce compliant subjects. A similar effect was evident in colonial education in Africa. As David Johnson has argued, Shakespeare was a key part of a “policy of Anglicisation” (1996: 23), although in reality the inculcation of Shakespeare was uneven. Brian Willan (2012) has described the enthusiasm for Shakespeare, along with biblical studies, as somewhat surprising partners in the missionary schools of the nineteenth century. This enthusiasm for Shakespeare was especially pronounced, as Willan has shown, among clerics from the Church of England, many of them from the privately educated upper classes who felt committed to including Shakespeare on their syllabuses. It was expressed by the local church, most significantly by the first African cleric, Gabriel David, whose love of Shakespeare resulted in a production of *Twelfth Night* in 1874, reported by Plaatje as having been performed in “English and Secoana,” a local dialect of seTswana (Willan 2012: 6). Willan attributes this presence of Shakespeare in the mission schools of the nineteenth century to the influence of David’s tenure under Nathaniel Merriman, at the time Archdeacon, at an institution established for the training of Africa’s future teachers and clergy. Merriman had delivered a series of lectures on Shakespeare in Grahamstown. These inspired performances such as the one by David which Willan notes was attended by Plaatje, who is credited with securing the place of Shakespeare in southern Africa during the latter half of the nineteenth century, even as he used Shakespeare to bring into view the seTswanan experience of political adversity.

The complexity of Shakespeare’s revered language became a mechanism to affirm the elevated capacities of local languages and the sophistication of modern African public cultural life. Alamin M. Mazrui (1996) has argued that Julius Nyerere’s translation of Shakespeare into Swahili became an opportunity to show off the rich linguistic and idiomatic textures of Swahili, which benefited from the cultural capital of the playwright whose pre-eminence, within the English-speaking world and beyond, has been unrivalled. But this argument bespeaks a complex relationship to Shakespeare and what he is said to represent. It enacts a reverence that Shakespeare would probably have found perplexing. In post-independence Africa an unreflective deference to Shakespeare sits awkwardly, although political leaders continue to include quotations in their speeches. Daniel Roux notes the predilection for quoting from Shakespeare’s tragedies in the early years of post-apartheid South Africa, a preference that became “even more pronounced” in the public addresses of the post-1994 presidents: “Mandela and his successor, Thabo Mbeki, referenced *Julius Caesar*, *Coriolanus*, *Macbeth* and *Richard III*” (Roux 2015: 1). These allusions are generally offered out of context and often without registering the sense of irony or nuance of the excerpted piece, as Roux argues: “Shakespeare’s mixture of styles, in fact, facilitates this kind of decontextualisation. . . . Shakespeare’s portability across time and space is assisted by the distinctive polyvocality of his dramatic style” (2015: 5). This decontextualizing of Shakespearean text produces unreliable sound bites which reflect more on the speaker’s preoccupations and interests than on the plays.

Shakespeare's pull is thus not a simple matter, and not only attributable to a kind of false conscientiousness:

There is a long tradition of South Africans appropriating Shakespeare, which goes back to the colonial mission schools. The nature of that appropriation is complex, and involves socio-political interactions and aspirations.

(Distiller 2012: 4)

Undoubtedly the work itself, too, with the resonance and prominence of its language, makes itself available for many different kinds of articulations. The difficulty emerges when it is treated as uniquely expressive in an unimpeachable global cultural hierarchy. Ironically, post-colonial Shakespeare studies have at times been guilty of this idealization, as Harry Garuba has argued: it is all too tempting to view Shakespeare as the "privileged site for thinking about non-Western subjectivities" (2002: 220). The celebration of Shakespeare as the ultimate vehicle for articulating the self in the complex worlds of modern-day Africa risks reinscribing the cultural hierarchies against which African independence movements have militated.

The late African intellectual Ali A. Mazrui (1967) was willing to affirm the standing of Shakespeare's work within a post-colonial Africa, even as he acknowledged its troubled association with the history of British colonialization. For him, at least, Shakespeare was not synonymous with ideological Englishness: "Shakespeare has never been under the cloud of rejection in Africa, though the language in which he wrote has known its moments of disrepute among cultural nationalists in Africa" (quoted in Wright 1990/91: 31). But Mazrui made this assertion just before the dramatic debate of the early 1970s which, arguably, brought about precisely the changes to curricular choices and cultural sensibilities that caused Shakespeare's pre-eminence to recede, making way for the flourishing of African literature. The publishing success of Heinemann's African Writers Series and the new generation of writing it circulated was arguably a direct consequence. As an educational press, Heinemann was in some way dependent on the English literature curriculum, which was formulated in Cambridge until the early 1970s. James Currey explains the predicament he and his colleagues working on Heinemann's African Writers Series faced in the early days, trying to operate as "an educational company publishing books for an educational system that did not have an established place for African writers" (2003: 578–79). Whereas in the 1950s and 1960s the "examination boards were still based in Cambridge, London and Durham," in "the heady years of independence new examination boards were set up" whose "examiners delighted in raiding the African Writers Series to prescribe texts" (Currey 2003: 579).

Currey's experience points to the close relationship among institutionalized education, the publishing industry, and the ideological battle between canonical English literature and African nationalism. Shakespeare seems to have been squarely on the wrong side in this battle for liberation. As Ngugi wa Thiong'o tells it, this is the case (although other African writers, politicians, and theatre-makers have felt an affinity with Shakespeare's work, as we shall see below). When describing his Leavisite education in colonial Kenya, and its association of "great" English literature with a higher moral order, Ngugi exclaims at how "many seminars we spent on detecting this moral significance in every paragraph, in every word, even in Shakespeare's

full stops and commas” (1986: 90). The influence of this very particular moment of literary studies is perhaps not surprising, he argues, given the importation of English literary studies through the satellite campuses of the University of London established in Uganda, Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Kenya, and Tanzania after the Second World War in the 1950s: “the structures of the literary studies evolved in the colonial schools and universities had continued well into independence completely unaffected by any winds of change” (Ngugi 1986: 90).

Change, when it came, took the form of an intellectual revolution within the universities, when academics at the University of Nairobi issued a statement about the Eurocentric bias of the English literature curriculum in October 1968. Shortly thereafter, a much larger gathering of academics expressed their support for Africanization of the curriculum, at the 1969 Nairobi Conference of English and Literature Departments of the Universities of East and Central Africa (see Ngugi 1986: 94). In the 1974 conference on “Teaching African Literature in Kenyan Schools,” delegates deplored the dominance of Western cultural models in Africa:

Africa uncritically imbibed values that were alien and had no immediate relevance to her people. Thus was the richness of Africa’s cultural heritage degraded, and her people labelled as primitive and savage.

(quoted in Ngugi 1986: 100)

The “hell let loose by the conference” (Ngugi 1986: 101) and the delegates’ fiercely articulated rejection of Western cultural dominance brought this debate to further prominence, moving it into the public domain and into the schools sector where, until then, “our students were still being *subjected to alien cultural values*” (quoted in Ngugi 1986: 100; emphasis in the original). For those educators, a “sound educational policy is one which enables students to *study the culture and environment of their own society first*” (quoted in Ngugi 1986: 100; emphasis in the original).

While calls for the decolonization of the curriculum catalysed the widespread removal of British literature in favour of African literature in schools and universities, the one exception for many years was Shakespeare. For Ngugi this contradiction meant that little had changed. Writing just a few years after Ngugi’s essay, Laurence Wright would agree, at least with Ngugi’s recognition that Shakespeare continued to command a privileged place in the curricula of African schools – although for Wright the inclusion of Shakespeare after independence was salutary:

Despite growing pressure from the volume of African literature to be included, an examination of post-independence school syllabi set for the Certificate of Education (Ordinary and Advanced levels) in both West and East Africa (from 1964–1990), shows that Shakespeare is still firmly in place.

(Wright 1990/91: 36)

Wright’s careful research allowed him to make a case for the ongoing “impact of Shakespeare on African literary creation” (1990/91: 38). This linear model of influence risks paternalism and is doubtful; other accounts of the burgeoning of African literature in the post-independence period, such as those by Phaswane Mpe (1999) and Gareth Griffiths (2000), do not credit Shakespeare.

It is true to say, however, that for an earlier generation of scholars and statesmen in Africa the impact of Shakespeare on African cultural (and even political) life was invaluable. The value ascribed to Shakespeare is affirmed by the younger Alamin M. Mazrui, who echoes his uncle's language in describing the surprisingly good fortune of Shakespeare in the Kenyan school syllabus, post-independence: "By 1985, Shakespeare remained the only non-African artist in the English-language literature syllabus for high schools who had not fallen under the cloud of rejection" (Mazrui 1996: 64). Nevertheless, as Mazrui explains, even Shakespeare was discarded in the face of African nationalism of the post-independence period, until Daniel Arap Moi (president from 1978 to 2002) intervened to have *Romeo and Juliet* reinstated into the national examination curriculum. For Mazrui, the reinstatement of Shakespeare was in keeping with Moi's willingness to promote a Western form of Christianity as an integral part of his particular form of African nationalism: his advocacy on behalf of Christianity and Shakespeare points to the "dependency syndrome that has bedeviled African leadership over the past few decades" (Mazrui 1996: 65).

Yet the example of South Africa has a different time frame and a more complex set of political relations. While South Africa shares with Kenya elements of the legacy of British colonialism, the struggle against apartheid and its brutal entrenchment of Afrikaner nationalism released Shakespeare, to a certain extent, from an association with oppression and delayed the debate about a decolonized or Africanized curriculum until the twenty-first century. At that time educators and policy-makers implemented thorough revisions, and Shakespeare's position at the symbolic centre of English cultural chauvinism rendered his place questionable on the syllabuses of a supposedly new South Africa. For example, Natasha Distiller discusses the demand in 2001 by a group of educators that Shakespeare be removed from school curricula on account of what were understood to be the racist, patriarchal, and violent elements of the prescribed works; their statement led to a heated public debate (2012: 29 and 171). Since then a new set of policy decisions rendered Shakespeare's texts an alternative choice of prescribed, examinable texts, rather than compulsory texts for high-school students (Jonas 2014). Distiller is concerned to acknowledge the many Shakespeares that have come into being in Africa: that is to say, the "immense and significant investments of all kinds in the construction of the figure of Shakespeare" (2012: 26) and the ways Shakespeare has forged "an African history" (4). In what ways, one might ask, has Shakespeare become reimagined and taken up anew as "ours" to a variety of publics across the continent? Scholarly interventions such as Distiller's have established a place for seemingly marginal Shakespeares, within both criticism and theatre practice, and have dislodged the now simplistic association of Shakespeare with coloniality. They have helped us to recognize the ways in which Shakespeare has been a resource for a more resistant and critical politics.

POST-COLONIAL AFFINITIES AND TRANSCOLONIAL SOLIDARITY

Despite the resistances at play in post-apartheid public culture and the rise in visibility of new literatures, Shakespeare has also figured as an ally in oppositional politics for a number of African intellectuals over the course of the

twentieth century. Shakespeare's language has found its way into the speeches of a number of post-apartheid statesmen, and a narrative has emerged in recent years suggesting that freedom fighters under apartheid felt an affinity with Shakespeare. An older generation of African nationalists – the community of anti-apartheid freedom fighters incarcerated on Robben Island – seems to have been drawn to Shakespeare's works and the humanity he came to represent. The circulation of prisoner Sonny Venkatrathnam's copy of *The Alexander Text of the Complete Works of Shakespeare*, disguised as the Hindi Scriptures, has recently garnered critical attention, with the publication of monographs by Ashwin Desai (2012) and David Schalkwyk (2013). Schalkwyk's *Hamlet's Dreams: The Robben Island Shakespeare* helps us to imagine our way into the lives of the Robben Island political prisoners through their marks of presence and affinity, the signatures Venkatrathnam invited them to append to selected passages of the *Complete Works*.

The idea that Shakespeare's value was felt even in the space of the Robben Island prison among inmates now celebrated as figures of liberty and personal courage, and by Nelson Mandela himself, is compelling; Shakespeare seems to gain a new prescience. But in his moving account of the circulation of Shakespeare's *Complete Works* and the inmates' endorsements of individual passages, Schalkwyk does not make a claim for Shakespeare's exceptionalism in being able to speak even in this dry land. He describes himself as "a Shakespearean averse to the exaggeration of Shakespeare's influence or importance" (2013: 14); but, even so, he is able to find compelling affinities between a deeply felt Shakespeare and the narratives of detention under apartheid. Shakespeare's words become a device for imagining our ways into the lives of the Robben Island prisoners whose signatures attest to some sense of imagined solidarity across the expanse of time and space.

It is perhaps not surprising that, given the special status of Shakespeare in the community of activists most closely associated with the liberation movement in South Africa, Shakespeare's resonance has been felt in post-apartheid South Africa. There is a long history to this sense of affiliation, for, despite Shakespeare's central position within the English colonial canon – and perhaps also because of it, as I have argued – Shakespeare was available as a language of self-expression for an earlier generation of African nationalists. Distiller argues that "Plaatje used Shakespeare to make a claim for his, and his people's, already-proven inclusion in the realm of imperial citizenry and the modernity it claimed to stand for" (2012: 43). This deployment of Shakespeare as a means of self-assertion in a racist cultural milieu is an ambivalent matter, however, for it risks reiterating the standing not so much of the translator-appropriator-impersonator as of the supposed original. Distiller comments on the challenge for scholarship of acknowledging "the cultural appropriations, underminings, assertions, that African uses of Shakespeare comprise," as well as the "poetic resources" of Shakespeare's texts, without also reproducing "the paternalistic and patriarchal discourse of Shakespeare's putative universal humanity" (2008: 138).

Certainly Plaatje's translations of Shakespeare into seTswana, like Nyerere's translations into Swahili, were a vehicle to affirm his own culture's deep resonances, to demonstrate an affinity between seTswanan culture and the world of Shakespeare and to affirm the modern sensibilities of his people. Newer generations of African

playwrights have tended to produce translations that rewrite, appropriate and transform, working alongside Shakespeare to create a new work that undoes the polarized alternatives of the idealization of Shakespeare, on the one hand, or of resistance, on the other. A little more recently, *Juliohs Siza* (1964), the translation of *Julius Caesar* into Krio by Sierra Leonean playwright Thomas Decker, offered an example of further undoing the polarity represented by idealization versus resistance. Published just three years after independence, it represents an “accomplishment,” according to Tcho Mbaimba Caulker, for its audacity in asserting “a sort of linguistic authority by means of a Krio appropriation and translation” (2009: 213). At the same time, it constitutes not a rejection of Western theatre forms, Caulker argues, but an attempt at integration and the development, ultimately, of an “African independent theatre” (213). The use of Krio – a language that has evolved from the multiple influences and traditions at play in Sierra Leone, and a language that is neither European nor strictly speaking indigenous, although it is now “the dominant language of everyday life” in Sierra Leone – created the conditions for a “linguistic connection” across perceived “ethnic boundaries” (213). From within this space of multiplicity something entirely new and endemic to its time and place is able to emerge.

More recently still, the rewriting of *The Tempest* in the Indian Ocean, the work of Mauritian playwright Dev Virahsawmy, offers an intriguing example of the possibilities generated by working in Creole forms. Virahsawmy’s *Toufann* explores the anti-colonial and liberatory sentiments within *The Tempest*, operating in sympathy with Shakespeare’s play while transforming it utterly. In Françoise Lionnet’s reading, this sympathetic rendering of *The Tempest* is the result of Virahsawmy’s sense of affinity, across time and place, between the worlds of post-independence Mauritius and Shakespeare’s play. In the new work, the anti-colonial elements of the seventeenth-century text are toyed with and reimagined, in an act of what Lionnet calls “a ‘transcolonial’ form of solidarity” (2003: 917). It is this capacity for a creative and political empathy across oceans of difference that enables the translocation of Shakespeare in Africa, here and now.

The Indian Ocean context thus offers a glimpse into the possibilities of a Shakespearean world that has a different relation to the constraining legacy of an English colonial inheritance. The adaptation of Shakespeare in the multilingual context of Mauritius, which is somewhat freer from the dominance of colonial Englishness, puts Shakespeare at liberty. For Lionnet, *Toufann* helps us imagine

a “transcolonial” form of solidarity with the subversive of the “original,” *The Tempest*, and also with the preoccupations of other African writers and public intellectuals living in countries where politics, culture, and the public sphere are contested sites of power between bourgeois elites and the ordinary people.

(Lionnet 2003: 917)

Virahsawmy’s play offers a glimpse of the possibilities for public culture when African theatre-makers are free to engage Shakespeare’s work while taking the liberties that are characteristic of a creolized aesthetic and politics.

The creative and critical latitude of contemporary engagements paradoxically enhances Shakespeare’s significance, but this is a matter of mutual generation. His ongoing and evolving cultural presence in Africa speaks to the exciting renewal that

is possible when he ceases to be thought of as the privileged guide to creative and humanist affirmation, and when he becomes one of many potentially rich experiences of theatre from exciting new writers and theatre-makers. The multiple Shakespeares in evidence across Africa continue to open up new registers within which to explore human experience. In various cultural contexts across the continent of Africa and its island states, Shakespeare resonates with possibilities. Having travelled this far from late sixteenth-century Stratford-upon-Avon, Shakespeare in Africa has become wonderfully, productively unhinged.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

INTERACTING WITH NATURALISM

East Asian Shakespeare performances



Yong Li Lan

INTRODUCTION

In *Shamlet*, a play by the Ping Fong Acting Troupe that toured Taiwan and China and that was restaged numerous times between 1992 and 2014, a second-rate theatre company called the Fong Ping Acting Troupe tours a production of *Hamlet* through cities in Taiwan. Its styles of naturalistic acting differentiated between the actors' manner, linguistic idiom, and register when they were rehearsing *Hamlet* and when they performed it live. Conversations when the actors were out of role were even more casual, presenting their "reality" in contrast to Shakespeare's roles and capitalizing on the fame of many of the actors on television and game shows. As one might anticipate, the lives and relationships of the actors began to mirror situations in *Hamlet*. With each successive performance of the final scene of *Hamlet*, the actors' confusion, caused by their repeated changes of role, brought their performance farther towards total breakdown. At the company's lowest point in the penultimate scene, the producer of the Fong Ping Acting Troupe, Lee Shiu-kuo (played by Lee Kuo-shiu, the real-life playwright and artistic director of Ping Fong), exclaimed: "the biggest contradiction the Fong Ping Acting Troupe has today is we shouldn't have staged a play by Shakespeare. What has Shakespeare got to do with the Taiwanese?" Yet the closer the Fong Ping Troupe's performance came to disaster, the more it showcased the Ping Fong actors' talents in improvisation and comic burlesque to save the day. The naturalistic acting of *Hamlet* with which they had begun – modelled on old-fashioned, somewhat tacky Western period drama – was replaced by the mannerisms, wit, and style of humour of Taiwanese popular performance.

The self-reflexive approach of *Shamlet* to reproducing *Hamlet* poses the questions which this chapter aims to address: how can the interactions of East Asian theatres with the naturalistic performance of Shakespeare be understood, and how differently can these interactions with naturalism be received across diverse audience cultures? Productions in which localized naturalistic conventions are mixed with indigenous performance forms have been growing rapidly in number and diversity in East Asian locations since the 1980s. Theatre companies have developed distinctive styles for Shakespeare using this approach, both for translations and for new scripts that adapt

his plays: companies that tour internationally, such as the Ninagawa Company and the Mokwha Repertory Company; and companies that play only in their own city or tour primarily within one country, like the Shakespeare Theatre in Tokyo. In addressing these questions, I seek to explore productive terms of comparison for shared concerns and comparable strategies for Shakespeare's performativity across disparate theatre histories and contexts, instead of recapitulating national Shakespeares that are already very well documented.

Ping Fong's strategy in *Shamlet* for parodying naturalistic Shakespeare in local performance contexts is more virtuoso than most. Almost the opposite position in response to the question "What has Shakespeare got to do with the Taiwanese?" is taken by Kurita Yoshihiro in the Ryutopia *Noh* Theatre Shakespeare series he directs, where more or less naturalistic acting of Shakespeare is placed within the frame of the *Noh* stage. Kurita explains in an interview:

I guess I had come to feel a basic contradiction in the act of performing a play from a translated script that was not written originally in your native language. Even if you got the actors to use lines that had a natural sense of daily life, the historical background would still be missing and that in itself is enough to undermine the reality and make a production hopeless. But, with Shakespeare's plays there is a sense of un-reality or other-worldliness to the words to begin with, and that can make it all more poetic, musical and fanciful. You also have jesters and ghosts and nymphs and witches making appearances, so that it is in effect a world of the imagination from the outset. As for the *Noh* theater, it is a stage where traditionally almost no decoration is allowed. It is what you could call a "naked theater" where all you have basically is words as your tools to try to create a world of image. In other words, the *Noh* theater is a space of image, and I think that fits perfectly with Shakespeare.

(Kensuke 2005)

The contrast between Ping Fong's burlesque of Western period drama and Ryutopia's synthesis of image-worlds indicates the great variance of approaches to reframing naturalistic Shakespeare in East Asian performance idioms.

The introduction of Shakespeare's plays along with those of Ibsen and Chekhov during the period of modernization – which was virtually synonymous with Westernization in East Asia in the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries – established the theatrical genre of realism as an alternative to indigenous non-realist theatres. In Japan the genre of realism, *Shingeki*, means literally "modern drama," and in Korea realism was introduced as modern drama. In China the term *Hua Ju* means "spoken drama," as opposed to sung drama in Chinese opera. At their inception modern realist theatres in the region were closely connected through the network of theatre practitioners, but socio-political changes in each country have shaped their trajectories. *Shingeki* was itself challenged by a new movement, *Shogekijo* (Little Theatre) in the 1970s, where the rules of *Shingeki* training were discarded for eclectic, individual styles. In China, Russian experts installed in the drama academies in the 1950s trained a generation of professional actors, directors, and designers in the Stanislavskian system, but radical changes in government policy during and after the Cultural Revolution repeatedly reshaped theatre practices. Throughout this

chapter I use the term *naturalism* to refer more closely to a theatrical style and movement, rather than the broader scope of reference in *realism*.

The movement away from “straight” naturalism, in East Asian performances of Shakespeare and of Western classic drama in general, emerged just after Euro-American practices and theories of intercultural theatre by prominent directors like Peter Brook and Ariane Mnouchkine. The controversial approaches of Brook and Mnouchkine, among others, have been criticized for misappropriating traditional Asian texts and performance forms in ways that misrepresented and were reductive of their source cultures. The neo-colonial and post-colonial positions incipient (perhaps inherent) in mixing Eastern and Western traditions have resulted in “a ‘correct,’ but frightened intercultural theatre,” in Patrice Pavis’s view, which is vulnerable to two temptations: “to present a universal, or even universalist, vision of the human being . . . or, on the contrary, to insist on the specific character of each culture” (2010: 7).

As a collective body of work since the mid-1980s, East Asian performances that refashion naturalistic Shakespeare present the other side of intercultural theatre. Stagings of translations and adaptations of Shakespeare in East Asian theatre cultures favour the sustaining of differences between realist conventions (adopted and adapted from Western theatre) and a wide range of non-realist elements (adapted from local genres) in an approach that balances them. Performances often depend for their effect on a carefully judged interplay between distinct performative modes and idioms expressed in different aspects or moments. These performances may be distinguished from Western intercultural practices by the level of ease with which conventions from disparate theatre cultures and genres are combined. To some extent, this comfortable attitude is made possible by practitioners’ and audiences’ familiarity with mixed modes. Juxtapositions and quick shifts are found in many Asian theatre traditions: between archaic prescribed and topically improvised sequences; between direct address of the audience and representation of the story; between sung and spoken delivery, chorus and character, dance and speech. Such combinations and shifts are, nevertheless, usually governed by rules and conventions.

Conversely, the modifying, reframing, and interpolating of naturalistic Shakespeare may be considered a movement across the region defined by many individual, experimental strategies, and the potential for further original approaches. Taken together, they constitute a project to disrupt a realism modelled on Western naturalism. The polarized positions outlined by Pavis – of either sublimating elements from disparate theatre systems in a synthesis or rendering their difference as absolute – are precluded insofar as the interculturality of mixing naturalism with non-naturalistic idioms is to a large extent an *intracultural* project. Since pre-modern, non-naturalistic theatres that pre-date naturalism in East Asian societies continued to be practised alongside naturalistic drama, the logic of their interaction is that of opening a conversation between dual theatres – or, in Zhang Xiaoyang’s (1996) phrase, “the two traditions.” Thus revisions of naturalistic Shakespeare represent, metatheatrically, a theatre culture’s review of its own Westernization. In this chapter I shall focus on three kinds of interaction with naturalism: the visual presentation of the stage image; the progress of the characters’ action; and the plotting of temporality.

STAGING THE IMAGE: NINAGAWA YUKIO'S *MACBETH*

The performativity of combining naturalism with Asian theatre idioms for Shakespeare becomes more intercultural in emphasis when productions tour internationally. As audiences introduce disparate horizons of expectations into their reception, the politics these productions animate become more pronounced. The first production to return to Britain a triumphant internationalization of its theatre canon was Ninagawa Yukio's *Macbeth* at the Edinburgh Festival in 1985. While employing an authoritative translation of Shakespeare's text and a melodramatic mode of acting that made the title-character's emotions accessible, this production stunned its audiences with spectacularly beautiful scenography. The first scene was watched through transparent screens behind which the Witches (played by female impersonators) danced and chanted *Kabuki*-style in gorgeous kimonos beneath a gigantic parasol, amidst whirling cherry blossoms floating down from above. The scene compelled the audience to apprehend the foreign form of a familiar text. Yet it was precisely this beauty that attracted criticism for its use of elements whose sensory effect as iconic of Japanese culture was seen to orientalize the play without reinterpreting or re-theatricalizing it. Tetsuo Kishi labelled the production both "un-Shakespearean" and "un-Japanese" because Ninagawa ignored affinities between the forms of Shakespeare and *Kabuki*, instead taking the visual elements from *Kabuki* and presenting them realistically in a Western style designed for the proscenium theatre (Kishi 1988: 249).

Ninagawa explained the spectacular visuality of his Shakespeare as a cultural expedient because "understanding of self is basic to the idea of realistic acting, but many people are not educated that way":

we don't have a definite "self," "self" as an agent, an assertive aggressive self. . . . I thought I had to find a technique which would connect with the thought-patterns of Japanese people by re-arranging the play to use visual images in a Japanese style.

(Ninagawa 2001: 211)

The "visual images" of costumes, gestures, make-up or masks, and set (in *Kabuki*) have significantly different functions and relative importance compared to Western realist Shakespeare performance, where these elements are subordinated to verbal meaningfulness – that is, read figuratively as imagery. By contrast, the combined corporeality of music, dance, and images entirely conditions speech in East Asian dance-drama forms. *Noh* conventions, for instance, cultivate force of expression in a condensed physical form that removes the performance from "real life" to evoke an experience of its essence. The fifteenth-century *Noh* master Zeami Motokiyo required performances to attain the goals of *hana* (the flower, i.e., a strangeness and novelty in beauty that will attract the audience) and *yugen* (a mystic quality of beauty and elegance) on stage. Ninagawa's methods do not approach those of *Noh* theatre, yet the aesthetic principles of traditions on which his presentation of stage-images draws may give them an untranslatable resonance or charge.

Any element of a cultural system carries what might be called a strong cohesion charge, where its effect results from its relation to the other components in the system

of which it is a part. Removed from that system, it has a weak cohesion charge but, conversely, a strong accretion charge arising from contact and juxtaposition with elements from other systems. The cherry blossom that dominated Ninagawa's *Macbeth* exemplifies both kinds of charges. These blossoms fell during the Witches' scenes and at moments when Macbeth was influenced by their magic. Appearing red, white, or pink depending on the lighting, they bloomed white on a great tree over Banquo as he was killed, and pale pink on the branches carried by the English army. Cherry blossoms were a startling image for this play, appearing ironically – inappropriately – springlike. The programme notes at Edinburgh and London explained that, to the Japanese, these beautiful flowers signify mortality. They embody both nature's benevolence and its malevolence, and their beauty is thus deceptive. According to superstition, the sight of cherry blossoms in profuse bloom can make men go mad. While this explanation seems intended to bridge the cultural gap, it does not convey the embedded sense of *hana* as an experience of strange beauty (its weak cohesion charge). This programme note can be recast in regular modes of interpreting Shakespearean imagery: "Throughout the action, the scattered petals [on stage] remained as a reminder of the violent deaths and madness spawned by Macbeth's murder" (Nouryeh 1993: 263). Treated merely as decoration, the blossoms functioned as an iconic image of Japanese-ness (a simple accretion charge of surface Japanization). All these ways of seeing the blossoms were available simultaneously; and they derived from disparate interpretive values and priorities for the possible relationship between Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and images of the Japanese cherry blossom.

A significant part of both the effect of spectacular beauty in Ninagawa's *Macbeth* and the criticism of it was constituted by framing devices. The performance began with two women, bent with age, in modest everyday kimonos, hobbling slowly down the aisles onto the stage to open its ornate wooden folding doors. These doors were designed to resemble those of a *butsudan* (home altar), where Buddhist Japanese consecrate their ancestors; thus, the stage action was made analogous to a vision of one's ancestral past, and Shakespeare's *Macbeth* was re-contained within Japanese history. While non-Japanese audiences may not have recognized this analogy, the ritual opening of an enclosure became apparent as the old women knelt with lit joss-sticks before it. Throughout the action of the play they sat at the extreme left and right down-stage corners, slowly unpacking their lunchboxes and eating the contents, weeping when Macduff's family was killed, and thus acting as on-stage spectators who framed the performance in the context of everyday Japanese life – except that their synchronized actions implied a habitual cultural practice opaque to non-Japanese. Like a play-within-a-play, this outer frame of *butsudan* and old women at once marked the spectator's position outside the threshold of what appeared to be a foreign ritual of opening, and invited the spectator across it as if an unusual guest privilege were offered.

Directly behind the wooden doors, transparent screens resembling *shoji* panels drawn across the stage created a second layer of framing. This intervention in the spectator's view of the scene was often reinforced by a different lighting scheme behind the screens. Partially concealing and withholding the scene from complete view, the screening recessed the action in privacy that sealed the actors off, as if no one was watching them "out there," even as it stimulated a spectator's desire for what was thereby marked as remote, inside, seen through a veil. By recessing and veiling the startling beauty of the Witches' opening scene, which was partially lit in

red and set to slow Western operatic music, the strangeness and mysteriousness of the Witches' magic were fused with the magic of Japanese classical theatre. When the screens were slid open at the end of this scene, the theatrical spectacle assumed the force of a full, if fleeting, disclosure of itself, relinquishing its privacy and separateness to the spectator's desire to see.

The screens were closed during all scenes involving the Witches, marking off the use of *Kabuki* from the more realist mode of the rest of the play. The screens' enactment of exclusion/exposure was not restricted to staging a cultural or mysterious boundary, but was co-extensive with the development of the action as part of its structure. During the banquet of 3.4, Macbeth left the hall to confer with the murderers by coming down-stage and closing the screens behind him, then re-entered, closing the screens; he did the same for his asides with Lady Macbeth after he saw Banquo's ghost. In each instance, the warmly lit company of guests within was framed by the *shoji*-like panels as if in an interior living space; and they formed a backdrop of normative, almost a-fictional (Japanese) social life against which Macbeth's distracted (Shakespearean) emotions were contrasted, in close-up as it were. When the panels were flung open at Macbeth's final outburst, the disruption of the banquet projected the relief of an eruption that resolved the spatial *and* cultural tension. Matching the *shoji* screens was a solid gold-and-green lacquered screen at the back of the stage depicting a cherry tree that divided down the middle into two sliding doors through which Duncan and later the Macbeths entered once crowned. In 3.1, the Macbeths' entrance from behind this ceremonial screen to perform their new roles before their court audience was again correlated with their cultural performance, in sumptuous costumes and with long, lacquered black hair held aloft by a stick.

The counterpointing screens at the front and back of the stage created a potentially non-finite *and* reversible series of inside/outside spaces in which the succession of hidden, farther spaces both receded endlessly (like the line of Banquo's heirs) and, conversely, advanced with the Japanese actors' emergence into British performance space. As standard a convention as the use of implied off-stage space is in naturalist dramaturgy, its incorporation into an intercultural space necessarily introduces a sense of the actors in their own persons and cultural location which, by remaining unseen, marks their on-stage presentation as a cultural performance. In effect, the "edge" of the performance was doubled by an off-stage in its own culture; Ninagawa is always particular about stressing that his intention in using Japanese images is to mediate and popularize Shakespeare for Japanese audiences.

The framing by which Ninagawa's *Macbeth* performed the inside/outside dynamic of interculturality opposed – and exposed – the idea of the intercultural as the mutual exemplarity of Shakespeare and another cultural form, where each could be identified as simultaneously the other. Instead, the framing suggested at once co-operation and estrangement between Shakespearean and Japanese theatrical systems. On the one hand, the production's visual force staged *Shingeki*'s renegotiation with non-realist aesthetic principles. The acting formed a middle ground that brought the styles of *Kabuki* and Shakespeare together by displaying a spectrum: Macbeth's acting was more formalized and closer to *Kabuki*; Lady Macbeth performed in conventional *Shingeki* style; and the status of minor characters was indicated by "smaller" acting (actors report that Ninagawa refers to "big" and "small" acting). Although less intense than in *Kabuki*, Macbeth's comparatively heavier make-up and the green

diagonal lines across his forehead and under his eyes carried the accretion charge of making him larger than life, of singling out his special heroic status. On the other hand, the historical transplantation of the realist acting overall was emphasized, first, by the presentation of Victorian conventions of spectacle (Im 2004: 21–24) to audiences who find these conventions old-fashioned; and, second, by the English original, in surtitles or transmitted simultaneously on headphones at some venues. The visibility of the presentation, in turn sensitizing a spectator to sounds, smells, and other sensory effects – together with fidelity to Shakespeare’s text in translation – appealed to instinctual emotions as it made realism look more beautiful than it ever should.

AFFECTIVE CHARACTER: MOKWHA REPERTORY COMPANY’S *THE TEMPEST*

Mokwha Repertory Company’s *The Tempest*, which won a Herald Angel Award at the Edinburgh Festival in 2011, adapted Shakespeare’s play to South Korea through the parallel *Garakgukgi* story in *Samgukyusa* (*Chronicles of the Three Kingdoms*) of the conflict between the Shilla Dynasty and the confederacy of Gaya. The characters not only had names from *Garakgukgi* but also Korean performance roles: Jilji (Prospero) was a shaman; Jilji, Jeung (Ariel), and other spirits wore masks suggestive of the *Jeung* (“puppet,” used in shaman rituals to exorcize bad spirits); and there were spirits in the forms of animals.

This *Tempest* presented a varying relationship between a script based on Shakespeare’s play, naturalistic acting, and non-naturalistic performance styles. The director Oh Tae-suk’s script in contemporary Korean employed the traditional poetic form of *Shijo*, which has a 3–4 or 4–4 rhythm. Oh commented in an interview with Lee Sun-min that “the conversation would sound almost like you are singing a song.” His objective was to remind Korean audiences of “the beauty of the Korean language,” but non-Koreans would experience it too:

Non-Korean speakers will apply what’s in their mind to the performance . . . each of them becomes the writer for this performance. Still, they feel the Korean sentiment, because the lines are written according to the Korean rhythm.

(Lee Sun-min 2011)

The interview’s title, “Hearing Shakespeare in Korean,” refers not to the usual sense of translation of the content of Shakespeare’s lines, but rather to their translation into particular cadences and rhythmic patterns that embody and evoke Korean modes of feeling. Oh’s formulation of the property of vocal aesthetic principles to carry distinctively Korean “sentiment,” that colours and shapes the sense of foreign words in a spectator’s imagination, anticipates co-ordination between the performance and its cross-cultural reception, unlike the conflicting viewpoints Ninagawa’s *Macbeth* evoked.

In Mokwha’s *Tempest* (Figure 7.2), a close affective relationship between verbal language and bodily performance resulted from choreographing speech within the pulse of expressive movement, colour, rhythm, and music. The performance began with a single figure in a square of blue light up-stage, beating a large drum. Jilji drummed the storm into being. The blue lights then went up partially, illuminating dancers swirling and flinging out long swathes of white cloth that filled the stage with



Figure 7.1 *Othello in Noh Style*, Tokyo, 2005.
Courtesy of the Ku Na'uka Theatre Company

fluid movement. This traditional dance narrated the shipwreck, presenting the tumultuous waves, while the dancers' white costumes also signified their deaths. When the drum beats accelerated to a climax, the dancers raised a collective shout as they flung their cloths up in unison and collapsed beneath them. After a break, a few rose to assume Shakespeare's speaking parts: "Boatswain! Fall to't yarely, or we run ourselves aground: bestir, bestir" (as subtitled) (ALSLIA 2015). At this point details in their costumes became noticeable, marking the dancer-characters out as a captain or a king, and setting their story in the Three Kingdoms period. The characters' expressions of emotion in their speech were formalized by their facing the audience rather than each other, a Korean acting style that characterizes Oh's work. Intervals between spoken lines sustained equal attention on the characters' movements, as together with the ensemble they continued to lurch, stagger, and roll about, flinging their cloths out. At the words "Your Highness! Keep below!" the drum beats slowed to a halt and all collapsed again in silence, while Jilji contemplated the scene, clad in black robes, his shock of hair held by a black band across his forehead.

This opening defamiliarizes the separation Shakespeare maintains between individual subjectivity, expressed in humorous banter and class reference, and its physical

circumstances in *The Tempest* 1.1, dissolving distinctions between self and world. Speech was folded into dance, and the dancers' bodies, movements, props, and speech merged the dual functions at once presenting the stormy sea (the natural elements) and representing its victims (the characters). Many of the movements could be seen at once as the sea and as the human beings tossed upon the sea. This simultaneity has affinities with affect theories that focus on a bodily experience of subjectivity. Studies of affect emphasize that the relations registered by a person's body in his or her social, technological, and political environments are simultaneously intimate and impersonal. As summarized by Michael Hardt, Baruch Spinoza's work influences conceptions of the affects as syntheses across two divides: first, the mind's power of reason and the body's power to act; and, second, the passions capable of being affected and the actions capable of affecting (Hardt 2007: xi). Hardt's formulation nearly describes the correspondences between the moving bodies and their characters' minds, and between the sea's power to affect and the characters' affectedness in the opening dance of Mokwha's *Tempest*.

Approaching this highly physical performance through affect theories brings into view, by undermining, the premise of an interiorized subjectivity in realist conventions of reading, where plot development is understood in terms of character action. It is quite commonplace to treat Prospero's attitude to his past, his present emotions, and his internal conflicts as the centre of the play-within-a-play he plots in Shakespeare's *Tempest* – whether that play concerns his humanity, an allegory of the artist (Shakespeare), or colonial power. While reviewers responded warmly to the “precise physicality,” “beautiful music,” and “sense of fun” in Mokwha's adaptation, their adjectives “light-hearted,” “delightful,” and “touching” were implicitly at the expense of more serious meaning in Shakespeare's original. Mateusz Jazdzewski (2011) notes: “Sceptics could be disappointed that the visual elements of the performance take precedence and that none of the serious matters or relationships between the characters are deepened.” For Paul Gent (2011), losing Shakespeare's poetic lines means losing “the knotty complexity of feeling that goes with them. The poignant and troubled relationship between Prospero and Ariel, for example, goes for nothing.” In contrast to the type of human relationship Gent describes, Jilji's role as the drummer of the shipwreck placed him on stage in immediate relation to the scene, eliminating Ariel's agency which articulates a position of control and orchestration by Prospero. Jilji's role presented a synchronous process of drummer and drummed, the mutual ebb and flow forming the narrative logic. Instead of a subject-object, or playwright-play, relation between Jilji and the scene, the progress of the action's multiple modes was paced by the varying tempo of Jilji's drumming. Sequences repeatedly swelled towards a break, after which the action resumed with a shift that could be slight or contrastive.

The affective relationship of shaman to shipwreck was an aesthetic-performance relationship in which Jilji participated wordlessly. Comparing this performance to Ninagawa's *Macbeth* foregrounds Ninagawa's approach to adapting Shakespeare visually, through theatrical images, whereas Mokwha's *Tempest* emphasized movement and rhythm. Mokwha's sequences seldom resolved into tableaux, and they are difficult to recollect as still images. Rather, it is the shifts in physical movement and their emotional tone that I remember. This performance style side-stepped the orientalist gaze at an objectified other by privileging movement over the pictorial. The

rhythmic flow of action, including music and the cadences of speech, engaged a multisensory participation in movement patterns and their transitions. Roland Barthes, describing the Neutral as the experience of “intense, strong, unprecedented states,” calls attention away from formal systems of meaning to “only intervals, only the relation between two moments, two spaces or objects” (2005: 146–47). His notion of the interval replaces analyses based on binarisms (yes/no) to “register a form that is rarely taken into account: the stretching,” with its gradient of “progressive accumulation” (2005: 196–97).

Attending to the interval in Mokwha’s *Tempest* shows Oh’s organizing principle of affective emotional movement, produced by theatrical change and surprise. The shipwreck was followed not by explanation of it, as in Shakespeare, but by *Cheollaenori* (traditional children’s games) played by animal spirits close to the prone body of the Prince (Ferdinand), before Aji (Miranda) discovered him. The performance included a counterfeit burial rite for the Prince; a *Seungmu* (monks’ dance) with masks during the wedding scene, accompanied by a prayer song; and many kinds of traditional singing, such as *Minyo* (folk-song), a Buddhist prayer-song presented by spirits during the banquet, a funeral song, and popularized (*Madangnori*-type) group singing. Traditional performance forms were freely modified. *Pansori*, a complete performance system, was fragmented across the performance in passages of story-telling. *Samulnori* (four-instrument percussion music) was mixed with other instruments and played at the wedding celebration in act 4. *Bukcheong saja-nori*, the conventional lion dance, was adapted as a tiger dance. Oh’s direction frequently introduced the next sequence in an overlap with the one in progress. No sequence continued for long before being disrupted, or showing an unexpected side of a situation, through a performance mode different in tone, movement, cadence, and/or form from the preceding one; and the action might constantly take even a Korean spectator by surprise.

The most important of these forms was *Gut* (shamanism). After the third break of the opening scene, the dancer-characters spotted “An island!” – but their hopes were cut off by Jeung crying “Fire!” The ensemble began a *Buchaechum* (fan dance) to a new syncopated rhythm, holding a red fan in each hand whose rapid flicking movements invoked flickering flames in the red lighting that spread through stage smoke. Female dancers wearing large, flat, white paper masks behind their heads and husking baskets on their backs quietly joined in. When the male ensemble fell to the floor the female dancers remained standing while Jeung began a shaman song, beating time on a small gong. These female dancers faced the audience with their backs, their strange mask-and-basket forms suggesting they were spirits, as they performed another dance with white fans and smaller movements in a very slow, measured tempo to the melancholic chantlike song:

Oh my love, I wait for you.
I pull out the weeds and dig the furrows. I’ll dig twelve furrows as I wait for him.
Oh my love, I wait for you.
I see the door open ever so quietly. I look for my darling, I wait for him still.
Oh my love, I wait for you.
I wait for my love, but he’s still missing. The south-east wind teases me once again.
Oh my love, I wait for you.

This transition from the shipwreck to a respondent on land introduced a new mood of quiet concentration in a lover's song of unending wait for the beloved's return. Its lyrics created a persona, connecting the music and dancing to the sailors' cries at the end of the shipwreck dance: "Goodbye my love" – "You must marry another." Shakespeare's *Tempest* contains two parallels to this modulation of the shipwreck event through affective participation: Miranda's distress as witness and Ariel's "Full fathom five" song. Both moments follow the logic of tragicomic reversal, where an apparent disaster is revealed to be something else. Miranda comes to realize that her own fate is bound up in the shipwreck; and Ariel's song of Alonso's transformation under the sea likewise transforms Ferdinand's emotions in readiness to meet Miranda. In short, affective participation in the shipwreck is turned towards the dramatic plot. Unlike Ariel's song, Jeung's shaman song had no instrumentality in moving the affected character on. It projected a voice disembodied from character: the double proxy of the shaman's "puppet," Jeung, whose expression was impassive. The desolation of the bereaved, expressed in a personal voice, was also performed as a dispersed communal voice. The affective relation of the living to the dead was released from plot consequence and opened out towards the audience.

Shamanism in Korean Shakespeare performances often engages a similarly inclusive move, intrinsic to the social practice and aesthetic principles of *Gut* rituals, to involve an audience in the event's community. Street Theatre Troupe's *Hamlet* (1996–2010), directed by Lee Youn-Taek, radically altered a translation of Shakespeare's play through staging and physical action to present Hamlet as a partially initiated shaman who failed to reform the political leadership. The performance closed with the characters who had died emerging one after another from the recessed grave, opening down-stage, that had functioned as an entrance and an exit: the Ghost emerged from it, Polonius was pushed into it, and Ophelia's spirit climbed inside it at her funeral. Lee's stage direction for the closing coda reads:

The whole stage is covered with wave-like cloth. As mournful music sounds, dead characters walk out of the grave. The last to walk out is Hamlet. Everyone starts their long journey to the other world. Hamlet starts to move his feet, but being unable to, he takes a final look around at us.

(AIS/IIA 2015)

The grave was lit from below the stage, creating a bright doorway to another world, and all the characters were dressed in white. In the performance in Craiova, Romania (2010), the audience was invited by the senior shaman Horatio to join in a prayer for Hamlet's release.

The use of *Gut* as a collective expression of and release from sorrow in Korean productions presents a dual positionality that obtains in varying balance on one side or the other in all non-naturalistic approaches to performing Shakespeare in East Asian contexts. One may see the production of Shakespeare in Korean contexts as employing *Gut* for its theatrical performativity; or, vice versa, the social need for collective shamanic ritual employing Shakespeare as a site for staging that ritual. From the latter positionality, Lee Hyon-u argues that *Hamlet* has been the most produced Shakespeare play in South Korea because its anguish and tragedy resonate with a characteristically Korean sentiment called *han*: a feeling of pain and regret, "a mental state in which hurt feelings

are trapped in the mind” (2011: 106). Thus *Hamlet* invites a performative interpretation through *Gut*; and, adapted in this way, *Hamlet* enacts a collective exorcism of *han*. For a non-Korean, experiencing the relation between *Gut* and Shakespeare among a more heterogeneous audience community foregrounds the interface between shamanic ritual and the cultural ritual of Shakespeare performance. The closing of Street Theatre Troupe’s *Hamlet* took place at this *intercultural* interface. The role of the Korean shaman being to mediate and heal the gap between the worlds of this life and the afterlife, our communal prayer for Hamlet’s release recapitulated in another belief system the Ghost’s need to be released from Purgatory, with more hope. But at the metatheatrical level, the prayer also reminded an audience that our continuous demand to replay this drama would never release Hamlet – or ourselves – from the cycle of sorrow.

Early in Mokwha’s *Tempest*, *Gut* performance transformed the scene, placing it in an unclear realm. The corporeality of the shaman song and dance took ritualized, codified forms that evoked an experience of death. Watching Jeung’s role particularly unsettled the status of the on-stage action throughout. She was neither relatable to realist motivations nor circumscribed as agent of a realist character as Ariel is. Whereas Jilji retained many of Prospero’s behavioural characteristics (self-conflict, anger, emotional distance, reflection), Jeung’s large, comfortable figure (described by one reviewer as incongruously “housewife-like”) and predominantly physical rather than verbal actions could not be read; they could only elicit reaction. She produced stage business with a wide range in tone: brisk, humorous, expressionless, celebratory. Affectively, she embodied the fluctuating, indistinct zone between life and death. As in Shakespeare’s play, the ship’s passengers had not died, so at the point of Jeung’s song the action entered the realm of the imagined, the possible death. Likewise, the “death” of the Prince was elaborately staged with a scene in which he was being tormented in hell, calling out desperately to his father. The imminent deaths of Aji (Miranda) and the Prince by Jilji’s magic (if Jilji were not to forgive their rebellion against him) were animated by bright red bands around their throats. Expanding affective experiences, both grotesque and lyrical, of the deaths from which the characters were redeemed, produced a stronger need for reconciliation. A direction for this message emerged only at the play’s close, with an allusion to the rift between North and South Korea: upon being freed by Jilji, the animal spirits asked to be turned into ducks because they “want to go sight-seeing in the north.” Mokwha’s *Tempest* and Street Theatre Troupe’s *Hamlet* both show, if differently, that – unlike the closed world of naturalism that runs parallel to the audience’s world – treating the characters’ action through affect allows them to turn their fiction outwards in direct address to and inclusion of their audiences in the community of the play.

RESTRUCTURING TEMPORALITY: KU NA’UKA THEATRE COMPANY’S *OTHELLO* IN *NOH* STYLE

This production’s enlargement of a subjunctive realm of action is one of a cluster of approaches to re-creating Shakespeare in East Asian theatre cultures that treat the play as in some way in the past. The past may be that of the characters, where the story does not occur in the theatrical present, but is instead re-enacted as a recollection by spirits after they have died. In the Niigata City Performing Arts Centre Ryutopia production of *Hamlet* (2007), directed by Kurita Yoshihiro, the action

followed an authoritative translation by Matsuoka Kazuko and was mostly played *Shingeki* style, except that Hamlet remained immobile while speaking his lines, sitting cross-legged facing the audience throughout, even in scenes where he is absent in Shakespeare's play. This simple, singular strategy suggested at once a *Zazen* (Buddhist meditation) pose and the circumstance that Hamlet was already dead and remembering the tragic course of events. Similarly, Ryutopia's *The Winter's Tale – Barcarolle* (2005) incorporated the dead Mamillius as an on-stage spectator, implying by this reference to *Mugen-Noh* (the subcategory of *Noh* plays that deal with non-human beings – usually spirits, demons, gods, or animals) that the play was a performance offered to his spirit.

The Ryutopia *Noh* Theatre Shakespeare Series' experiments in synergizing traditions of naturalism and *Noh* can also carry political overtones. In the Ryutopia *Othello* (2006), the spirit of Barbary was an ominous masked figure wearing a heavy black wig who performed a wedding ceremony for Othello and Desdemona before the play began, during which she gave them the handkerchief; the asides and soliloquies were addressed to her; she sang the willow song; and she held out the handkerchief to Emilia on an ancient stone knife which she later handed to Othello to kill himself. The Ryutopia *Othello* employed *Mugen-Noh* with a racial slant, interpreting the tragedy as originating in the curse of the African slave Barbary who died unhappily. Her on-stage spirit had the strange effect of racializing the Japanese actors, dressed in detailed glittering kimonos, as the “whites” in the black/white racial dynamic, although Othello's skin was only a shade darker than that of the other characters (Figure 7.1).



Figure 7.2 *The Tempest*, Seoul, 2011.
Courtesy of Mokwha Repertory Company

If the play's being in the past is a recurring force of meaning produced by East Asian performances at this time, a key index for considering their revision of naturalism is how their temporal structures interact with the progress of time in Shakespeare's plots. Realist conventions for acting and reading presuppose terms of linear and causal development that make sense of changes in his characters, for instance, or give rise to a sense of compressed time when one counts the number of days in which the events of a play occur. In Asian adaptations of Shakespeare, the chronotope (not only the cultural space) of the performance, combined with alternative ways of organizing time, re-plot the play to produce intercultural, plural temporalities.

A detailed and surprising structure of recapitulation was performed in Ku Na'uka Theatre Company's *Othello in Noh Style* directed by Miyagi Satoshi (2005), whose principal character was the unquiet spirit of Desdemona, left behind on Cyprus. The script by Hirakawa Sukehiro incorporated passages from Odashima Yushi's translation of Shakespeare's *Othello*, and it employed the prescribed structure of *Mugen-Noh*. In the first half, the *Waki* (supporting actor), often a pilgrim, visits a location where he meets a person played by the *Shite* (principal actor), who tells him a story, and who then announces: "I am the person in the story." In the second half, the person reappears to the *Waki* in a dream or vision and enacts the story, the climax of which is usually a dance. Here the *Maeshite* of the first half and *Nochishite* of the second half were both Desdemona's spirit. The distinction between the first and second parts of the play is conventionally between telling in the real world and enacting in the dream world. *Othello in Noh Style* mapped the time frame of *Mugen-Noh*, set after the events of the play, onto an audience's foreknowledge of Shakespeare's *Othello*. The *Mugen-Noh* form re-created the plot of *Othello* as a performance of memory.

The premise of *Mugen-Noh* being retrieval of another world – in time (the past) and in space (an otherworldly, dream, or visionary zone) – enabled the performance to overlay time frames and locations over one another. The play opened at dusk on a temporary open-air *Noh* stage erected in the Japanese garden of the Tokyo National Museum. An actress entered in a Christian monk's habit, introducing her role: "I am a Pilgrim from Venice."

I have visited all the famous sites of the Mediterranean except for one, Cyprus,
So now dressed in priestly guise I leave for the island of Venus.
Under the light from the setting sun the dense olive mountains
on the left draw towards the shore.
The deep blue Mediterranean Sea is on the right.
The two complement each other perfectly.
The landscape of Botticelli's masterpiece must be like this.

(AIS/IIA 2015)

Instead of resituating the story of *Othello* in Japan, through a Japanese context or setting, this opening exported a Japanese way of creating the story to its "original" site on Cyprus. The Pilgrim encountered four women and wondered why they were singing "a gondolier's song? Yes, it is a popular old boating song." The script makes bold use of concrete details in Desdemona's preface to her story. She describes the Governor General's palace, the merchant houses around it, and the Temple of the Cross, making Cyprus a more concrete location than Shakespeare does. Yet this

imagined site was overlaid upon the darkened Japanese garden in which the performance was taking place, as if the spectator were to reimagine her physical surroundings as somewhere out of doors on Cyprus. The year is 1596, more than five years before Shakespeare is thought to have written his play, and when Cyprus had been under Turkish control for twenty-five years. Thus, the carefully historicized proposition was that the Pilgrim was a parallel Shakespeare, visiting the island of Cyprus at a point when the events of the story have been over for at least twenty-five years. Unlike Shakespeare, the Pilgrim is not only story-teller but also witness and spiritual mediator. Desdemona's spirit repeated at the end of the first half, "Pray for my salvation, Pray for my release," and the Chorus took up her words.

Within the formal structure of *Mugen-Noh*, the development of the action in *Othello in Noh Style* dwells on three key moments that are themselves recapitulated within the play. The first of these is the historical moment described above, late in the period of Venetian rule on Cyprus, with which the opening of Shakespeare's *Othello* is associated. The *Waki*'s initial standard request for the tale of this place shifted to a focus on Desdemona. A similar shift of attention occurs in 1.3 of *Othello*, parts of which were performed after Desdemona left the stage in a section corresponding to the *Ai Kyogen* interlude (somewhat comic and light) between the first and second parts of the play. Shakespeare's roles were spoken (but not enacted bodily) by individual members of the Chorus wearing a unique style of mask. The repetition emphasized an expository entrance into the history of Cyprus that is not present in Shakespeare, and that made visible the joining of *Mugen-Noh* to his play. It also put the story's location into intercultural circulation. Watching this production was a different encounter for me than for on-site Japanese spectators, since I was not "there" in the garden but watching it on a video recording subtitled in English. Yet precisely through this distance, it struck me that I was hearing Japanese, delivered moreover in a stylized manner, and imagining it was everyday Venetian. For Japanese speakers, the language was difficult but not foreign (Takiguchi 2013: 454), similar to how we hear Shakespeare's Desdemona speaking antiquated English as if it were Italian. For me (and other English viewers), the watching experience travels to Cyprus by way of Japan. Shakespeare (and England) provide an enabling point in this circuit; passing through makes double layers of imagining possible, and I return strangely to Shakespeare's lines in English subtitles. This experience is not dissimilar to that of the Pilgrim travelling to a foreign island and hearing someone singing, in his/her language, who is recognizable as Desdemona in her afterlife. This mode of circulation is peculiar to intercultural Shakespeare performance, producing contrasting perspectives in a fluctuating overlay of locations and time periods that shift dynamically with the individual chronotope of watching.

The second key moment in this performance is the turning-point in Shakespeare's play in 3.3. This was presented in two forms. Odashima Yuji's translation in a vernacular idiom was performed by Chorus members playing Othello and Iago, now without masks, while Desdemona (who had returned) watched silently. Directly after this she retold and reflected on the scene in *Utai* (classical verse used in *Noh*) with repetitions and elaborations by the Chorus's chants and the Pilgrim. The first restaging is for the on-stage spectator Desdemona, who stresses her ignorance of these events at the time in her subsequent re-narration of what happened. We witness her

experience of them with tragic hindsight. The dual presentations show the point of no return in Shakespeare's *Othello* with a bifocal perspective: an unconventional hybrid style of acting centralizes Othello, as in Shakespeare's play, and re-enacts the past in the present; and a *Noh* style resituates what we have just watched as Desdemona's belated experience, expanding her character after her death.

The third moment is the climactic conclusion of the play in which Desdemona relived her death in an almost wordless dance. It is often noted that Desdemona's voice and subjectivity at the moment of her death are barely glimpsed in *Othello*. In *Othello in Noh Style*, her spirit danced a powerful extended sequence that began by interweaving a key line from Shakespeare with a famous *haiku* by the novelist Natsume Soseki:

A Chrysanthemum whiter than snow,
I hesitate for a while, with the scissors.
If you put out the candle light,
Then you put out my life's light.

(AIS/IA 2015)

After setting the images of a white chrysanthemum and candle flame alongside each other, Desdemona put a large, black, masculine glove on her right hand, representing Othello. Her face and movements embodied complex mixed emotions as she watched the gloved hand warily, gradually arriving at strangling herself with this hand. The true climax was not her re-enactment of her death, however, but her reaction to it in the present time of the performance. She moved towards resolution as she danced with both hands raised high, then brought the gloved hand to meet her ungloved left hand in a posture of prayer, and finally stretched both open hands out repeatedly in a gesture of release. The closing dance provided a conclusion after Shakespeare's play that is needed in a Buddhist belief system, and its form of retrieval offered an audience the experience of a special moment whose expressiveness and fugitiveness were intrinsic to each other.

While I have emphasized the range of possibility for aesthetic and formal negotiations with linear temporality in realism for the comparative aims of this chapter, the past projected by East Asian Shakespeare productions is often also a socio-historical moment. This moment is revisited by historicizing a performance style for Shakespeare that reflected larger political and ideological contexts of that time. A fresh approach to performing Shakespeare's plays projects a relationship to that past, asserting or questioning a present cultural identity in the context of Westernization – or, more precisely now, globalization. For instance, disregarding the tradition of Stanislavskian actor training in China, the highly regarded, iconoclastic director Lin Zhaohua cast 100 migrant workers from the countryside as the plebeians in *The Great General Ko Liu Lan* (*Coriolanus*, 2007), which was commissioned to commemorate the centenary of *Hua Ju*. This choice of reality over realism touched a nerve in twentieth-century Chinese history, raising considerable controversy in reviews that questioned Lin's alignment with the ruling class. Implicit (and sometimes quite explicit) in these treatments of the historicity of Shakespeare reproduction is the relationship of present-day society to a decisive moment in the modernization/Westernization of socio-cultural ideas that drove theatre practice. A related approach exploits an audience's familiarity with the

play and the established place of Shakespeare in local culture to comment on contemporary issues by pointedly altering the play, as both Street Theatre Troupe's *Hamlet* and Mokwha's *Tempest* do.

CONCLUSION

W.B. Worthen, discussing the performative as a theatrical rather than a verbal act, emphasizes that “[d]ramatic performance becomes meaningful by deploying the text in recognizable genres of behavior, regimes that finally determine what the text *can* mean as performance” (2003: 13; italics in the original). If naturalism performs in the manner of a “regime,” what happens when its meaning-making system is transferred and translated to cultural contexts where other theatrical regimes are established? Rather than losing its authority, through adaptation or piecemeal adoption, the naturalistic system of performance enacts a foreign authority as its primary performative. Combined with the cultural status of Shakespeare, the naturalistic performance of his plays is useful to national and political agendas because its authoritativeness enables a repositioning of existing local theatres. At its inception, the naturalist production of Shakespeare performed a sign of the nation's modernity in the world. From the late twentieth century, a partially naturalistic Shakespeare performance continues to signify belonging in global culture (and to make the production accessible to international audiences), while the normative status of naturalistic conventions forms the backdrop for creative introductions of indigenous traditions. East Asian productions of Shakespeare today place naturalistic paradigms in conjunction with alternative systems of actor training, design, and directorial method – with other kinds of forces, to use Worthen's term – that disrupt the completeness of naturalistic meaning-making without altogether disabling its efficacy. Aesthetic beauty confronts assumptions of how a realistic action should look in Ninagawa's *Macbeth*; affective movement invokes an audience's participation in spiritual belief-systems in Mokwha's *Tempest*; and otherworldly temporality revises linear time in Ku Na'uka's *Othello in Noh Style*.

The naturalistic set in Ninagawa Yukio's most recent (eighth) production of *Hamlet* (2015) historicizes naturalism's regime in Japan, as described by Suematsu Michiko:

The performance opens with a row of old wooden two-storey houses called *Nagaya* (literally, a long house) on all three sides of the proscenium stage. This was the typical residence of the poor from the Edo period onwards. Each house has sliding doors through which actors sometimes enter and exit. There is a large acting area in front of the houses where most of the action is staged. The subtitle screened translates approximately as: “These houses are from the period when Shakespeare was first introduced to Japan, and here the last rehearsal of *Hamlet* is about to begin.” Once the production begins, the strong lighting – sometimes coloured, sometimes white – casts the old houses in the shadow. But we never forget their existence because they are glimpsed between the scenes or when the Ghost appears on the second level of these houses. (It is rather a good idea that the Ghost from the past appears on the balconies of old houses which are also a remnant of the past.)

Ninagawa wants us to see the scenery that Japanese audiences of the first Shakespeare productions used to see. In the programme, he says that he stages *Hamlet* this time in the hope of reviewing the modern history of Japan with its headlong Westernization. In this production he wants to answer the basic question: what staging Shakespeare now means to the Japanese.

(Suematsu 2015)

By a literal (if not quite accurate) presentation of the first scene of Shakespeare in Japan, Ninagawa sets *Hamlet* as a mirror for ourselves. On the one hand, a Japanese spectator may read this scene with Suematsu:

The implication of this staging is that beneath the thin veneer of newly introduced Western culture lies our old Japanese culture. However hard we try to Westernize ourselves, an old Japanese self or identity is always there behind it. His point may be that this is the beginning of Shakespeare reception in Japanese theatre and nothing has changed after 150 years.

(Suematsu 2015)

On the other hand, an English spectator of the production's tour to London is asked to see the foreignness of a naturalistic *Hamlet*.

Acknowledgements

The AISIIA project on which this chapter draws is part of two successive research projects supported by the Singapore Ministry of Education (Relocating Intercultural Theatre, MOE2008-T2-1-110; and Digital Archiving and Intercultural Performance, MOE2013-T2-1-011).

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CHAPTER EIGHT

KISSING AND DROWNING THE BOOK Shakespearean theatre in the Antipodes



Rob Conkie and Nicola Hyland

It has been argued that Shakespeare arrived in the Antipodes, in Aotearoa/New Zealand and in Australia, on the same boat as Jesus Christ. A copy of the *Complete Works* was included on Captain James Cook's first voyage to the South Pacific in the "crammed" library of the *Endeavour* (Neill 1998: 171), accompanying the Bible concealed on the captain's person at all times. Perhaps this *Tempest*-like origin-story partially accounts for the Shakespearean production history of these neighbouring countries, both old and new worlds, which might be characterized as either kissing the canonical book (obeisant, reverential, even worshipful) or attempting to drown it (mocking, oppositional, even hostile). This chapter will chart theatrical productions on both sides of the Tasman Sea which range across this kissing/drowning spectrum. For much of the chapter examples will be juxtaposed from either side of the Tasman as a reflection of the several shared features of these production histories; but attention will also be given, especially later in the chapter, to those aspects that might be regarded as more specific to either Australia or New Zealand. The general, but by no means absolute, trajectory of the production histories the chapter follows is kissing to drowning: early colonial Shakespearean theatre, as will be detailed below, was regularly recruited into the imperial project; early-to mid-twentieth-century productions begin to reveal a modern examination of such pieties, both colonial and bardolatrous; and more contemporary Antipodean productions of Shakespeare, while by no means totally eschewing a kissing of the book, much more regularly attempt drowning it (if, almost inevitably, simultaneously offering a kiss of life).

One such contemporary production, which opens up discussion of colonial Shakespearean origins and which staged both a kissing and a drowning, was that of *The Tempest* directed by Simon Phillips – born in New Zealand but working predominantly in Australia – for the Queensland Theatre Company in 1999; it was restaged for the Melbourne Theatre Company in 2001. Angela Campbell describes the opening of this production:

As the audience enters, a group of white male actors are already on stage. Dressed in uniforms of the British Navy of the late eighteenth century, complete with powdered wigs, their likeness immediately suggests the familiar and iconic

representations commemorating the journeys of Captain Cook and his landing at Botany Bay.

(Campbell 2004: 16; see also Schafer 2003 and Cox 2011)

The games of chess the navy officers play before the fateful tempest strikes are emblematic of the imperialist culture Michael Neill describes, where Shakespeare's works represented "not merely a prestigious written text" but also "essential equipment, part of an educated man's apparatus for understanding the world, and an important talisman of the superior English culture of which he was the emissary" (Neill 1998: 172). Shakespeare, this argument maintains, was therefore inculcated from the earliest stages of Antipodean colonization, on both sides of the Tasman Sea, with notions of Empire, civilization, and national identity. Thus, writing specifically of New Zealand and Pākehā (European) settlement, but equally applicable to the Australian context, Neill argues that through his (re)invention as a "National Bard" and portrayal as exemplar of universal values, Shakespeare became "an instrument of imperial authority as important and powerful in its way as the bible and the gun" (1998: 168–69).

The alignment of Shakespeare's *Works* with/as holy text meant that its author often assumed an almost messianic guise in the young colonies, a guise readily appropriate to and for the colonizing mission. Richard Waterhouse describes the process of "sacralising Shakespeare" in Australia in the latter half of the nineteenth century (2001: 23–30); and Frank Sargeson, the celebrated short-story writer, remarks of a time during early Pākehā settlement when Shakespeare "was believed by many New Zealanders to be the man, and indeed the *English* man, who had come closest to writing a book which might challenge the supremacy of the family bible" (Sargeson 1964: 49; emphasis in original). Nevertheless, while the proponents of Christianity and cultural imperialism have undeniably perpetrated traumatic effects on the "traditional" cultures of the First Peoples of the Antipodes, as represented by the subjugation of Caliban and Ariel by an authoritarian Prospero in the production mentioned just above, in New Zealand the introduction of choral performance by early missionaries and the revelation of mythic parallels in Shakespeare's works have also continued to enhance the performance traditions of the *Tangata Whenua* – or Māori – into the contemporary: Shakespeare (and Jesus) are thus both hero and villain. Lisa Warrington asserts that productions in Aotearoa are "often balancing the dichotomy between Shakespeare's status as revered cultural icon and the desire to undermine that authoritative voice" (2009: 305), an observation paralleled by Elizabeth Webby's discussion of early nineteenth-century Shakespearean burlesques and parodies, including *Othello Travestie!* in Adelaide in 1840 and *Shakspericonglomorofunnidogammoniae* in Launceston in 1846 (Webby 2001: 49–51). Shakespeare thus became a figure of anxious ambivalence in Australia and New Zealand, exemplified by the often simultaneous expression of (Commonwealth) celebration and (post-colonial) critique, of both hearty homage and none-too-subtle satire.

TRANS-TASMAN PARALLELS

A playbill dated 8 April 1800 announces a production of *Henry the Fourth* at the Theatre, Sydney; but John Golder and Richard Madelaine note that "[c]ontinuous theatre

dates from 1832 in Sydney, 1834 in Hobart, 1840 in Adelaide, 1842 in Melbourne, 1864 in Brisbane and 1879 in Perth.” Moreover, there “is clear evidence that Shakespeare was among the first dramatists to secure a place in the repertory of every capital city” (2001: 13–14). Performances of Shakespeare in New Zealand began at a similar time, not long after the effecting of *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* – The Treaty of Waitangi, a cessation document signed between Māori leaders representing various *iwi* (tribes) and the British Crown in 1840. For Pākehā, the treaty signified colonial security, a reassuring connection with Empire. The establishment of Theatres Royal across New Zealand celebrated the fleeting productions of touring English troupes, where selections from Shakespeare were shared on a bill with melodrama and farce (Houlahan 1998: 490). Between 1920 and 1924, Allan Wilkie – the Liverpool-born actor-manager who had worked with English actor and theatre manager Herbert Beerbohm Tree – “criss-crossed most of Australia and covered both islands of New Zealand [and] in the process . . . had given 1,000 consecutive performances of twenty of Shakespeare’s plays” (Golder 2001: 121). Golder further observes that a principal drive behind Wilkie’s decade-long Antipodean cultural mission was to advance “Shakespeare’s role in building and binding the British Empire” (121). Mark Houlahan suggests that such productions of Shakespeare offered the Pākehā spectatorship “touchstone” performances of Shakespeare (semi-)direct from England, and that local attempts saw “colonial mimicry of English performances and accents” as de rigueur until the 1920s (1998: 491); David Carnegie writes that “[n]otwithstanding local excitation, the main lines of interpretation were nearly always determined at the imperial centre” (2011: 19).

Theatre audiences in New Zealand had significantly waned during World War I, a decline exacerbated by the introduction of the cinema, the Great Depression of the 1930s, and the advent of World War II (Carnegie 2011: 22). Elric Hooper suggests that at this time Shakespeare was considered “box-office poison” (2012: 5). Amateur repertory productions of Shakespeare were revitalized during the 1940s and 1950s, however, influenced by dynamic theatre director (and crime writer) Ngaio Marsh, who was herself inspired by the famous touring performances of Tyrone Guthrie, Ralph Richardson, and Laurence Olivier (with Vivien Leigh) in the 1940s (Houlahan 1998: 490). Marsh’s productions with the Canterbury University College Drama Society from 1943 to 1972 were exemplars for future New Zealand interpretations of Shakespeare, and her impact on shaping a national tradition is undeniable. Dramatist and critic Mervyn Thompson described her style:

Everything in large sweeps. Spectacular visual patterns. Emphasis on swift movement forward of narrative. Rousing climaxes! Large emphasis on tonal variations. Character secondary to “musical” elements. Good “popular” Shakespeare. Great “orchestration.” Nothing “dry” left in. Not much in the way of politics either.

(quoted in Hooper 2012: 14)

As with many of the developments of Shakespearean theatre in the Antipodes, there exists a trans-Tasman parallel. For example, Penny Gay connects the considerable industry and emerging expertise of the John Alden Company, inaugurated in Sydney in 1948 with a production of *Measure for Measure*, to the same tours by the

Oliviers and Guthrie. Echoing the sentiments of Thompson, just above, Gay notes that Alden's productions were styled as "good entertainment' rather than an exercise in academic piety," and that "[b]road clowning (frowned on by some critics who wanted their Shakespeare more po-faced) and dance and music were highlighted" (2001: 186).

Both countries, as befits their benevolent climates, have long histories of outdoor Shakespearean performances. In Australia, Rosemary Gaby has offered the most sustained analysis of such productions, beginning with a 1906 *As You Like It* in a public garden in Melbourne, but also encompassing, in the following decades, productions in "parks, courtyards, caves, mountains, and beaches all over the country" (Gaby 2014: 203). Outdoor summer Shakespeare productions in Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch, as well as a host of smaller centres, produce both "a regular sprinkling of *As You Like It*s and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*," as well as increasingly experimental or obscure productions such as a "punk, urban, grimy *Henry V*" (Warrington 2009: 305–6). In 2015 Rotorua's Shakespeare Outside and the Wellington Summer Shakespeare celebrated, respectively, their tenth and thirtieth anniversaries with productions of *Othello* and *Timon of Athens*.

Also common to both countries is an eclectic range of independent, usually not-for-profit productions of Shakespeare in a wide variety of found and converted spaces outside more traditional and expensive venues. A number of young theatre collectives have recently taken to reclaiming Shakespeare in Wellington, such as Bright Orange Walls, who produced *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in the urban jungle of the derelict Baby Factory warehouse. Similarly, the Bacchanals have created economically, geographically, and intellectually "accessible" productions of Shakespeare since 2000 that often lampoon political figures and scandals. The Melbourne Fringe Festival regularly features several adaptations of Shakespeare's plays, and such productions are not confined to festival contexts but punctuate the annual independent theatre scene. Recent productions (just in Melbourne) include *Othello on Trial*, an interrogation of judicial process in contemporary cases of husbands offering the defence of provocation by infidelity after having killed their wives; and *Mr and Mrs Macbeth*, Shakespeare's play mashed with Dante's *Inferno*. On a different scale altogether, Australia and New Zealand also regularly host international touring productions, the descendants of the Wilkies and the Oliviers. *Othello: The Remix* has been performed, at the time of writing, in both Melbourne and Auckland. Such productions have usually played for several years, sometimes already the subject of academic publication, before journeying down under. In March 2014, for example, Toneelgroep Amsterdam's magnificent *Roman Tragedies* headlined the Adelaide Festival; and early in 2015 Tim Crouch toured *I, Malvolio*, replete with hilarious improvisations for its local Victorian audience.

Not exclusive to Australia and New Zealand, of course, a fascination with and local shaping of *Hamlet* are also common to both countries. Its protagonist reconfigured in New Zealand as an Antipodean "Angry Young Bloke," *Hamlet* "retains its popularity among local directors (overwhelmingly Pākeha and male)" (Warrington 2009: 306). As one of the first Shakespeare productions performed in New Zealand, *Hamlet* has been produced professionally more than sixty-five times: from the 1856 Theatre Royal tour production, to the New Zealand production by the Bacchanals in 2007 in Wellington, to deviations in the edgy youth version *2b or nt 2b*

in Wellington in 2014 and Michael Hurst's one-man show *No Holds Bard* (Theatre Aotearoa). Hamlet is reborn to an extent in Greg McGee's landmark play *Foreskin's Lament* (1980), a narrative exploring national identity through the lens of a young Pākeha rugby player culminating in a localized response to "To Be, or Not To Be," the lament "Whaddarya! Whaddarya?!"

The continued lauding of this play as a theatrical exemplar of national identity also prompted various feminist theatre responses in the early 1980s, including Jean Bett's subversive rewrite *Ophelia Thinks Harder* (1994): "To think or not to think?" In *Ours as We Play It*, Kate Flaherty offers close analyses particularly concerned with the constructions of masculinity of several seminal Australian *Hamlets*. She surveys Hamlets atypical of the stereotype of Australian masculinity: they range across Richard Roxburgh's "vitality and volatility" (Flaherty 2011: 27); Jeremy Sims's "eager, excitable, warm-hearted, vigorous, very physically impulsive and dangerous" Prince (30); Leon Ford's "disillusioned adolescent idealism" (31); and Cameron Goodall's "self-ironising, witty, intimate anti-hero" (32). Concluding her remarks about the play's metatheatricity driving the desire to re-present it so regularly (and successfully), Flaherty writes that "it is not the space *Hamlet* colonises in our cultural imaginations but the spaces it opens up, that keep it playing" (91). This is a notion that Rob Conkie takes up in "Remember Me" (2012), a performative meditation on *Hamlet* as an Australian Indigenous story of dispossession, disinheritance, and payback. Indigenous Shakespeares constitute one of the most important features of Antipodean Shakespearean theatrical production.

INDIGENOUS SHAKESPEARES

The predominantly male, Pākeha-centric features of New Zealand theatre, particularly in Shakespearean productions, underwent a major shift in the early 1990s through what is termed the Māori renaissance of arts and the emergence of original Pasifika (Diasporic Pacific Islander) voices. From Mervyn Thompson's much lauded "unapologetically New Zealand" *Othello* (1989) with Samoan Nathaniel Lees (Warrington 2009: 308), to Cathy Downes's 2001 production set in the Māori Land Wars with a British-raised Māori Othello (played by Jim Moriarty), to the *Te Reo* (Māori-language) performance *Solothello* (2015) by innovative Māori theatre company, Te Rēhia Theatre, the reconfigurations of Shakespeare's race politics for local contexts continue to create meaningful, innovative, and memorable productions.

(Re)locating Shakespeare within the original contexts of New Zealand is a process not of adapting Indigenous histories or performative praxes into the plays' narratives, but rather of making Shakespeare fit within *Te Ao Māori* (the Māori world). The opening production of the Globe to Globe Festival at Shakespeare's Globe in London on 23 April 2012 was *Toroīhi rāua ko Kāhira*, a version of *Troilus and Cressida* in *Te Reo Māori* performed by Ngakau Toa, a collective of Māori performers and artists. Co-directed by Rachel House and *Mau Rakau* (Māori martial-arts) expert Jamus Webster, and produced by iconic New Zealand theatre-maker (and unabashed Shakespeare addict) Rawiri Paratene, the text was translated by Te Haumihiata Mason into a pre-colonial and poetic form of the Māori language known as *Kupu tawhito* or *Te reo kohutu* to support the heightened language in the original. While a notorious, almost unclassifiable problem play for many Western theatre directors, *Troilus and*

Cressida is an ideal text both to reclaim within a pre-colonial Māori setting and to relocate in the very heart of Empire.

Toroihi rāua ko Kāhira is framed by the three key narrative themes of the *Paki Waitara* (creation-stories) of Māori: *whenua* (land), *wahine* (women), and *utu* (revenge). The entrenchment of these ideas in *Te Ao Māori* is emphasized in a popular *whakatauki* (proverb): *He wahine, he whenua, e ngaro ai te tangata* (Men die because of land and women). This signifies the belief throughout Māori history – pre- and post-colonization – that land disputes and women (or disputes over women) are the cause of (almost) every war. *Troilus and Cressida* – with the taking of Helen/Herena provoking the launch of “a thousand ships” – is thus a paradigmatic narrative in the Māori context. Dissatisfaction with the narrative and outcome is deproblematized here for three reasons. First, in *Paki Waitara* a story is never intended as fixed or universal; rather, listeners “decide for themselves the stories’ meanings or conclusions” (Rikihana-Hyland 1997: 9). Second, this narrative actually makes *more* sense in *Te Ao Māori*: that is, the actions of characters such as Cressida/Kāhira and Achilles/Aikiri are driven by critical beliefs and values from Māori culture. Finally, this performance is not merely a retelling of the narrative of *Troilus and Cressida*, but also a presentation of Māori performers playing *Troilus and Cressida* which unpacks pre-conceptions about Māori performativity in the service of candidly celebrating the presence of Shakespeare in *Te Ao Māori*.

Toroihi rāua ko Kāhira signifies a temporary occupation of Shakespeare’s Globe by Māori. From the opening *whakaeke* (introduction) to the spontaneous closing *haka* (dance) of the *manuhiri* (audience), the company are rendered *kaitiakitanga* (guardians) of the Globe, which is transformed into an early modern *Whare Whakairo* (carved meeting-house). The performance is set in a pre-contact Māori world, amidst an ongoing war between the fictional *iwi Toroi* (Troy) and *Kariki* (Greece). The politics of war are thus deferred from an interpretation of Pākehā versus Māori – and residual post-colonial anxieties – to concentrate instead on ways that obligation to *whanau* (family) and responsibilities to *iwi* (tribe) are complicated by human desires.

Gender roles in *Te Ao Māori* are deftly explored and demystified here. In beginning with a powerful *karanga* (call) by Waimihi Hotere (Kerenga/Cassandra) and a *haka* from both male and female cast members, House and Webster are reinforcing the interdependence of the roles of *mana wahine* (women) and *mana tane* (men). Maintaining the balance or reciprocity in these roles is a driving force in the narrative. The trickster Panātara/Pandarus (Paratene) – the initiator of the doomed love-games between Toroihi/Troilus (Kimo Houltham) and Kāhira/Cressida (Awhina-Rose Henare-Ashby) – is countered by the cynical yet ultimately rational Tēhiti/Thersites, a clown character deliberately cast as a woman (Juanita Hepi). This corresponding relationship as a gender play is effectively enacted by the effete portrayal of Panātara versus the vehemently masculine portrayal of Tēhiti. Crucially, Kāhira’s “betrayal” of her new lover Toroihi is played out as part of a process of *take-utu-ea*. Hirini Moko Mead explains:

If an action is considered to be incorrect this gives ground for alleging a breach of *tikanga* [protocol]. The breach becomes the *take*, which requires a resolution of some sort . . . once a *take* is agreed upon there is often an appropriate *utu* [recompense], or some equivalent gesture may be given to the wronged party. The

reason for doing so is to reach a resolution satisfying all parties so that the matter is resolved. This is the desired outcome, the state of *ea*.

(Mead 2003: 27)

Negotiations of *utu* among *iwi* are sometimes resolved with a *tamau taonga*: a woman from one *iwi* offered as reparation for a breach to, or as part of, a land deal with another *iwi*. The *take* is the original procuring of Herena/Helen by Parahi/Paris. Kāhira, in playing out her obligations as a *tamau taonga*, is shown to be torn between duty to *whanau* (family, in a culture where the community always comes before individual desires) and her very human feelings: she recognizes that she must pay the price for the *Toroī* in order to restore the balance (*ea*).

Utu is also critical in framing the male characters. The *ihorei* (soldiers/leaders) are embroiled in power-games, both between warring *iwi* and in their own camps, in order to achieve *utu* for the theft of Herena as well as a reinstatement of, or increase in, personal *mana*. *Mana* is a quality of prestige, authority, and control that determines status among Māori, and it is associated particularly with a kind of ultimate or desired level of masculinity. Acquired through *manawanui* (bravery), the restoration of *mana* for the *Kariki ihorei* is a particular goal; it drives the plot to offer Āhaka/Ajax (Maaka Pohata) as the warrior to duel with Hiakita/Hector (Xavier Horan). *Utu* also determines the actions of the *whakahihi* (arrogant) Aikiri/Achilles (Matu Ngaropo) in murdering Hiakita in revenge for the death of Patokihi/Patroclus (Rangi Rangitukunoa). The alignment of war with sex is also prevalent: the warrior cry “Kia Kaha” (Be brave!) is applied to sexual prowess, with the *taiaha/rakau* (weapons) constantly utilized as a mock phallus. This is most evident in scenes between the lovers Aikiri and the flamboyant Patokihi. Although Catherine Silverstone draws attention to the “reductive representations” of “predictable gay stereotypes” here (2013: 41), there is also something potentially more complex in the representation of male Māori bodies in this production.

The trope of the warrior savage is on incontestable display in *Toroīhi rāua ko Kāhira* through the posturing of multiple semi-clad – or traditional – Māori male bodies that are consciously, often ostentatiously, paraded throughout. While there are obvious allusions to the anxious eroticization of the othered male body, the play is also drawing attention to a continuing global inability to praise performances by Māori men beyond their muscularity, or aesthetic masculinity. With the *haka* seen as metonymic for Māori performance, the act of displaying Māori men as stereotypical violent savages is deconstructed by the politics of the play – where war is proven inexplicable – and the fact that these *haka* dancers are also performing Shakespeare.

While Paratene’s playing of Panātara is criticized for its “campness” (Silverstone 2013: 41), the portrayal can also be read metatheatrically as a Māori actor playing a Shakespearean actor reciting Shakespeare in Māori, and thus showing the historical polarities for othered men in theatre as either hypermasculine brawn or effete theatrical type. Alternatively, the portrayal of Patokihi as a *whakawahine* (transgender male) represents alternate male sexualities to challenge the homogeneous (and predominantly hetero-) warrior trope. The seeming hollowness of the earlier homo-erotic gesturing is also contrasted by the *mana* of a pledge signed with *hongī*



Figure 8.1 Tom E. Lewis as Lear in *The Shadow King*.
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(pressed noses) between rediscovered *whanau* Hiakita and Āhaka, an intimacy which is genuine and powerful (Figure 8.1).

The real threat of the actors playing *ihorei* is their ambivalence for an audience who overwhelmingly cannot understand the language: they are playing as Māori performers, playing Shakespearean characters, playing Māori warriors. The playfulness of the production is transgressive in small signs, such as Kāhira's peacock-feather earrings, a signifier of the "evil eye" and therefore a portent of bad luck, which flout the superstitions of Western theatre; and the constant invocation of Māori *atua* (ancestor gods) in a festival which functions as a tribute to one very English and sacred ancestor (Shakespeare). Critically, the final image of the production is the sashaying tattooed backside of Patokihi. While seemingly a reductive camp gesture aimed at a cheap laugh, it might also be read as a *whakapohane*, a pre-contact insult where the baring of the buttocks is aimed to cause offence. Considering that Ngakau Toa translates as "Brave Heart," perhaps it indicates the nature of the rebellious elements interwoven into this production.

Tracing similar acts of rebellion and subversion, mischief and malice, Elizabeth Schafer (2003) and Emma Cox (2011), in separate contributions, have surveyed recent productions of Indigenous Australian Shakespeare. Schafer argues that such productions are often "highly charged; raising issues of land rights, discrimination and reconciliation politics" (2003: 64); and the respective essays document several productions that focus on Indigenous and non-Indigenous relationships and conflicts, such as *The Tempest*, briefly discussed above, and further productions of *Romeo and Juliet* and *As You Like It* (Schafer 2003: 69–70) and *Othello* (Cox 2011: 85–88).

They both discuss Neil Tovey's all-Aboriginal *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Schafer 2003: 68–69; Cox 2011: 80–85; see also Flaherty 2011: 171–72, 199–204); and Cox concludes her discussion of this production by declaring that:

Rather than explicate Aboriginality vis-à-vis white Australia, Tovey's work foregrounded Aboriginality in and of itself; the dominant body of the white Australian actor did not constitute even a peripheral presence.

(Cox 2011: 85)

This was the effect, as mentioned above, of Pākeha presence in *Toioihi rāua ko Kāhira* and for the all-Aboriginal performers of the 2013 Malthouse Theatre production of *The Shadow King*, a fact celebrated by Melissa Lucashenko:

Mullaga is offstage, for once. This is as it should be. In lots of important ways the Aboriginal nations have worried about white people long enough. It's long past time to talk more about who we are, and who blackfellas must become to reclaim our sovereign rights in Australia.

(Lucashenko 2013)

The central drive of this Indigenized narrative (Smith 2012: 145–48) was that the wealth of the kingdom Lear was giving away was accrued via royalties paid for access to land by mining companies: the production, and almost all of the reviews, focused on the notion that the land belongs not to the people, and therefore cannot be given away, but that the people belong to the land. These reviews, on the whole, were very positive about the production, but it was perhaps more the context than the text that garnered this praise. The context, as Celeste Liddle observed, potentially included “the NT Intervention” and the “imposing mining truck,” both sources of contemporary Aboriginal anguish. The text was a mixture of “Indigenous languages and creoles” (Liddle 2013), although mostly paraphrasing Shakespeare's play. Malcolm Knox raised objections to this feature of the production's text:

I found myself wondering how it would have been if the whole play had been taken over by this mix of languages. . . . To let the music and physicality of these languages do their own thing, and swamp Shakespeare's English, would have represented a final victory . . . a reverse colonisation, in which an English tradition is invaded and taken over by Indigenous tongues.

(Knox 2013)

Instead, the swamp was a sometimes risible paraphrasing: only the occasional line – such as Lear's follow-up to “Let copulation thrive” with “Go on, fuck around. I need more blackfellas!” – possessed an authenticity generated by wrenching the words a sufficient distance from their origins. Perhaps most poignant was Frances Djulibing's female Gloucester singing a lamentation in her own Indigenous language. Here, perhaps more than anywhere else in the production, although the literal meanings of the words were understood by only a few, the intention was perfectly clear and compellingly affective.

LOCAL CONCERNS

There are a number of youthful, post-colonial responses to Shakespeare which reveal both the possibilities and the limits of canonical counter-discourse in New Zealand. The theatrical retelling *Romeo and Tusi* (Oscar Kightley and Erolia Ifopo, 2000) recasts the original star-crossed lovers as a young Māori boy and Samoan girl caught in a contemporary cross-cultural conflict in suburban New Zealand. Filled with rich, topical cultural references, *Romeo and Tusi* relocates the tale to the doorsteps of ordinary “Brown” New Zealanders, albeit within a world where ordinary equates to rampant poverty. Like Shakespeare’s lovers, Anaru Heke (a Māori boy) and Tusi Aiu (a Samoan girl) come from neighbouring families at war, a battle fought with racist rhetoric across adjoining back fences on the aptly named Sorry Avenue. Drawn together by acute fear and extreme mortification by their hyperviolent mothers (and disappointment in their ghostly absent fathers), Anaru and Tusi are cast in the lead roles in the school production of *Romeo and Juliet*. Here rehearsals provide opportunities for romantic trysts as the teens recognize the resemblances in Romeo and Juliet’s story to repression in their own lives; tragedy is averted on opening night by (actual) audience intervention led by a canny *fa’afafine* (Samoan transgender) director, Ruby, and the “pure love” of the protagonists.

Romeo and Tusi represents a paradoxical form of appropriation: it is a work that both parodies *and* celebrates Shakespeare. The teens of the play are involved in a process of hybridizing Shakespeare, using transformation of the original text to apply the relevant bits and discard that which is irrelevant. As a metatextual retelling, the production undermines the cultural authority of the host text. Yet it does not simply challenge the message of the original as much as it destabilizes the seeming universality of *Romeo and Juliet*:

TUSI The audience can’t understand what you are saying.

RUBY It’s Shakespeare, some things you aren’t supposed to understand. Now shut up your lips and let me finish.

(Kightley and Ifopo 2000: 1)

In transforming the official language of Shakespeare into loaded, cheeky, urban youth-speak, *Romeo and Tusi* continually emphasizes that reading Shakespeare as timeless and placeless has little value for young Māori and Pacific Islanders:

MINISTER Why don’t you drink some poison which will put you to sleep but your parents will think you’ve killed yourselves. They will feel awful and regret their actions. But then you will come around and they will then let you go on with your lives.

ANARU That has got to be one of the stupidest suggestions I’ve ever heard.

(Kightley and Ifopo 2000: 53)

In not sacrificing the young lovers’ lives at the end of the production, *Romeo and Tusi* also reinforces not the folly of rebellion as a moral of Shakespeare’s text but instead the vitality and value of adolescent humanism. Significantly, though, there is also a sense of homage in *Romeo and Tusi* which reflects the underlying appeal

of Shakespeare's *Works* to Kiwi audiences. Kightley has suggested that Shakespeare is similar to soul singer James Brown in that "he's someone you sample" (quoted in Neill 2001: iii). This agency to "mix" allows the characters of Anaru and Tusi to flit between contemporary located figures and mythic literary characters:

ANARU Look at Romeo and Juliet – they stood firm in the face of prejudice.

TUSI Yeah, but they die in the end.

ANARU Yeah . . . but they would have been happy in heaven!

(Kightley and Ifopo 2000: 43)

Romeo and Tusi also highlights how New Zealand is an exception to other post-colonial sites without being exceptional. Because of the small scale of the country, the local and the national are almost impossible to separate, with easy access to global networks also significantly reducing the distance between New Zealand and Empire. As a youthful country, New Zealand has continued to refashion itself swiftly. The fusion between literary quotation and in-jokes operates highly effectively within the context of a national audience; the process of both revering and unhinging Shakespeare reinforces collective hybridity rather than national fragmentation.

It is perhaps surprising that the International Shakespeare Globe Centre's establishment of neo-colonial outposts should take such strong hold in New Zealand, with the Shakespeare Globe Centre New Zealand (SGCNZ) holding twenty-three annual regional festivals leading to a national festival; yet it fails to sustain much interest in Australia. Nevertheless, Australia does have a unique history of "original practices" Shakespeare. Beginning with the construction of the New Fortune Theatre in an Arts faculty quadrangle at the University of Western Australia in 1960, the dimensions of which are serendipitously proximate to the specifications in the Fortune Theatre building contract of 1600, productions at this venue and in other places have experimented with the types of staging made famous at the reconstructed Globe. Even as far back as 1951, Colin Ballantyne produced an *As You Like It* contextualized by programme notes that anticipate late-century staging (re)developments:

Tonight's performance is frankly an experiment in theatre production. The players have to perform upon a low platform with the audience close-packed on three sides. The whole theatre is evenly lit, so that not only do members of the audience see each other and the actor, but the actor sees the audience. . . . It is hoped that the methods used in these performances will result in a greater feeling of intimacy between the actor and the audience member.

(quoted in Brissenden 2001: 149)

The main difference between the countries' Shakespearean offerings – or their respective capacities to produce Shakespearean theatre, as the land and population masses dictate – is that of scale. The establishment of professional repertory companies in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, and Dunedin in the 1960s offered innovative and confident Shakespeare, with professional New Zealand actors, and to large and engaged audiences – a tradition that continued until the 1990s, when Shakespeare productions were considered "too expensive to stage regularly" (Houlahan 1998: 491). The closure in 2012 of New Zealand's oldest professional theatre, Downstage

in Wellington, is symptomatic of New Zealand theatres' continuing struggle in a post-global financial crisis economy: local large-scale professional Shakespeares are increasingly rare.

This is not the case in Australia, where companies whose sole or primary mandate is to produce Shakespeare's works – such as the Bell Shakespeare Company, who have toured mainstage productions to (at least) the east coast states of Australia since 1991; and other major and state theatres have produced, over the past several decades, a canon of Shakespeare productions akin to English performance histories which revere Peter Brook's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Buzz Goodbody's *Hamlet*, Judi Dench's Viola in *Twelfth Night*, and Antony Sher's Richard III. Included in this performance history are directors such as Gale Edwards, Neil Armfield, and Simon Phillips; actors such as Geoffrey Rush, Cate Blanchett, Richard Roxburgh, and Hugo Weaving; and companies and venues such as the Sydney Theatre Company (STC), Belvoir St Theatre, or those already listed above.

Any such canonical list is bound to be contentious; but a much-cited beginning of Australian Shakespearean production, where the aesthetic was unmistakably local, was the 1975 Nimrod Theatre production of *Much Ado About Nothing*, directed by John Bell. Bell recalls a number of rehearsal techniques designed to “bust open the way of performing Shakespeare and take it away from the ‘proper’ English way of speaking the text,” the most radical of which was asking the actors to rehearse the “play in broad ‘greengrocer’ mock Italian accents.” Bell's instruction to drop the accents for performance was met by horrified objections from the cast; consequently, they were retained for the production to general, sometimes euphoric, acclaim (Bell 2011: 239–40).

Kate Flaherty (2011) offers nuanced evocations of Armfield's productions of *Hamlet* and *As You Like It*; and there is a filmed version of the same director's very Australian *Twelfth Night* with a young Geoffrey Rush cutting a determined caper as Andrew Aguecheek. Simon Phillips has directed a number of critically acclaimed and popular Shakespeares in a vein similar to that of the UK's Nicholas Hytner: they are performed in a realist mode, contemporized with slick designs – often a revolving stage to facilitate fast-paced, cinema-like transitions; and they register either a meshing or clashing of the plays' concerns with their recontextualization amidst the very latest kinds of technology. In addition to *The Tempest*, already discussed, which represented a departure from contemporization, there have been productions of *Hamlet* (2012) set in a glass-wall palace; *Richard III* (2011) with an Obama-like Richmond; and a stunning *Julius Caesar* (1996), in which a female Mark Antony held a press conference at the morgue to decry her friend's assassination. At the STC in 2009 Benedict Andrews directed an eight-hour *Wars of the Roses*. The Henry plays were merely a series of ingeniously staged murders stripped of dramatic incident, but the book-ended Richards were a different matter entirely. For the first ninety minutes of this production Cate Blanchett played Richard II, mostly seated, not acknowledging any other actor and beautifully declaiming the language to the auditorium. Gold glitter fell from above for the entire production, gathering like sand by the play's conclusion. At the other end of the eight hours was Pamela Rabe's Richard III. In a post-apocalyptic children's playground, this time ash fell from above. The earlier trope of the production, that murdered characters would get up after a moment and walk off, was suspended here; and thus as Richard wrought deadly havoc in the game

of who is the king of the castle, the bodies remained until the curtain, slowly and gradually covered by the always falling ash.

This canon cannot be complete without further mention of the Bell Shakespeare Company. Inevitably somewhat patchy at times, this company has produced its share of remarkable productions that are etched in the Australian Shakespearean theatre-goer's memory. *King Lear* (1996), guest directed by Barrie Kosky, was an Artaudian nightmare with a Shirley Temple-singing Fool; with Gloucester's eyes sucked out of their sockets by Regan and Goneril, who peeled back from this much relished task with blood all around their mouths; and with Lear smearing faeces on himself at a wasteland bus-stop. There were walk-outs, written complaints, and (some) savage reviews – though this reviewer (Rob Conkie) thought it astonishing. Unlike many Bell Shakespeare productions, Kosky's *King Lear* sought no local resonance. More typical was the deeply affecting *Henry V* (1999) described by Penny Gay: in this production "the soldiers in 4.1, who question the King's moral right to lead men to their deaths, were played as a group of Aussie First World War Diggers waiting laconically for the end" (2001: 198). Bell directed this production and also the hypersuccessful *Comedy of Errors* (2002) that featured the magician Ross Skiffington as Doctor Pinch, and thus exploited various illusions, misdirections, and vanishings as part of the play's riotous comedy.

The Bell Shakespeare production of *Twelfth Night*, directed by Lee Lewis, is perhaps most illustrative of Flaherty's argument (2011). It was written for the Australian context but was not exclusive to it, an interpretation that the play's metatheatricality invites through localized production, a mutually constitutive coalescence of text and context. The static-interrupted news that was part of this production's pre-show framing announced that the "Prime Minister has declared a national disaster": the events the production was referencing, the Black Saturday fires that began on 7 February 2009, claimed 173 lives. The reading from an old book (obviously a *Complete Works*) that called the production into action did not happen until the seven-minute, ten-second mark of this grief-stricken, mostly non-verbal contextual prologue as fire-fighters and survivors gathered in a makeshift community shelter for some respite from the ongoing blaze. The production as a whole, though, was very funny; and much of the humour, like other Australian examples discussed above, was clownish and populist. The clowning was the preserve not of Max Cullen's seventy-year-old (book-reading) narrator Feste, but of the yobbos of Adam Booth's Toby and Elan Zavelsky's Andrew, Brent Hill's Maria, and the bogan-inspired (uncouth, low-class) Malvolio of Ben Wood. Wood, especially, was permitted by the production to speak more than was set down for him. Chasing Andrea Demetriades's Viola to return his mistress's ring, Malvolio complained, to much audience laughter, "give us a sec, will ya?" In his letter-finding soliloquy he altered the Shakespearean precedent for marrying up with a reference to then Australian leader Julia Gillard – "there is example for it: the Prime Minister's dating a hairdresser." At the end, when he wanted to enact his revenge on the whole pack of them and his chain-saw would not start, he lamented: "Oh, come on! You are kidding me." Yet the production was not all in this register. Nearing the end of the first half, this broad high jinks got out of control, with a comic-book pirate Antonio and unrestrained pantomimic acting. The Viola character became extremely distressed by their histrionics and could not stop crying as they attempted to comfort her and the lights came up to announce the interval.

Mostly very jolly in the face of environmental and personal devastation, and mostly broad-brush but with regular moments of nuance and delicacy, this was a fabulous, if perhaps not quite magical, production of the play that made a compelling intervention in a national narrative of destruction and restoration.

The final moments of this production returned to the bush-fire/book-reading frame: after the curtain-call applause, the TV crackled back to life announcing that lost fire-fighters had been found alive. Everything was packed up, as Feste contemplated his book and then left the stage, last of all, with book tucked under his arm. *The Shadow King* was similarly framed, beginning and ending with Kamahi Djordon King's Fool reading from an old red book lying in the same-coloured on-stage earth. In interview, the production's Lear and co-creator, Tom E. Lewis (Figure 8.2), expressed a desire to tour *The Shadow King* to England: "I'd love to



Figure 8.2 Hiakita/Hector (Xavier Horan) and Āhaka/Ajax (Maaka Pohatu) in the Māori *Troilus and Cressida* at the Globe to Globe Festival, 2012.
© Globe Theatre, photo by Simon Annand

do that, give them back the book and say thank you to them” (Westwood 2013). Here is no anti-colonial rage, no Caliban’s curse, no cheeky buttock-baring, no need for drowning, but perhaps a recalibration of this production’s meaning: you do not own the land, the land owns you. Here, speaking the book means being spoken by the book, a message for which to give thanks. The book, not drowning, kissing, and the land – the Land of the Long White Cloud and the Great Southern Land – have, like Flaherty’s explication of metatheatrical text and context, coalesced throughout this select production history. The productions discussed here have focused on appropriated lands, land wars, land rights, and the perils of the Antipodean lands. Even as those who brought Shakespeare’s book to these lands as an instrument of civilization intended to authorize ownership claims, the recolonizing of these stories for local concerns – the kissing and drowning of the book – have meant that the land owns Shakespeare, too.

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PART II

SHAKESPEARE ON FILM





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CHAPTER NINE

FRAMING THE THEATRICAL Shakespearean film in the UK



Peter Kirwan

The story you are about to see has been told before.

A lot.

And now we are going to tell it again.

But different. . . .

Unfortunately, before we begin, there is rather a long, boring Prologue, which I will read to you now.

The history of Shakespeare on screen in the United Kingdom is a long and complex one, stretching from the earliest known Shakespeare film – Herbert Beerbohm Tree’s 1899 *King John* – to the spectacular, cinematically literate 2011 *Coriolanus* by Ralph Fiennes. British cinema has kick-started major movements in Shakespeare’s screen treatment, from the Technicolor epics of Laurence Olivier in the 1940s and 1950s to Kenneth Branagh’s instigation of the 1990s “New Wave,” in Thomas Cartelli and Katherine Rowe’s term (2007) – both phases beginning with that most overtly patriotic of plays, *Henry V*. The only direct Shakespeare adaptation to win the Best Picture Academy Award to date remains Olivier’s 1948 *Hamlet*, and Shakespeare films produced in Europe and the United States regularly still utilize British creative talent in key roles. Lynda Boose and Richard Burt note that “Shakespeare and the English literary tradition have long been a rallying point of national superiority” in British cultural life, and that Shakespeare continues to act as “a signifier for British cultural superiority” at the expense of America’s hallmarks of a “colonized consciousness” (1997: 12, 13). Why, then, does UK Shakespeare film seem so anxious?

In 2011, Kelly Asbury’s irreverent *Gnomeo and Juliet*, the first feature-length Shakespeare-based animation to be produced in the UK, posed a series of questions about the medium’s negotiation with Shakespeare that are revealing of broader and more serious concerns within UK Shakespeare film. The film begins with the image of a traditional proscenium-arch stage, complete with footlights and red curtain, with the sound of an audience murmuring and an orchestra tuning in the background. When a po-faced garden gnome wearing an Elizabethan ruff emerges onto the stage and barks the opening words that form this chapter’s epigraph, the film addresses

comically a serious set of anxieties over (1) the over-familiarity of a narrative; (2) the pressure to find a new spin on source material; and (3) the pressure to be faithful to a text that even filmmakers may find “boring.” Asbury projects the effect of these anxieties onto an audience who are heard shushing one another vigorously, preparing for the collaborative performance of appreciating Shakespeare’s text; and the film’s original cinematic presentation in 3-D extends the shot implicitly to include the cinema audience in this activity. Yet as the gnome begins to recite the Prologue to *Romeo and Juliet* from an impossibly long scroll, there appears that most theatrical of interlopers, the stage hook. The hook repeatedly approaches the gnome, only to retreat when confronted by the intended victim’s hard stare. Having aligned the cinema audience with the overheard spectators, shushing each other in order to behave as they know they *should*, the film now encourages the audience to identify with the Rabelaisian stage hook that promises tantalizingly to end the tedium of the recited monologue. The gnome is finally defeated, unexpectedly, by the sudden opening of the stage trapdoor and the disappearance of both narrator and scroll from sight, at which point the camera zooms through the proscenium arch and into a colourful outdoor setting with the recognizably altered title *Gnomeo and Juliet* plastered across the sky and Elton John’s “Crocodile Rock” replacing the orchestral fanfare.

Gnomeo and Juliet may not be mainstream Shakespeare, but its introductory moments intervene explicitly in a conflict that saturates UK Shakespeare film: the anxiety over fidelity, characterized by a grand theatrical tradition, versus adaptation, the cinematic literacy exemplified by the conventions of Hollywood. The British tradition of filmed Shakespeare is torn between a desire to capture the perceived authenticity of the British stage and the simultaneous desire to entertain a broader audience, leading to the blurring of Jack Jorgens’s categories of “theatrical,” “realist,” and “filmic” modes (1977: 7). While Jorgens’s influential typology offers broad categories, it is my contention here that the trend in UK Shakespeare film has consistently been to engage with the theatrical – whether through the selection of plays filmed and talent recruited or through cinematic techniques such as tracking shots, direct address, and disruption of mainstream cinematic realism that attempt to evoke the “liveness” associated with the theatrical event in a way that Philip Auslander argues prompts “resistance to the market and the media, the dominant culture they represent, and the regime of cultural production that supports them” (1999: 7). That is to say, UK Shakespeare film often carries with it a fundamental anxiety about its own medium in relation to the perceived value of the live performance. Yet, as the following survey of UK Shakespeare film shows, this anxiety is frequently productive and challenging rather than restrictive, making explicit the negotiation of medium and content.

THE STAGE TRADITION ON FILM

In *King John* (1899) Herbert Beerbohm Tree, in the title-role, sits centre stage on a large throne and appears to reach out imploringly to the camera. The camera is positioned as if in the centre stalls at Her Majesty’s Theatre, London, meaning that the first Victorian viewers of a Shakespeare film were asked to imagine themselves as remote theatrical spectators in the best seat in the house, enjoying a simulated live relationship with the greatest stage actor of the day. The cinema’s dependence on

the theatre for authenticity at this point is understandable; but, as Judith Buchanan argues, this dependence was an explicit part of the film's strategy.

The film was far too short to have been intended as a presentation whose meaning was autonomously self-contained: its purpose was not so much to tell a story as to allude to one and thus advertise where it was being told.

(Buchanan 2009: 68)

The 1899 *King John* comprised three scenes, although only one (the death scene) is extant. This early film makes no concession to the "realist" or "filmic," instead reproducing extracts of Tree's own stage production with minimal intervention, as celebrated in the title used for American distribution: "Beerbohm Tree, the Great English Actor taken with all the scenery and effects of the original production." Through this title, Buchanan argues,

The film was thus marketed as being able to offer all that the stage production had done. In feting Tree, the film's title also claimed some of the accumulated theatrical glory of the actor and production for itself.

(Buchanan 2009: 69)

The extracts chosen, as with Frank Benson's 1911 *Richard III*, are more appropriately considered illustrative than fragmentary. Benson's film, shot in the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre in Stratford-upon-Avon, incorporates a range of scenes such as two extracts drawn from 3 *Henry VI* and highlights from the remainder of his stage production, including the lavish sets and large casts that fill out the public scene of Anne's wooing, Richard's own coronation, and the battle of Bosworth Field (cut short in the extant footage). Benson's film exemplifies the thinking behind the preservation of these stage productions, providing what Samuel Taylor Coleridge described, in relation to the acting of Edmund Kean, as "flashes of lightning" which illustrate speeded-up moments of the actor-manager's energy and, crucially, depend on the audience's prior knowledge of the play to make sense of what is visualized (Nagler 1952: 453).

While these productions may jar with contemporary expectations of what cinema can offer, their core principles align with those of the live broadcasts of theatrical productions that currently dominate UK Shakespeare cinema. As with Tree's and Benson's productions, broadcasting projects such as NT Live and Live from Stratford-upon-Avon prioritize mainstream UK theatrical institutions – the National Theatre, the Royal Shakespeare Company (RSC) – and star actors (Tom Hiddleston, Kenneth Branagh, David Tennant); and, most significantly, make sure that "cameras are carefully positioned throughout the auditorium to ensure that cinema audiences get the 'best seat in the house' view of each production" (NT Live). The premise is false, of course, as in these projects the use of multiple cameras, overhead angles, on-stage viewpoints, and extreme close-up as part of their cinematic vocabulary means that very few shots represent the perspective from *any* seat, whereas Tree's and Benson's productions indeed approximate a single, expensive seat. Yet even the silent films legitimize their mixed-media product with the implication that the cinematic spectator is privileged as well as disadvantaged by distance. Tree's production speeds

through the action, whereas Benson goes farther in shaping a unique experience for cinema viewers. A new scene is inserted for the film version featuring the immediate aftermath of the murder of the princes, and the ghosts who appear to Richard before the final battle cross-fade into one another, creating a ghostly spectacle unavailable in the theatre.

These films are not typical of all UK Shakespeare films in the period, with others such as Percy Stow's 1908 *The Tempest*, which had no origin in stage production, going much farther with their playful special effects: jump-cuts allowing a childlike Ariel to appear and disappear at will; a character turned into a monkey; a storm superimposed onto a viewpoint from Prospero's cave. Yet even this film pays tribute to Victorian stage spectacles, bringing on the bow of a ship from behind clearly two-dimensional theatrical wings for the final scene. It is of great interest that, as cinematic Shakespeare in the twenty-first century begins to draw overwhelmingly on live theatrical productions, it is returning to the synthetic idea pioneered at the dawn of Shakespearean cinema of mediating access to an authentic, theatrical event while adding cinematic value.

Stephen Purcell argues that contemporary live broadcasts involve the theatre "position[ing] its home theatre as an international centre of high culture, inviting its spectators to 'be there' culturally while emphasising their physical and geographical distance" (2014: 215), a strategy that similarly articulates the role of the early silent British films. The dependence of British Shakespeare film on theatrical authority may be most transparent at the extreme ends of the period, but it persists in the figures who stand for British Shakespeare film in between. For much of the early twentieth century cinematic Shakespeare was dominated by American star vehicles: from Douglas Fairbanks and Mary Pickford (*The Taming of the Shrew*, 1929), to Orson Welles's independent films, to lavish Hollywood productions such as *Julius Caesar* (1953) and *The Taming of the Shrew* again (1967). By contrast, the Shakespeare films produced in the UK during this period were centred overwhelmingly on one figure – Laurence Olivier. Olivier's quick succession of Shakespeare films – *Henry V* (1944; Figure 9.1), *Hamlet* (1948), and *Richard III* (1955) – developed a new and distinctive vocabulary for UK Shakespeare film rooted in Olivier's own theatrical prestige.

Henry V wears its claims to authenticity brazenly in its title, *The Chronicle History of King Henry the Fifth with His Battell Fought at Agincourt in France*, taken from the 1600 quarto and depicted on screen as a playbill that shares type-face and colouring with the film's own title-card: "A Laurence Olivier Production." The camera then pans across a model of late sixteenth-century London, a choir singing to a swelling orchestral score as the camera draws close to the Globe. The following twenty-five minutes of the film dramatize an afternoon at the theatre. Olivier's re-creation is full of lively variety, capturing the performance and its audience from a range of angles, including shots within the tiring-house of Olivier (playing Burbage playing Henry) and his fellow players dressing for the scene, suggesting that this is a backstage drama about putting on *Henry V*. Key to Olivier's project here is the compliment paid to the theatrical audience, taking in all strata of society. The film prioritizes their reactions, and transfers their making of meaning to the film spectator. This strategy is most clear when the Archbishop of Canterbury notes that "Sir John Falstaff and all his company along with him be banished on pain of death not to come near his person by ten miles," creating new lines adapted from Henry's own rejection speech in 2 *Henry IV*.



Figure 9.1 Scene from *Henry V* (1944; dir. Laurence Olivier).
Courtesy of Two Cities Films/The Kobal Collection

The Globe audience roar with approval at Falstaff's name and boo at the news of his rejection, showing their prior familiarity with Shakespeare's plays and beginning a period of heckling that continues through act 1 scene 2. The ephemerality of the theatrical moment is emphasized not only through the audience's responses but also through the bumbling of the actor playing the Bishop of Ely, who forgets props and loses his hat; the onset of rain; and such small details as Olivier/Burbage taking a moment to clear his throat and compose himself before assuming the role of Henry. Throughout, the theatre audience's reactions are privileged as part of Olivier's *mise en scène*; the play is being performed for the theatre audience, who in turn demonstrate appropriate reactions to the cinema audience. Although Susanne Greenhalgh notes of the NT Live screenings that "[t]he magnified effect of the theater audience's responses and other ambient noise, broadcast in Dolby surround sound, can be too insistent" (2014: 259), here Olivier exploits that ambient noise to condition the (implicitly) less capable cinema audience.

As Olivier's film progresses, he gradually seems to consider the cinematic audience sufficiently inducted. An early acknowledgement of the film audience comes as Leslie Banks's Chorus steps towards the camera during the prologue and addresses "On your imaginary forces work" (18) directly to the camera, offering a challenge to the cinematic audience. Following 2.1 the film shifts to a partially realized representation of the docks at Southampton; afterwards, during a cross-fade to the fully realized Boar's Head Tavern for 2.3, the Chorus (now in voice-over) intones "Still be kind,/And

eke out our performance with your mind” (3.0.34–35). The film enacts an induction of the cinema audience into Shakespeare via the theatre, only making the transition to a fully cinematic register once the Chorus deems the audience is ready. This theatrical direct engagement between film character and cinema audience is much more thoroughly explored in UK Shakespeare film than in its American equivalents, in which actors tend to project soliloquy inwards rather than disrupting the fictional frame. Olivier’s role in establishing the direct-to-camera address as a feature of UK Shakespeare film should not be underestimated, characterizing as it does his own *Richard III*. Although *Richard III* was first broadcast on American television before being released in cinemas, it is both the most spectacular and the most intimate of Olivier’s Shakespeare films. From its introduction to Richard, the camera positioned behind his head while Edward’s crown appears to descend onto him, the film utilizes the frame in a distinctly cinematic way. Yet Richard immediately turns and confronts the camera directly, choosing to prioritize direct connection with the cinema audience.

The cinematic history of *Richard III* is distinctively British, with no major successful films of the play being produced elsewhere. In addition to the films by Benson, Olivier, and Richard Loncraine (1995), the play has been influential through its appropriation by Andrew Davies in the television series *House of Cards* (1990–95), which places the Richard figure (Francis Urquhart) at the heart of the contemporary British political establishment. It is, I suggest, the overt theatricality of *Richard III* that appeals to the UK Shakespeare film industry, disrupting the conventions of realist cinema via the theatrical motif of direct address and collusion with spectators in “a personal address to the camera [that] was perceived by film reviewers at the time as a brilliant revival of a technique long considered *déclassé*” (Freedman 2000: 59). In Olivier’s film, Roger Furse’s labyrinthine set positions Richard at the centre of an interconnecting network of corridors, antechambers, prospects, and peep-holes. The camera tracks with Richard as he paces around the single palace set, emerging briefly onto the street to give a sense of the scale of the set before returning inside as Richard shuts the doors and proceeds to establish his dominance of the space. Olivier’s direction ensures a minimum of cuts, reinforcing the continuous nature of the set and allowing his own performance to develop uninterrupted before an unblinking and apparently complicit camera. The closeness of the set creates claustrophobia: Anne can be seen passing the window with the funeral procession, and the camera accompanies Richard as he takes a short-cut to intercept it. As with *Henry V*, Olivier uses the theatricality of early scenes to induct cinema audiences into an experiential mode before opening out the film, culminating in the battle scenes which, while small-scale by modern standards, achieve their impact through contrast with the artificial theatrical set of the opening. As Saskia Kossak argues:

Olivier clearly seeks to adapt the medium to his stage-bound acting style. . . . Keeping a comparatively long distance to the camera allows Olivier to act more broadly than you usually would on film.

(Kossak 2005: 254)

Olivier, in establishing a new language for the transmission of Shakespeare on screen, uses the combination of direct address and tracking shots to preserve a theatrical

performance reimagined for the screen. His presence, particularly as Richard III, has cast a long shadow.

ARTHOUSE AGAINST THE INSTITUTION

In ostensibly offering to try to commit to screen for the first time a major American film of *Richard III*, movie star Al Pacino articulates explicitly in *Looking for Richard* (1996) an anxiety over UK theatrical dominance. The rehearsal extracts he chooses are shot cinematically, prioritizing the close-up of the celebrity actor. Yet within the film, Pacino's collaborators repeatedly articulate their work in response to a range of anxieties cast as theatrical/cinematic, scholarly/artistic, and, implicitly, British/American. The film's most consciously comic moment comes as Pacino's friend Frederic Kimball rails against Pacino's suggestion that they ask a scholar to explain Anne's motivation to the camera, arguing that actors are "possessors of a tradition, the proud inheritors of the understanding of Shakespeare" and that Pacino "know[s] more about *Richard III* than any fucking scholar." Pacino jokingly calms Kimball, forcing him to admit that a scholar has just as much right to an opinion, but Kimball reiterates his complaint about the scholar's right to a *direct-to-camera* address, which he sees as privileging the position. The film cuts then to the hapless (in this context) Emrys Jones – a stereotypically English, elderly, white, middle-class, Oxbridge professor sitting in his study – who muses "I don't really know why" while Kimball glowers.

This mockery of fusty English academia as opposed to the spontaneous, emotional, and dynamic performance of the American film actor is a comic opposition, and the film regularly stages moments that appear to praise the spontaneous. As Thomas Cartelli argues, the use of an anonymous panhandler's elicited comment – "If we felt what we said, we'd say less and mean more" – suggests that "the antidote to this dissociation of sensibility is waiting in the humble confines of the American street where passion may still be said to speak." Pacino translates this suggestion into:

an esthetic that shows off the power of American acting's preference for gesture over word, the body over the head, and of film's capacity to deliver, in howsoever stylized a way, the pressure and fullness of experience.

(Cartelli 2003: 191, 193)

Yet Pacino's account of American ownership of the text is undercut throughout by his desire for British approval. Pacino visits both Shakespeare's Globe and Shakespeare's Birthplace; and, although both encounters are gently belittled, the felt need of Pacino to connect physically to the British tradition is telling. Interviews with Peter Brook, Derek Jacobi, Vanessa Redgrave, Kenneth Branagh, and John Gielgud speak to his desire to establish the legitimacy of his project in the eyes of actors and directors who epitomize the greatest theatrical practice yet can reassure him that natural American cadences suit iambic pentameter.

Gielgud is particularly privileged in Pacino's framing of his interview, and Gielgud perhaps comes to embody the cultural capital of British/theatrical/institutional legacy. Between Olivier's *Richard III* and Branagh's 1989 *Henry V*, the key Shakespeare films produced in the UK were generally aligned with an arthouse ideology that prioritized the technology of filmmaking, deprioritized the role of the star actor (while

still employing said stars), and established a counter-Hollywood ethos. For Peter Greenaway, coming towards the end of this period of more experimental Shakespearean film, the counter-cultural ethos is manifest in the recruitment of Gielgud for a project that appropriated his theatrical weight for a very different project. *Prospero's Books* (1991) echoes the nightmarish visions of mindless consumption that characterize its companion film, *The Cook, the Thief, His Wife, and Her Lover* (1991). As Pascale Aebischer shows, Greenaway juxtaposes the “appreciation of art and culture” with “the consumption of food and books” (2013: 73) – *The Cook, the Thief, His Wife, and Her Lover* dwelling on Michael Gambon’s oafish Thief cackling while shovelling fine cuisine into his mouth, embodying Greenaway’s pleas for the value of art against the Hollywood conveyor belt of mass entertainment. *Prospero's Books* follows its companion film by replicating its distinctive combination of complex *mise en scène* with camera panning seamlessly through long horizontal spaces, and it situates Gielgud’s Prospero in an Aladdin’s cave museum of fine art. Classical statues, Renaissance paintings and manuals, agile dancers, and a seemingly endless cast of naked attendants overwhelm the camera. The excesses of Prospero’s “island” echo the Thief’s mindless consumption, Prospero surrounding himself with such a quantity of fine things that not a single one can be appreciated. Prospero’s hubristic excess is further emphasized by his speaking all the lines of the play until he dons his Milanese robes.

Greenaway’s project here invites many interpretations, but I see him articulating the same anxieties over the theatrical that characterize UK Shakespeare film. Greenaway shares scepticism over the easiness of reproducing cultural objects which he extends to the reproduction of the human subject:

There is a way in which we have increased the banality in proportion to the accuracy with which man actually finds a picture of himself. Because after all, a photocopy is supposedly an exact reproduction of the original that you put into a machine. But all these things fail, all these attempts to continue man in sort of an artistic sense or a search for immortality, and the film ends with the cry of a child.

(Rodgers and Greenaway 1991–92: 18)

Greenaway searches for the unique human subject amid the proliferation of mechanical reproductions, matching his own stance as an auteur opposed to the Hollywood mainstream. Hollywood offered comment about this quest on its own terms in John McTiernan’s underrated *Last Action Hero* (1993), which showed an American teenager bored by Olivier’s *Hamlet* fantasize his own version in which Arnold Schwarzenegger’s Prince lobs grenades, smokes cigars, clears out Claudius’s guards with a machine-gun, and finally blows up Elsinore itself in a parody of the blockbust-erization of Shakespeare for mass consumption. Greenaway, by contrast, builds a world situated in a single set that, like Olivier’s *Richard III*, relies heavily on tracking shots to join together a space that functions theatrically and allows actors to develop their performances at length. The complex *mise en scène* invites the culturally educated spectator to identify the unique books, artworks, musical allusions, and visual quotations that permeate the film, engaging the viewer in Anne Ubersfeld’s pleasure of “bricolage,” “the specifically theatrical pleasure of doing ‘his own thing’ with the elements offered to him” (1982: 131). That Ubersfeld identifies this pleasure as specifically theatrical is telling; Greenaway’s project invites a theatrical mode of reception.

Shakespeare's text, delivered by a Shakespearean theatrical legend, is celebrated in this context as a piece of high art itself, the First Folio fetishized as the last of Prospero's books. And yet, the text is also buried under the film's conspicuous consumption. Gielgud's own status is contested within the film: Prospero is exposed (even literally, although not explicitly) and flattened by the film's framing of him as a component in a wider *mise en scène*, suggesting that he is as much of an exhibit in this curated collection as any of his curios. Prospero is often flanked by theatrical curtains, and his study is set up as a portable, self-contained stage within a large exhibition hall. His most theatrical moment occurs following the betrothal masque: Prospero walks towards the camera and allows a curtain to close behind him, cutting him off from everyone else as he tells the camera "These are all shadows." Greenaway's film is aligned with Prospero's theatre, and the distinctively British direct address indicates where authenticity truly lies.

Prospero's Books makes explicit the challenging of the theatrical that emerges more obliquely in earlier films. The first major UK Shakespeare film following Olivier to retain Shakespeare's text was Peter Brook's *King Lear* (1971), which saw Brook reunite with Paul Scofield and other actors from his 1962 RSC production. Yet the theatrical provenance of the production belies the fact that it is, as Yvonne Griggs argues, an arthouse "counter-cinematic" film, again highlighting the British filmmaker's use of direct-to-camera address:

not as a means of giving us insight into the minds of characters . . . but as a way of breaking the narrative surface to remind us that what we are watching is a construction of reality.

(Griggs 2009: 50)

The film foregrounds a tension between Scofield's towering performance and the film's framing of that performance. Scofield appears out of focus, lit by flashes of light, wobbling out of a frame that will not rest on him. He embodies theatrical authority, yet Brook's camera (unlike Olivier's) is reluctant to look directly *at* that authority. Such actorly moments as Lear's experience of the storm relegate Lear to a distant figure seen through a foggy long shot, or place him prostrate on the floor, intercut with the Fool's face and flashes of lightning. Brook's editing fragments the performance; Lear's railing against the storm is deliberately discontinuous, the actor changing position in each shot to suggest that the speech has been jumbled up and resequenced for the film rather than emerging organically from the environment.

The burying of theatrical performance under fragmentary editing to disrupt cinematic realism is repeated elsewhere. Basil Dearden's *All Night Long* (1962), an appropriation of *Othello*, takes place over a single night in a London jazz club where drummer Johnny Cousins, the Iago-figure (Patrick McGoohan), casts doubt in the mind of Paul Harris's trumpeter Aurelius Rex about the faithfulness of his wife. While the film is conceived primarily as a vehicle for some of the finest British jazz musicians of the day, Dearden combines "dizzying crane and tracking shots and a strong jazz score from John Dankworth, Dave Brubeck and others who appear as themselves, 'authenticating' Shakespeare" (Howard 2000: 304). Authenticity is drawn, in Tony Howard's view, from the presence of real jazz musicians; but the jazz is extended into

the frenetic camerawork and editing that, in one key sequence, superimpose the faces of Aurelius and Marti Stevens's Delia over the insidious, inescapable drumming of Cousins.

Similarly appropriative of live-performance energies within a filmic mode is Derek Jarman's *The Tempest* (1979), which queers Shakespeare's play through its flamboyant camp and overt sexuality. Sycorax (Claire Davenport) is viewed in flashback leading Ariel about by a chain and breastfeeding her adult son, and her make-up aligns her with the contemporary drag queen Divine, who also inspired the Sycorax figure Ursula in Disney's 1989 *The Little Mermaid*. Caliban is played by Jack Birkett, "The Incredible Orlando," a blind dancer, mime, and drag artist who would later play Thersites in drag in the BBC's *Troilus and Cressida* (1981). The film's amalgamation of performance art, camp, and musical theatre – including Elisabeth Welch's performance of "Stormy Weather" as the masque – attacks Shakespeare's cultural iconicity alongside mainstream sexual politics in what Aebischer describes as a "celebration of historical and cultural diversity" (2013: 26). The heterosexual union of Miranda and Ferdinand is destabilized by the camp parody of the masque; and the concurrent antipathy towards Heathcote Williams's "frighteningly out of control Prospero" (Hopkins 2008: 93) suggests that this film, like *Prospero's Books*, uses its visible theatrical artifice to undermine and expose dominant power structures.

THE CINEMATIC TRADITION AND NEW WAVE

It was not until the end of the twentieth century that UK Shakespeare film began systematically to engage with a more conventionally "realist" mode of presentation; and even then, the films of the New Wave often had their roots in theatrical productions. Kenneth Branagh's 1989 *Henry V* followed his appearance in the role only five years earlier in Adrian Noble's RSC production; Richard Loncraine's 1995 *Richard III* was based on Richard Eyre's 1990–92 National Theatre production; and Ralph Fiennes's 2011 *Coriolanus* revisited a role he had played in 2000. The lines between film and theatre are further confused by increasingly sophisticated television adaptations of major RSC and National Theatre productions and, as discussed earlier, the new trend for global live broadcasts of British theatrical productions. Yet even the more mainstream cinematic tradition inaugurated by Branagh's *Henry V* continues to negotiate the theatrical in its choices of film, its casting, and continued exploitation of theatrical conventions.

Branagh's *Henry V* begins with a tribute to Olivier's 1944 film, evoking the theatricality of Olivier's opening by introducing Derek Jacobi's Chorus moving through an empty soundstage past the lights, props, and costumes of a major film set while speaking directly to the camera. The direct address so exploited within UK Shakespearean film here allows Jacobi to play to his strengths as a stage actor while enabling the transition to the realist environment that follows. Branagh's *Henry V* is a more obviously cinematic film in its use of special effects and explosions, its evocative score by Patrick Doyle, its large-scale battle sequence, and its frequent use of close-up; but it also draws on the theatrical, as when a tracking shot follows Branagh carrying the body of Christian Bale's Boy through the devastating aftermath of Agincourt. The liveness of the durational shot within a cinematic milieu references Olivier's work, particularly *Richard III*, and serves to announce the New Wave as a

more sophisticated marrying of theatrical authority and cinematic loquacity, with emphasis on the latter.

Olivier's second film was *Hamlet* (1948), discussion of which I have deferred to this point because of its distinctiveness from Olivier's other films. The Freudian complications of *Hamlet* lead to a more overtly cinematic strategy, particularly in the deployment of voice-over for soliloquies and the prioritization of close-ups. As Samuel Crowl puts it, "Olivier effectively melds a theatrical convention (the soliloquy) with a film convention (the voice-over) to provide a novel touch of psychological realism to Hamlet's emotional turmoil" (2014: 46); and the marrying of psychological to filmic realism pre-empts the work of the New Wave. The film, set within an authentically coastal Elsinore, sees its title-character in naturalistic terms, not as a creature of the theatre but as a product of his multiple environments. The Freudian influence of his parents is reflected in the Darwinian pressure of his surroundings as Elsinore's steep stairwells and claustrophobic hallways frame an introspective, tortured hero whom the camera probes in careful, intrusive close-up. It is apposite that this film, the one that most effectively breaks with theatrical logic, remains the only Shakespeare adaptation to win a Best Picture Academy Award.

Branagh's response to Olivier was to strive for a different kind of authenticity by producing his "uncut" *Hamlet* (1996). Ignoring the new textual theories of the 1980s and 1990s that preferred to see variant texts as discrete plays, Branagh's conflated *Hamlet* was in fact both heavily cut *and* heavily adulterated. The resultant four-hour film hearkened back to an earlier period of epic cinema while also implying theatrical heritage with the inclusion of an intermission, cinema's equivalent of the interval. Branagh sustained audience interest (and, presumably, assuaged financiers' anxieties) through the employment of an all-star cast of British theatrical legends, American film stars, and idiosyncratic inclusions such as British comedian Ken Dodd as Yorick in flashbacks (flashbacks being another uniquely un-Shakespearean feature of many New Wave films, although one shared by UK and US cinema). Yet the film's crushing failure at the box-office (\$5 million gross against a budget of \$18 million) points to a lack of cohesion with contemporary box-office practices: this film, of course, was released in the same year as Australian director Baz Luhrmann's snappily edited, Hollywood-friendly, and pop culture-referencing *William Shakespeare's Romeo + Juliet*.

It is notable that Branagh's most significant critical failure is the film that paid explicit tribute to American cinema, his *Love's Labour's Lost* (2000), which drew on Busby Berkeley and MGM musicals to create a loving homage to musical cinema. This is also the most overtly theatrical of Branagh's films, concluding with a full-scale song-and-dance routine, and filled throughout with sequences that break with the realist conventions of cinema. It fails to maintain a balance, though, leaving his actors stranded in an empty space without an adequate on-screen audience to respond. However, Branagh's *As You Like It* (2006) brings his Shakespeare film output to date full circle. While the film itself adheres strictly to conventions of realist cinema with its setting in nineteenth-century Japan and its use of lush external settings, Rosalind (Bryce Dallas Howard) delivers an epilogue that recalls Jacobi's prologue to *Henry V*. The actor/character moves out of the forest scene and into the trailer park of a location shoot, tracked by a handheld camera as she moves past film equipment and relaxing actors until she arrives at her trailer. This tracking shot, again breaking out of the cinematic frame and drawing attention to the artifice of the

cinematic construction, bookends Branagh's Shakespeare film output with explicit references to the theatrical and the artificial that continue to negotiate the anxiety over the filmic realization of the theatrical Shakespeare.

Richard Loncraine's 1995 *Richard III* takes the metacinematic device farther, exploiting it throughout a film in which, as in Olivier's version, Richard builds sustained rapport with the camera. Here, influenced by *House of Cards*, the camera is also explicitly implicated in events. Whereas Olivier beckons the camera to follow him around the space, Ian McKellen rather nods to it, as when he first notices it lurking in the corner of a bathroom while he urinates, or casts it sideways glances while telling transparent lies to characters within the fictional world. The theatricality of McKellen's direct address allows the film to switch genres entirely. As Richard walks away from the morgue in which he has just wooed Anne, the camera follows and Richard begins laughing, shouting, and congratulating himself to a jaunty jazz score, even clicking his heels in time to the music. Richard slips in and out of the film's diegesis; he acknowledges and interacts with the injured soldiers and civilians in the hospital corridors, who remain unaware of his dialogue with the cinema audience. This theatrical disruption of diegesis allows the film to adopt, as Douglas Lanier argues, a primarily parodic tone which is seemingly bequeathed to Dominic West's Richmond who, following the plummet of Richard towards his death at the film's climax, turns and smiles at the camera, seemingly taking over Richard's theatrical privilege (Lanier 2006: 184–85).

Loncraine's *Richard III* dramatizes a peculiarly British milieu, drawing on 1930s wartime propaganda in general but also making specific references to Wallis Simpson in the antipathy towards the King's new American wife and to Oswald Mosley in the rise of Richard's black-shirted fascism. Even a rainy seaside get-away outside Brighton Pavilion for King Edward's final moments suggests what James Loehlin identifies as "a parody of a heritage costume drama" (2003: 177). Until this point UK Shakespearean cinema had been almost entirely period-set: from Benson to Olivier to Brook (with the notable exception of Jarman), the *mise en scène* of the film had evoked a sense of history, finding authenticity in the creation of an historical setting. With the 1990s came a freer approach to setting. Loncraine's choice of a parallel World War II setting was preceded by Christine Edzard's low-budget 1992 resituation of *As You Like It* in an anonymous urban wasteland, doubling Orlando and Oliver (a uniquely filmic privilege) and critiquing British social policy – a tack followed in Penny Woolcock's 1997 made-for-television *Macbeth on the Estate* and more obliquely in Don Boyd's 2001 riff on *King Lear*, *My Kingdom*. Trevor Nunn's *Twelfth Night, or What You Will* (1996) also adopted an anachronistic British setting, set in a confused combination of "an *Upstairs, Downstairs*-like 1890s" and "uniforms deriv[ing] from somewhere around the 1840s . . . leav[ing] us unsure about the future of British colonial ascendancy" (Eggert 2003: 85). Katherine Eggert reads the film's presentation of Ben Kingsley's Feste as an imposition of colonial, theatrical minstrelsy on an upper-class, colonial idea of the empire, but raises questions about British colonialism pertinent to other films of this period. Branagh's popular *Much Ado About Nothing* has a lush Sicilian setting but an outdoor romantic aesthetic reminiscent of an Austen novel; his *As You Like It* imagined the moment of English traders "creating private mini-empires" in Japan in the late nineteenth century. His *Hamlet*, like Loncraine's *Richard III*, made use of iconic British landmarks in dislocated settings – Blenheim Palace as

Elsinore, where Loncraine used Battersea Power Station, Tate Modern, Senate House, and more to represent various other London buildings – to ensure that even in the updated setting spectators still encountered and reinterpreted visual symbols of Britishness in their engagement with the text.

This movement was concurrent in the UK and US, but indicative in the British context of an increased confidence. What was normal stage practice – updating a setting to provide fresh insight on the Shakespearean text – was now being integrated with cinematic convention to create a unique product, a film that wore its theatrical heritage on its sleeve but adopted the mainstream vocabulary of popular cinema. It also instigated an important shift from literalism of setting and period for which, perhaps unfairly, Luhrmann's *Romeo + Juliet* has taken most of the praise/blame. *Richard III*, released the year before Luhrmann's film, is packed with cinematic references: from the knife that emerges from Rivers's stomach in a shot borrowed from *Alien* to the viewed-from-above final plummet of Richard to a fiery grave that calls to mind the fall of Hans Gruber at the end of *Die Hard*. British film from the mid-1990s was keen to show that it could use, and parody, a Hollywood filmic vocabulary.

This use of contemporary cinematic language has been seen most recently in Ralph Fiennes's film of *Coriolanus*. One of the very few Shakespeare plays with almost no soliloquies, its choice for film breaks with the preference for plays such as *Henry V*, *Hamlet*, and *Richard III* that allow for theatrical address of the camera. Instead, Fiennes's film is set in "a place calling itself Rome" and uses handheld shaky cam, mixed-media filming (with broadcasting devices from mobile phones to television cameras repeatedly seen within the *mise en scène*), and fast editing that aligns it more closely with contemporary war films and thrillers such as *The Hurt Locker* and *The Bourne Identity*. Like *Richard III*, however, it retains a knowing humour in many of its choices: the casting of acclaimed Channel 4 news anchor Jon Snow as "TV Anchorman," turning Shakespeare's lines into Snow's familiar grilling of experts, is typical. From the rebels of the opening scene watching events unfold on television before moving to the streets, to the performance of Sicinius and Brutus for the cameras of a television debate, to Snow's framing of the action as contemporary rolling media, this film attends to the multiple modes of mediation that surround the theatre of war. While Fiennes may go farther than most UK Shakespeare film directors in establishing a cinematic mode aligned with the dominant Hollywood paradigm, there remains a self-consciousness about the mode of production and the genre within which Shakespeare is being newly presented.

NEGOTIATING (WITH) THE AUDIENCE

I have tried to argue in this chapter that Shakespeare film produced in the UK demonstrates anxiety around questions of authenticity that roots ideas of authority in the country's theatrical history and prestige while showing a wariness of cinema, resulting in films that overstate their theatrical influence or embrace the cinematic with a self-consciousness that leads to parody. Of course, this diagnosis is only one narrative that might be told, but it is a narrative that becomes more explicit in the two major Shakespeare biopics of recent times. Despite being an American film, John Madden's *Shakespeare in Love* (1998) negotiates throughout and openly with British theatrical heritage. The early modern London theatre becomes a metaphor for American

cinema, drawing in star actors (Edward Alleyn/Ben Affleck), ribbing the power of the money man (Hugh Fennyman), and deprioritizing the playwright/hack screen-writer (Shakespeare's name does not appear on the poster for his *Romeo and Juliet*). The film both celebrates and parodies the culture of the multiplex, its celebrities and its need to please crowds ("love and a bit with a dog, that's all they want").

Roland Emmerich's *Anonymous* (2011) is a companion piece of sorts to *Shakespeare in Love*: another Shakespeare biopic that largely takes place within the London theatre, which understands plays as manifestations of an author's off-stage life, and which treats the theatre itself as a source of power and influence. However, where *Shakespeare in Love* values the theatrical audience as intelligent and responsive, *Anonymous* treats its viewers with scorn as it advances the claim that Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, wrote Shakespeare's plays. As Douglas Lanier argues:

Anonymous conceives of Oxford as an aristocratic puppet-master, manipulating the (heart)strings of the commons with populist sentiments so that he can use "the mob" for his own interests, all while maintaining the pretence that the plays issue from a man of the people. . . . [*Anonymous*] depict[s] the playwright approvingly as an aristocratic puppeteer and his mass audience as enthusiastic if unwitting pawns.

(2013: 222)

Emmerich depicts an audience who agree uncritically with whatever they see and behave in entirely predictable ways, led finally into an ambush on London Bridge as they flock to the support of the Earl of Essex. Yet this is not the only audience Emmerich depicts. The framing device of the film features Derek Jacobi – presumably playing himself although credited as "Prologue" – addressing a theatre audience attending a Broadway play also called *Anonymous*. At the end of the film, as I have pointed out elsewhere, the screen audience – who implicitly have just watched a theatrical version of the same story – begin filing out of the theatre in near silence, neither applauding nor disagreeing, lost in thoughtful reverie as they mull the arguments delivered by Jacobi's confident theatrical authority (Kirwan 2014: 24). The question here is whether the two audiences seen leaving theatres – one rushing to assist a coup, the other questioning Shakespeare's identity – are the same gullible, easily led mob, or if the latter audience is understood as beginning to exercise critical independence in their failure to applaud.

UK Shakespeare film repeatedly engages in the debate over the intelligence and independence of the audience. From Olivier's careful induction of the audience into his *Henry V* to Greenaway's expectation that the audience of *Prospero's Books* will perform their own interpretive work, there has been anxiety around how audiences will receive these films. In the UK, one worry among the professional Shakespeare community was that audiences would flock to *Anonymous* and believe its conspiracy theory, prompting the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust to launch a campaign to black out Shakespeare's name from signs around Warwickshire to show the effect the film could have on local livelihoods. Boycotts were called for the film, all based on the premise that cinema audiences are too uncritical, too literally minded, or simply too ill-educated to understand the film as a fiction. Although *Anonymous* implied that theatre/cinema audiences are malleable and easy to manipulate, the Shakespeare

establishment appeared to share this view. The cultural authority of the theatre, and of depictions of the theatre, carries with it an authenticity that is understood, both within and around these films, to pose a legitimate threat.

I return to *Gnomeo and Juliet*, the film which offers perhaps the most productive way forward for UK Shakespeare film. Almost exactly an hour into the film – after Gnomeo flees from his home garden following the lawn-mower race between “Reds” and “Blues” during which Tybalt is smashed – the camera finds Gnomeo chatting to a familiar figure. The camera pans up from a brass plaque to take in Stratford-upon-Avon’s iconic statue of Shakespeare. As Gnomeo recounts his fortunes, the statue comes to life. Speaking in the voice of Patrick Stewart (another voice carrying Shakespearean authority), the statue introduces Shakespeare as timeless and unchanging, cast in bronze. Shakespeare is reminded of another story – his own – which has “remarkable similarities” to Gnomeo’s story; and he becomes animated as he recounts the skill of his own play, anachronistically imagining his audience giving a standing ovation and calling for the “Author!” Shakespeare’s presence reminds the cinema audience that there are different versions of the story, and positions Shakespeare’s own version as a vehicle for praise of the author. Shakespeare’s care is for his own legacy rather than that of his characters, an attitude which is made doubly clear as Gnomeo himself is thrown from Shakespeare’s head as the statue gets carried away, implying that *Romeo and Juliet* is an exercise in Shakespeare’s own narcissism, the story as fixed as the statue itself.

Gnomeo thus finds himself dangling at the end of Shakespeare’s quill, whipped about at the whim of an absent-minded author. Shakespeare becomes a lecturer, explaining patiently to Gnomeo (in a tone that would no doubt infuriate Frederic Kimball) that the story is a tragedy and implying that the form trumps any commitment to the characters. Gnomeo, aligning with the film’s target audience, opposes him with the school pupil’s retort that Shakespeare’s version is “rubbish.” As Shakespeare muses on whether an alternative end is possible, he drops Gnomeo once more. But Gnomeo is rescued by an extra-Shakespearean character, Featherstone the pink flamingo, who breaks Gnomeo’s fall with his polystyrene body, and in doing so, demonstrates the film’s ability to resist its author’s activities. And the reason he is saved, as Featherstone argues, is “one word”: [*he blows and reinflates himself*] “Plastics!” The recognizable quotation from the American film *The Graduate* (1967) articulates the film’s challenge to Shakespearean authenticity. The film finds humour and individualism in its contemporary cultural references, in this instance allowing a moment of film literacy to rescue the Shakespearean character from his predetermined theatrical death. The film’s agenda of resistance to the fixed authority of the Shakespeare canon is designed to entertain a young audience but also to present the privilege of rewriting as an ethical, pedagogic, and cultural necessity that can be used by anyone with a command of cinematic language, as well as those associated with cultural heritage.

The staging by *Gnomeo and Juliet* of a negotiation between the cinematic interloper and the statuesque tradition of Shakespeare offers a pleasing synecdoche for the history of UK Shakespeare film; and the centrality of this negotiation in the film suggests the metacritical and performative potential of what continues to be a significant debate. As I have argued in this chapter, the tension between the cinematic and the theatrical is far from debilitating; and it has occasioned some of the richest engagements with Shakespearean performance, audience expectation, and ideological

interpretation that have emerged over the last century. With the British film industry increasingly producing films on a global scale that compete with Hollywood, it would not be surprising, as Fiennes's *Coriolanus* indicates, if a globalized cinema industry began to elide some of the distinctively British features of those films produced in Britain, or if that growth of live theatrical broadcasting necessitated British Shakespeare film embracing its realist cinematic nature in order to distinguish itself more clearly from these overtly theatrical events. But questions about cinema's relationship to the theatre, about the suitability of the medium for retaining the interactive and live aspects of the plays, and about the legacy of a theatrical tradition in preserving performance for the future will doubtless continue to inform the production of Shakespeare films into the twenty-first century.

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CHAPTER TEN

SHAKESPEARE ON FILM

Continental Europe



Mariangela Tempera

On screen as well as on stage, Shakespeare in Continental Europe is usually Shakespeare without his language. There are minor compensations for this grievous but unavoidable loss: those who watch a Shakespeare play filmed in their own language can fully understand every passage of the new, contemporary text, whereas the average Anglophone spectator may have major difficulties with the Elizabethan English of the original. Moreover, the use of modern translations facilitates that contamination between Shakespearean lines and newly scripted material which often characterizes films based on the plays. But why should European directors choose to adapt, appropriate, or reference a Shakespeare play? The answer can be found in a combination of artistic, political, and marketing reasons.

From the early days of cinema, the national film industries in Europe have had to contend with the overwhelming competition of American imports. With the help of protectionist measures and state subsidies, more and more directors have managed to complete their projects, but recouping the costs and selling the product on the international market remain major problems. Along with cheap imitations of popular American genres, Europe responded with the quality products of its auteurs. American directors are seen as being only partially responsible for some of the artistic decisions that are made within major corporations; their European counterparts, on the contrary, are often hailed as the sole auteurs of films that reflect their own distinctive visions. To justify the state funding that, in most cases, makes their work possible, the auteurs must deliver products that have “cultural value,” that address local concerns but also have the potential for being appreciated abroad. It is therefore no wonder that they should press Shakespeare into service more frequently than national glories. He “travels” better than Dante, Cervantes, or Goethe because a certain degree of familiarity with his plays (at least at the level of plot line and famous quotations) can be assumed in a sizeable percentage of the European film-going population. Some of his major works (*Hamlet* in Germany and Russia, for example) are considered part of the national literary heritage. Under dictatorships, Shakespeare’s impeccable credentials as a classic can offer a shield to those filmmakers who intend to criticize their rulers. Moreover, Shakespeare’s plays are open to so many interpretations that there will always be directors willing to compete with their Anglo-American colleagues in

trying to film them from a new angle. Nevertheless, Shakespeare's name is no guarantee of financial success.

With very few exceptions, Shakespeare-related films produced in Europe outside Great Britain fare so poorly at the box-office that they seldom find distributors, even in their home countries. They do extremely well, however, at film festivals (Berlin, Cannes, Locarno, Moscow, Venice, etc.), where they are shown to professional viewers who love unearthing the intertextual references – not only to the plays themselves but also to their previous versions on screen – that the directors have woven into the fabric of their films. On the basis of such accolades, more films may find distributors, be released on DVD, and/or be deemed worthy of a late-night passage on a local TV channel. Even so, most of these films sink into oblivion until they are rediscovered by professional Shakespearians.

Starting with the 1950s, when national film industries were being rebuilt and Anglo-American versions of the plays were being studied as models to outdo or reject, this chapter will present films from fourteen different countries that, in my view, highlight the variety of approaches (from reverential to totally exploitative) that European directors have developed to adapt, appropriate, and reference Shakespeare's plays. It will first of all introduce four film adaptations of the plays that have been marketed as faithful, a term that should be used only in inverted commas when referring to screen versions of works originally written for the stage. From the much wider field of loose adaptations, it will examine two clusters of films that rework a tragedy, *Hamlet*, and a comedy, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Finally, it will introduce some notable examples of films that incorporate excerpts of Shakespeare's works in performance.

“FAITHFUL” ADAPTATIONS

Not many producers are willing to finance a “faithful” adaptation of a Shakespearean play, one that preserves as much as possible of the original text and severely limits the freedom of the director to alter the plot by introducing new material. Even fewer see the point of filming the plays in languages other than English, thus losing any possibility of educational use of the product outside the country of origin. Prospective directors must be very committed to their projects, capable of turning the foreign location into an asset, and even open to negotiations about the language of the script.

Shakespeare's characters speak his lines in English in Renato Castellani's *Romeo and Juliet* (1954), but this was not the director's original plan. Associated with the Italian neo-realist movement (which advocated human-interest stories presented in plain language by non-professional actors), Castellani had intended to bypass Shakespeare and go back to his Italian sources, primarily Luigi da Porto's novella with its plucky, independent Juliet who sees the political advantages of a match with a Montague and is willing to follow her Romeo into exile. When the Rank Organisation decided to co-finance the film, it also made it clear that investing British money in a non-Shakespearean *Romeo and Juliet* was unthinkable, and that the language had to be English. Castellani reluctantly agreed, but did not warm to the new project. He understood the producers' eagerness to exploit the commercial value of a *Romeo and Juliet* filmed in Italy, and spent two years finding details of Italian monuments that could be assembled on screen to create an ideal Renaissance city. He also yielded to Rank's request that, apart from Juliet's, the leading roles should be assigned to

experienced British actors rather than non-professionals – but he remained unhappy with Shakespeare as script-writer.

Castellani's resistance to the text is evident throughout the film. He cuts Shakespeare's lines to under 40 per cent of the original, and treats them as if they were part of an incompetently written neo-realist script whose formal, poetic language prevents the characters from expressing their true feelings convincingly. He considers Mercutio's lines unamendable, and very nearly writes him out of the film. Perversely, in a script that he deems too literary, he inserts literary references of his own by assigning St Paul's "Omnia munda mundi" ("To the pure all things are pure") to Friar Laurence (Mervyn Johns). In Alessandro Manzoni's *I promessi sposi* (*The Betrothed*), the maxim is quoted by Fra' Cristoforo. Thoroughly familiar with this nineteenth-century novel, Italian reviewers were better able than their foreign colleagues to appreciate that the director had intended to compare/contrast Shakespeare's friars with Manzoni's in all their scenes. Poorly received in Britain, where Castellani's indifference to the Shakespearean text was found inexcusable, the film remains interesting "as a work positioned midway between the Italian cinema of its time and the demands of the Anglo-American market" (Jackson 2007: 162).

If Castellani's *Romeo and Juliet* uneasily wavers between Italy and Britain, Grigori Kozintsev's *Gamlet* (*Hamlet*, 1964) is firmly rooted in Russian politics and culture. The director took advantage of the small window of opportunity created by Nikita Khrushchev's leadership to reflect upon the evils of Stalinism which he had personally experienced. In Boris Pasternak's remarkably free translation, this is a *Hamlet* without the bawdy and with very little comedy. The roles of Gertrude and Ophelia are sacrificed to make room for the clash between Hamlet and Claudius (Mikhail Nazvanov), a Stalinesque tyrant whose portraits and statues multiply as the film nears its close. Under his rule, the masses who fill the courtyards cower in fear; their support for Laertes is riotous but short-lived. With its drawbridge coming up and portcullis clashing down in the opening scene, with its characters frequently filmed through bars, the palace is indeed a prison, and all its inhabitants are under strict surveillance. We get the impression that Hamlet could thrust his dagger into any arras, and the body of a spy would come tumbling out. The camerawork manages to involve even the spectators in the general unease: "rarely does the spectator occupy a standard – let alone privileged – viewing position, leading the audience to wonder if it is they who are being watched" (Lehmann 2013: 93). Dmitri Shostakovich's score enhances the atmosphere of oppression and dread.

Kozintsev's Hamlet is a man of action who has no time for monologues. Innokentii Smoktunovskii portrays him as withdrawn and distrustful up to the "mouse-trap." After that, his determination appears unwavering, helped in conveying this effect by the director's decision to cut his presence from Claudius's prayer scene. He seems to be painfully aware that the death of Claudius will not usher in freedom and prosperity. The times have changed since Stalin's death, but not enough to encourage any real hope for the future of the Soviet Union. Kozintsev's version of the play "loses momentum because there is nowhere to go; his *Hamlet* begins and ends on the same note of political hopelessness" (Kliman 1988: 113). With the director's *Korol Lir* (*King Lear*, 1971), *Hamlet* remains to date the only adaptation

of a Shakespeare play entirely produced within a single nation in Continental Europe that is internationally acknowledged as a classic and that is repeatedly referenced by other directors.

In 2004, a Swedish documentarist, Bo Landin, and a German director, Alex Scherpf, co-directed a *Macbeth* filmed in and around the Ice Hotel and the Ice Globe Theatre, two temporary structures that are major tourist attractions in the Swedish deep north (Figure 10.1). The play was performed by local Sámi artists and translated, for the first time, into one of their languages. As the directors acknowledge, “it was a real challenge to find the proper equivalents for terms which in Sámi are non-existent” (quoted in Burnett 2013: 184). In their nuanced reading of the tragedy, even minor points of the plot are clarified through visual images: for example, the appearance of Macbeth’s (Toivo Lukkari) laughing face in the flames of the camp-fire identifies him as the subject of Macduff’s “He has no children” (4.3.217) when Malcolm urges him to avenge his family. The highly unusual setting represents the main selling point of a *Macbeth* that, at times, resembles a promotional video for the hotel, showing potential customers how much fun can be had with ice furniture. In the final scene, however, it is used to great dramatic effect. The tree branches that move against Macbeth are free from snow, a clear indication that the thaw is near, and with it the usurper’s castle will literally melt: “The transient presence of the player is refracted in the perishable grandeur of the Ice Hotel” (Burnett 2013: 187).

The setting is far less distracting in Béla Tarr’s *Macbeth* (1982), originally produced for Hungarian television but later shown at international film festivals as an



Figure 10.1 Scene from *Macbeth* (2004; dir. Bo Landin and Alex Scherpf).
© Scandinature Films

example of the director's early work. This very short version of *Macbeth* (seventy-two minutes) consists of only two shots. The play is filmed, with a handheld camera, within the barren walls of an old castle in Budapest. It is in colour, and yet there are hardly any colours: the few, essential props are made of dark wood; everybody is dressed in muted browns and blacks; there are no exterior signs of royal dignity. Probably inevitable because of budgetary limits, the minimalist setting is, however, perfectly suited to the director's vision of the play.

Tarr keeps a very narrow focus on his characters. We seldom see them approaching: they suddenly enter the frame and start interacting. Lady Macbeth (Erzsébet Kútvölgyi) is the only woman in the cast (the Witches are unmistakably men, and the waiting-gentlewoman is a valet). She is an eyewitness to Duncan's assassination, which takes place in a dungeon. Having seen Macbeth (György Cserhalmi) wrap the corpse in a sheet, Lady Macbeth then repeats the gesture with a blanket in her mad scene to great effect. The director has played down the supernatural to concentrate on the relationship between the protagonists. Macbeth, for once young enough to be plausible as a warrior, is more obsessed with his interior demons than concerned with the events unfolding around him. During the banquet scene, the camera is trained on him so that we never get to see what he is looking at until he thrusts his dagger into an empty chair. Towards the end, he appears to be unaware of the approaching enemies and speaks his "Tomorrow, and tomorrow, and tomorrow" monologue (5.5.18–27) to himself against the background of a rather bored-looking English horse. Thanks to Tarr's filming technique and to some excellent acting, the audience is left with the impression of having watched the tragedy unfold from inside the mind of Macbeth – and it is indeed "full of scorpions" (3.2.37).

APPROPRIATING HAMLET

World-wide, film directors who have appropriated Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and updated it to the twentieth century have frequently resorted to the fairly obvious device of substituting the corporate world for the court of Denmark. Power games, murder, revenge, and madness are relatively easy to rewrite in this context; but the protagonist resists downsizing and modernization because his intellectual complexity, his just cause, and the monologues that Shakespeare has created for him are what make the difference between an endlessly fascinating Renaissance figure and a tiresome young man with a superiority complex.

In Europe, the conflation of *Hamlet* with big business was first attempted by the German director Helmut Käutner with his *Der Rest ist Schweigen* (*The Rest Is Silence*, 1959). Having proclaimed that "*Hamlet* is the best detective story in the world," he chose to rewrite it while keeping Alfred Hitchcock in the foreground and Shakespeare in the background (quoted in Anonymous 1959: 41; translation mine here and below). Predictably, a film about the owners of Claudius Steel Works shot on the estate of the Krupp family addresses the complicity of German industrialists and their entourage with the Nazi regime.

After twenty years in the United States, young Johannes (Hardy Krüger) – or, as he prefers to be called, John Claudius – returns to Germany to investigate the murder of his father. Officially, Johannes senior was killed in an air raid, but his son has recently been hearing his dead father's voice on the telephone repeating "My brother has

murdered me” (a very economical and effective way of updating the Ghost scenes). On the estate, Gertrud nervously awaits the arrival of her estranged son in the company of Paul (the brother-in-law she has married) and of Max von Pohl (the family doctor), who is accompanied by his mentally unstable daughter Fee and his son Herbert (Heinz Drache). With the help of his American friend Horace, John starts searching for clues to the murder in his father’s papers and old newsreels (including the state funeral attended by Hitler himself). The rest of the script closely follows the blueprint of Shakespeare’s tragedy: a love affair with Fee; a ballet as “mousetrap”; a stormy relationship with Gertrud that von Pohl dismisses as “An Oedipus complex as an excuse for bad behaviour.” Having accidentally killed von Pohl and thwarted his uncle’s attempt to have him committed, John confronts the guilty couple but cannot bring himself to shoot Paul. Gertrud will do it.

Käutner repeatedly draws attention to John’s and Herbert’s respective ages. John is twenty-eight, Herbert thirty-three. The five-year gap between them makes all the difference. Old enough to have been tried for war crimes, Herbert remains an unrepentant Nazi. He is the only character in the film who has no qualms about the recent past; for his elders, the extent of their complicity with the regime represents the “rest” covered by the “silence” of the film’s title. John, on the contrary, belongs to a younger generation, secure enough in its innocence to insist on breaking that silence. His unsuccessful attempts at convincing himself that his father was not a willing “follower of a mass murderer” are particularly relevant to the director’s vision but do not correlate very closely with *Hamlet*. As the reviewer from *Der Spiegel* puts it, what Käutner has to offer is “a relatively poor detective story and a quiz for intellectuals, who can spend an enjoyable hour and a half tracking down the parallels between the film and the play” (Anonymous 1959: 45).

Three years after Käutner’s earnest appropriation of the tragedy, a young, upcoming representative of the French *nouvelle vague*, Claude Chabrol, chose *Hamlet* to play a sophisticated intellectual game with Shakespeare’s play, Olivier’s film version, the conventions of *film noir*, and the audience. Set in provincial France, his *Ophélia* (1963) starts with the funeral of a wealthy businessman, promptly followed by the marriage between his widow, Claudia (Alida Valli), and his brother, Adrien (Claude Cerval). The dead man’s son, Yvan (André Jocelyn), is much displeased with the events. Two villagers consider going to see “an American film with sword fights” at the local cinema. Only when Yvan stops in front of the billboard do we realize that they were talking about Olivier’s *Hamlet*. Chabrol is not poking easy fun at the ignorant villagers; he is giving us the most important clue for (mis)interpreting the rest of *Ophélia*. Just by looking at a display of stills from the film, Yvan comes to the conclusion that he is the modern Hamlet destined to avenge the murder of his father. We go along with him and find parallels with the tragedy in every part of the script. We are dismayed at the reluctance of Yvan’s girlfriend, Lucie (Juliette Mayniel), to be cast as the Ophelia of the title; she takes the accidental death of her father very much in her stride and does not even dream of drowning herself. We expect Yvan to get on with the killing of his uncle; instead, he keeps hurling accusations at him until, driven by remorse, Adrien commits suicide by poison. With his last words, Adrien informs the protagonist that he did not murder his own brother, and hints that Yvan is in fact his own son. In light of these words, we realize that he was guilty only of a love affair with his sister-in-law, and that the *Hamlet* narrative which we have used

to interpret the story of Yvan, Adrien, and Claudia “is a misrecognition of their situation, nothing more than Yvan’s projection of his desire to make something heroic and mythic of his youthful disaffection” (Lanier 2011: 250). This is a film that needs to be seen at least twice to appreciate fully how many red herrings the director has introduced to convince us that we are watching a scene-by-scene remake of *Hamlet*.

If there is no murderer in Chabrol’s film, there are too many in *Hamlet liike-maailmassa* (*Hamlet Goes Business*, 1987), which Aki Kaurismäki sets at the headquarters of a Finnish corporation. The opening scene leaves us in no doubt as to the adulterous relationship between Klaus (Esko Salminen) and Gertrud (Elina Salo), and as to Klaus’s (but not the lady’s) responsibility in the poisoning of his brother. Klaus then marries Gertrud and takes over the corporation: he plans to do away with its multifarious activities and to concentrate on cornering the market in rubber ducks, a business plan that should alert spectators to the parodic intent of the director. The primary targets of his dead-pan humour are the dealings of those cynical businessmen who are still accumulating money while Finland is heading for a major financial crisis. As in Käutner’s film, it is through the Laertes figure that the director makes some essential points. At Hamlet’s (Pirkka-Pekka Petelius) father’s funeral – which Lauri Polonius (Kari Väänänen) attends with his own father and his moronic twin sister, Ofelia (Kati Outinen) – his only concern is finding out what will happen to the corporation. Later, he confronts the protagonist with two requests: first, he wants a better office; second, could Hamlet please stop coming on to his sister? Quite clearly, the office upgrade takes precedence over family honour in his scale of values.

Early in the film, Hamlet gains our sympathy by opposing the sell-out of the factories and by sharing his concerns with Simo/Horatio (Puntti Valtonen), his driver. But it soon becomes apparent that he is a sort of sociopath. Having killed Polonius in the “closet scene,” he rejects Ofelia so brutally that she takes pills and drowns in her own bath-tub. It is the closest Kaurismäki gets to shooting a truly moving scene; but no sooner have we started to become emotionally involved in it than the pathos is undercut by the image of a rubber duck that bobs up and down on the bath-water to the tune of a pop song. After the farcical deaths of his enemies, Hamlet confesses to Simo that he had known all along that Klaus was slowly poisoning his father, and he has deliberately slipped a lethal dose into the fatal drink. Now he is free to sell all the assets of the corporation. Simo promptly responds by poisoning him. He then steals all the valuables and leaves with his girl-friend, thus proving that the workers are as amoral and corrupt as their masters.

In 1964, Kozintsev had commented on Stalinism by showing an Elsinore full of spies. Twenty-three years later, at a time when the Eastern bloc was nearing collapse, the Finnish director makes ample use of modern means of surveillance (closed-circuit TV, hidden microphones, computers) to advance the plot, as if he wanted to warn his Russian neighbours not to expect much of a change on this point when joining the free world. From Shakespeare’s tragedy Kaurismäki borrows a considerable number of lines. In modern translation and occasionally reassigned to a different character, they do not jar with the rest of the dialogue and are frequently complemented with tags that suit the overall parodic intent of the film: on appearing to Hamlet, the Ghost looks at him contemptuously and says, “I am your father’s spirit, as you may have noticed.” Familiarity with Shakespeare’s play makes the experience of watching this

film more enjoyable, but is not essential since most of the points Kaurismäki makes reflect on Finnish society rather than on his source. The spectator “may wonder whether the purpose is not so much to reconstruct the tragedy by finding yet another new meaning, as to question the very relevance of doing so” (Costantini-Cornède 2011: 232).

Metin Erksan too appropriates Shakespeare’s tragedy in order to comment on his own society in *İntikam meleği – Kadın Hamlet* (*Angel of Vengeance – The Female Hamlet*, 1977). As Hamlet he casts Fatma Girik, an actress very popular in Turkey for her roles in action movies (a sort of female Mel Gibson). Set on the estate of wealthy landowners in rural Turkey, where marrying one’s brother’s widow would not have been considered shockingly inappropriate, the film opens with Kasim Bey’s murder of his brother. As in *Ophélie*, the transition from funeral to wedding is swift. Alerted by the Ghost, the dead man’s daughter, Hamlet, starts plotting revenge, taking her “antic disposition” to bewildering extremes. She also rejects her lower-class boyfriend, Orhan (Ahmet Sezerel), a gentle painter. The gender reversal continues with Rezzan and Gul, two fashion-conscious girls who, after Hamlet has killed Orhan’s father, unsuccessfully try to accompany her to the United States to be dispatched by a mobster. Having retrieved Orhan’s body from a pond, his brother Osman goes after Hamlet with Kasim, who shoots his wife by mistake. The final show-down, in the style of a Spaghetti Western, leaves everybody dead.

İntikam meleği was filmed at a time when the Westernization of Turkish society was meeting with increasing opposition. Like Kozintsev, who is openly referenced through Shostakovich’s score, Erksan needed to exercise caution if he wanted to express his progressive ideas. He rewrites the tragedy in the style of Turkish melodrama, a genre characterized by polarized contrasts and an emphasis on sacrifice. As Osman tells his brother, the class difference between him and Hamlet cannot be bridged. Everybody in the film takes this situation for granted except Hamlet, who repeatedly speaks up against social injustice and rejects Orhan for reasons that have nothing to do with his family background.

The contrast between Turkish rural civilization and Westernized urban values is presented through gender. Apart from the Player Queen, who remains confined to her theatrical space, the only women ever on frame in this film are Gönül (Gertrud), Rezzan, Gul, and, of course, Hamlet. The first three are stereotypical examples of Western amorality and materialism. As a champion of his family’s honour and an upholder of traditional values, Osman can be favourably compared to them. But the role model that Erksan is proposing to his audience is Hamlet. She has been educated in the United States (theatre studies), and is fully Westernized in her clothes and masculine demeanour; and yet, she has not cut herself off completely from her cultural roots, and she has more in common with Osman than with her despicable mother. This heroine knows what is expected of the only daughter of a murdered man, and she does not need to learn about revenge from Shakespeare. The surrealist sketches that she enacts are there to taunt the guilty couple (and also to entertain the audience by showcasing Girik’s talents), not to postpone the inevitable. Whenever her face in close-up fills the frame, unblinking eyes wide open, we expect her to launch into her own version of one of Hamlet’s famous soliloquies; but she skips them all, apart from a reworking of a few lines from 3.1.58–90, which she offers as a set piece. As is often the case with appropriations of *Hamlet*, “Girik’s is a Hamlet with passions but no

interiority” (Howard 2007: 217). There is no room for soul-searching soliloquies in her journey towards self-sacrifice.

APPROPRIATING A MIDSUMMER NIGHT’S DREAM

Shakespeare’s comedies are far less frequently appropriated on screen than his tragedies. Directors cannot assume the same degree of familiarity with them from their audiences; and they must take into account that what is funny in one culture can be deeply offensive, or totally unfunny, in another. With a lovers’ plot line which easily generates empathy, the antics of the mechanicals, and, above all, the infinite possibilities for special effects offered by the magic world, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* has attracted different types of European directors. Some have bowdlerized it until it was fit for animation movies; others have drawn inspiration from its bawdy lines and sexually charged atmosphere.

In 1959, Jiří Trnka, a Czech puppeteer, completed his stop-motion animation version of Shakespeare’s comedy, *Sen Noci Svatojánské* (*A Midsummer Night’s Dream*). Trnka uses all the technical resources at his disposal to create a fairy-world dominated by metamorphosis. As for the puppets representing the human beings, they too are state-of-the-art and surprisingly apt to convey the director’s interpretation of the text. Hippolyta, for example, is far less keen on the wedding than Theseus and totally absorbed in the care of her hounds. An off-screen narrator takes the spectators through a fairly accurate retelling of the story which constantly references Shakespeare’s text. Trnka adds some amusing personal touches. Having first tried out the effect of the magic flower on statues, which start kissing and embracing, Puck inadvertently charms a ram, and is then forced to fend off its unwanted attentions. Lost in the forest after Bottom’s transformation, Snout bumps into Demetrius: they stare at each other, then Snout apologizes and hastily retreats, without any acknowledgement that they belong to different subplots of the same play. Trnka’s most interesting directorial choice comes at the end of the film. His mechanicals perform their “Pyramus and Thisbe” in dead earnestness, but their shortcomings do not turn it into broad farce, as is often the case on stage. Some technical glitches do elicit laughter from the newlyweds; yet Bottom, torn between reality and visions of Titania, is so moving in his suicide scene that he wins everybody over and triggers the applause. Even Hippolyta stops yawning and caressing her hounds. The film remains one of the most fascinating examples of animated Shakespeare, and it was successful enough to be released in English with a revised script and Richard Burton as narrator.

A computer-animated film, *El Sueño de una noche de San Juan* (*The Dream of a Night of Saint John*, dir. Ángel de la Cruz and Manolo Gómez, 2005) references the play more obliquely. The opening shot is of a copy of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* on the shelves of Duke Teseo’s magnificent library. He is a visionary architect and inventor in today’s Spain; his daughter, Elena, has two suitors: the clumsy, well-meaning Lisandro, who is her father’s assistant, and Demetrio, a self-serving banker. Since the ailing Duke keeps mentioning a mysterious “Titania,” of whom Elena has never heard, Lisandro shows her a picture of the fairy-queen from his own copy of the play. The directors make it very clear that the source of their story is to be found in a book, not on stage. Elena is totally sceptical about the existence of fairies and the

power of dreams; she is, however, willing to try to find Titania for her father's sake. Accompanied by her two suitors, she enters the magic world on the night of Saint John, the only time when human beings can meet the spirits who allegedly inhabit the wilderness.

Although the film targets a pre-adolescent audience, the opening scenes are meant also to engage the attention of grown-ups who, familiar with Shakespeare's comedy, may think they know what to expect. The grown-ups would be wrong, because this is a sequel rather than a rewriting of the play. Four hundred years have passed also for the fairies; human beings have almost completely stopped believing in them, and they are either on the verge of bankruptcy (the grossly obese Oberón, who peddles love-charms) or disappearance (the waiflike Titania). They are also threatened by the Weird Sisters. In this film, the longest Shakespearean quotation is from *Macbeth* 4.1: having chanted a selection of their cauldron lines, the Witches, old and destitute, tell their story to Demetrio (who tries to sell them a pension plan). They enlist his help to defeat Titania and take an active role in the ensuing battle. Needless to say, the fairies win and Elena marries Lisandro, a totally unproblematic conclusion, since Hermia has been written out of the script.

The pairing off of Elena and Lisandro is not introduced as part of a happy ending by Gabriele Salvatores, whose *Sogno di una notte d'estate* (*A Summer Night's Dream*, 1983) is a musical based on the modern-dress version of the comedy that he had directed on stage. He cleverly blends his own sketches and plot-changes into a very colloquial translation of the abridged Shakespearean text, making it difficult for the average spectator to distinguish between them. Most of the action takes place near Milan in a ruined castle adjoining the villa of Teseo/Theseus (Alberto Lionello), an industrialist who is about to marry his Ippolita. Egeo and the lovers are his guests and defer to him for sorting out their differences. The mechanicals rehearse their play in the castle, whose subterranean vaults are inhabited by the fairies. Clad in a combination of leather and discarded clothes, the fairies are ambiguous, spiteful, capable of very little magic. Oberon (Flavio Bucci) is a hideous hunchback understandably shunned by the pretty Titania (Gianna Nannini).

As night falls, the forest starts to encroach on the castle. It is in this threatening green world that the lovers play out the misunderstandings, sexual urges, and bad feelings generated by Puck's mistakes with his love-charm (a magic flame). Eventually, Puck waves the flame in front of the eyes of Lisandro (Fernando Bruni) and Demetrius (Giuseppe Cederna), who promptly exchange a passionate kiss and fall asleep in each other's arms next to the girls they have rejected. When Teseo, Ippolita, and Egeo wake them up the next morning, the boys pull apart self-consciously. Ermia tells the story of their elopement and then blurts out: "If I marry Demetrio . . . can I come home?" After she has been reassured on this point, Lisandro half-heartedly proposes to Elena, who half-heartedly accepts him. Needless to say, the wedding banquet will be a gloomy affair. Disconcerting even for spectators unfamiliar with the play, because it flaunts the conventions of the musical, this reversal is introduced by Salvatores to make a political statement: having been young in the wild sixties, he was highly critical of the materialistic eighties. He sees the lovers as spoilt, rich kids whose rebellion lasts only one night. Incapable of fending for themselves, and shocked by the sexual urges unleashed by the magic flame, at the break of dawn they are ready to retreat inside the cocoon of the Italian family.

It is not difficult to find material for a porn movie in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. A notable example of the genre in continental Europe is *Midsummer's Night Dream* (sic), directed by István Korda under the pseudonym Steve Cadro in 2000. Since most people do not rate porn movies on the basis of the plot, Cadro need not concern himself with closely following his source. There are no lines from Shakespeare in the dialogue (in fact, there is no dialogue). The story is very sketchily told in voice-over (in Hungarian with English subtitles). We learn that, with midsummer night approaching, Oberon (Tibor Dobó) is having a great time with his boy-friend Titany (Gábor Vad) “and the adorable Puck [Mosoly Peti].” And he certainly is, to the tune of an adaptation of Felix Mendelssohn’s score. The revellers start out wearing white Athenian tunics, leading us to believe that the story is taking place in the distant past; but the camera eventually cuts to four young men getting off a train in Révfülöp, a tourist resort that in 2011 would be selected to become the seat of the Hungarian Globe Theatre. We also hear that Theseus and his partner are rehearsing their wedding ceremony. The four lovers start quarrelling. Puck attempts to restore harmony with the help of Oberon’s magic flower, but he makes the usual blunders. As a result, Lysander and Demetrios fall for Alain/Helena and reject Hermes. However, hurt feelings do not get in the way of sex: “the jealous youths fuse into a frenzy of love.” Eventually, the spell is reversed and two happy couples join Theseus’s wedding ceremony. They even follow a Hungarian folk-custom reserved for the night of Saint John and jump over the bonfire because “those who jump across the fire remain faithful to their lovers.” Thus, what had started out as a celebration of sex with multiple partners “closes in a rather straight, or at least conservative way: fairies all pair up and marry” (Burt 2004: 62).

THE PLAY-WITHOUT-THE-PLAY

The rehearsing and staging of excerpts from the plays constitute a peculiar subcategory within the vast body of material represented by references to Shakespeare on screen. In the shorthand of film language, where a brief selection of lines or scenes stands for an entire evening at the theatre, they appear to be part of a whole production, but in fact they are not. This impression is usually just as well since film directors – oblivious, or perhaps too conscious, of the theatrical roots of their medium – seem to take a perverse pleasure in inserting fragments from productions that nobody would want to watch in their entirety.

A rare exception to the parodic treatment of excerpts from a play comes from Bulgaria. In 1999, the writer and producer Stanislav Semerdjiev and the American director Greg Roach joined forces to film *I, Hamlet* – an experimental adaptation of the tragedy, in which dance and pantomime were to play a major role. Beleaguered by financial and logistic problems, they were forced to admit defeat nine years later. Mixed with interviews of the original cast and crew, the surviving footage of the film is preserved in *Avantjurata Hamlet* (*The Hamlet Adventure*, dir. Greg Roach and Ivaylo Dikanski, 2008). In Semerdjiev’s words, the project was quite ambitious: “to stage the most brilliant work of the human spirit and to tell through it everything about Bulgaria and the Bulgarians.” For both the internal and the international markets, a major attraction would have been the location: this version of the tragedy

was to be shot in the open air, on a circular wooden stage painstakingly built on top of the Rila Mountains, a spectacular range that has sacred and mysterious connotations for Bulgarians. The challenge was to connect the location intimately with Hamlet (Assen Pavlov). This challenge was to be met by assigning to the Prince new monologues scripted by Semerdjiev and shot against the backdrop of the appropriate mountain vista: “I don’t know how I clambered where/ The Sixth of Rila’s Fountains lies,/ Where Alpha and Omega rise/ A time for choosing to declare” (Evghenija Pancheva, trans.).

From a film about a film that was never made, it is difficult to gauge whether the beautifully choreographed extant scenes, the striking costumes, the eclectic soundtrack, and the nine new monologues would ever have coalesced into an interpretation of *Hamlet* worthy of critical attention both at home and abroad. What we learn is how deeply the experience affected those who were committed to the project, and how little it impressed the local people. On returning for a second year of summer filming, Semerdjiev discovered that the stage had been dismantled for wood, and he commented bitterly: “They don’t want stages, they don’t want art; what they want is planks.”

A screen version of *Hamlet* is parodied in the fragments of an amateur performance that Russian director Eld’ar Riazanov includes in his *Beregis Avtomobilya* (*Beware of the Car*, 1966). The childlike protagonist, Yuri Detochkin (Innokentii Smoktunovskii), is a sort of modern-day Russian Robin Hood who steals the private cars of corrupt party members, sells them, and anonymously donates the proceeds to orphanages. In his free time, he rehearses the title-role for a production of *Hamlet* with a highly respected amateur company. Max (Oleg Efremov), the inspector who investigates the thefts, plays Laertes opposite Yuri; and he turns a rehearsal of the duel scene into an interrogation, much to the annoyance of the director. Once his suspects are confirmed, Max agrees to let Yuri perform on opening night before arresting him. Their final scene is received with thunderous applause.

Foreign viewers (and probably many Russians, too) will be unable to appreciate fully how mischievous Riazanov’s characterization of the director of *Hamlet* really is: “With his high-pitched voice and the aura of a pompous cultural manager, this director looks like Riazanov’s caricature of Kozintsev” (Etkind 2013: 153). Many more viewers, however, will remember that Smoktunovskii had been the protagonist of Kozintsev’s *Hamlet*. Riazanov, who had studied under the master but had subsequently disappointed him with his lightweight films, places his old teacher’s masterpiece, rather than Shakespeare’s tragedy, at the core of *Beregis Avtomobilya*. In a white shirt very similar to the one he had worn as Hamlet, Smoktunovskii as Yuri sends up his own interpretation of the Prince’s death: to the tune of solemn music that imitates Shostakovich’s score, he staggers around, supported by Horatio, and speaks a small selection of the Prince’s final lines. Riazanov deliberately introduces one jarring detail in the look of his Hamlet. In the dressing-room, the fair-haired Yuri pointedly draws attention to the “funny wig” he will be expected to wear. On stage, he wears a dark wig, whereas the dark-haired Max sports a blond one. Anyone familiar with the conventional image of Hamlet and with Kozintsev’s film will risk confusing the two actors in the duel scene. This potential confusion may be the director’s way of telling us that the Hamlet character is, in fact, Max, the detective who gathers information

and tricks the culprit into betraying his guilt in the context of a performance. Yuri is much closer to Prince Myshkin, the protagonist of Fyodor Dostoyevsky's *The Idiot*, a role that Smoktunovskii had played on stage.

A major cultural event is at the centre of *Phileine zegt sorry* (*Phileine Says Sorry*, dir. Robert Jan Westdijk, 2003). As part of the New York Shakespeare Festival, thirty-eight world-famous theatre directors are preparing new productions of all the plays with the best young actors from local and European drama schools. Selected for Holland, Max (Michiel Huisman) eagerly accepts, even though his feisty girl-friend Phileine (Kim van Kooten) is bitterly opposed. She joins him in New York, where Max is playing the lead in what a TV broadcaster will later describe as “a groundbreaking pornographic interpretation of *Romeo and Juliet*.” At the rehearsal Phileine, who has limited experience as a spectator, cannot tell the difference between reality and make-believe, sees Max having sex with his Juliet, and throws a tantrum. Things get even worse on opening night. The *première* takes place at the aptly named “J.P. Cox Theatre,” attracts huge media coverage, and is attended by hundreds of New York socialites in evening gowns. Ready to be awed by the new masterpiece of the avant-garde director, they watch uneasily while the actors silently copulate on stage. It takes Phileine to hiss, “Don’t you have any lines?” and to start hurling abuse at Max. Only then do the other spectators acknowledge that they are actually watching porn and ask for their money back. Later on, Max demands an apology, Phileine refuses; they split up. By the end of the film, however, Phileine has come to realize that what she feels for Max is not only sexual desire but true love, and she says, “sorry.”

To a certain extent, the relationship between the protagonists reverses the pattern of Shakespeare's love-story. It takes *Romeo and Juliet* three acts to progress from romantic love to intercourse; Phileine and Max start with unbridled sex and only towards the end of the film discover the power of emotions. Nevertheless, the director does not attempt to rewrite the tragedy. Based on a novel by the popular Dutch author Ronald Giphart (in which the Shakespeare Festival is a far more modest, and plausible, off-off-Broadway affair), the film is primarily a vehicle for van Kooten's antics. Its New York scenes and English dialogue notwithstanding, its target audience is Dutch. The Festival is there to rehash European clichés about American pseudo-intellectuals: the New York élite needs to be reminded by Phileine's gut reaction that Shakespeare's name on the programme is no guarantee of a high-quality theatre evening. The commodification of Shakespeare is further highlighted when the two lovers have a confrontation in front of “Shakespeare's Deli” (open twenty-four hours, of course).

Arthouse directors try to be slightly more sophisticated than Westdijk in connecting the rehearsals of a Shakespeare play to their main plots. They are not necessarily more successful. *Um amor de perdição* (*Doomed Love*, dir. Mário Barroso, 2008) is based on a Portuguese nineteenth-century classic, *Amor de perdição* by Camilo Castelo Branco, which tells the tragic love-story of Simão (Tomás Alves) and Teresa (Ana Moreira), kept apart by their feuding families. Castelo Branco does not reference *Romeo and Juliet* in his novel (although the parallels are obvious, as in most narratives of doomed love). Set among the wealthy bourgeoisie of today's Lisbon, Barroso's film starts with a girl reciting in voice-over “O churl! – drunk all” (5.3.163–69) while the camera pans over two young couples making love in the cellar under a high-school gym, where a rehearsal of the tragedy is interrupted by a student, Simão,

who angrily stares at the girl (evidently, his Rosaline) and then, more similar in this to Tybalt than Romeo, hurls his football at the players. Some days later, Simão sees footage of Teresa on his sister's computer and becomes totally indifferent to "Juliet." At another rehearsal, he will thus be able quietly to watch her and "Romeo" include in their sonnet (1.5.92–109) a kiss so passionate that the teacher has to intervene to separate them. For the rest of the film, Simão and Teresa desperately try to be together, but their fathers forbid any contact. An increasingly out-of-control Simão picks fights with everybody and eventually kills Teresa's future husband. On hearing that she has starved herself to death, he slashes his own throat.

By opening his film with Juliet's final words, Barroso informs foreign viewers unfamiliar with the novel that they should expect a tragic ending. He also encourages all viewers to look for other connections between the play and the film. The connections are not hard to find, but may actually be misleading. Barring one brief close encounter that has a distinctly oneiric quality, Simão sees Teresa only from a distance or through windscreens and windowpanes. He is also presented as an obsessive reader of *Amor de perdição*: the rehearsal of the sonnet is introduced by a gloomy passage from the novel. As the blurb of the DVD suggests, Teresa may in fact be merely a projection of a mind that is descending into madness. If this is the case, using *Romeo and Juliet* as interpretive key (as we tend to do whenever a Shakespeare play is repeatedly referenced) is pointless: there may be no Juliet in this film.

There is no doubting the importance of *King Lear* in Kristian Levring's *The King Is Alive* (2000). A member of Dogme 95 – a small coterie of Danish directors who advocate the rejection of artifice and of the sophisticated technologies typical of Hollywood movies – Levring introduces a group of (mostly Anglo-American) tourists whose bus runs out of fuel in the Namibia desert near a derelict mining village inhabited only by Kanana (Peter Kubheka), an old African man who narrates their story in voice-over in Sotho (with English subtitles). After the self-proclaimed survival expert Jack (Miles Anderson) has left to look for help, Henry (David Bradley), an English ex-actor, suggests they try to perform *King Lear* to while away the time. He hands out "rolls" of paper with the individual parts reconstructed from memory. The casting and the rehearsals do not go smoothly. Liz (Janet McTeer), a middle-aged American woman, uses Goneril's scenes to taunt her husband, Ray/Kent (Bruce Davison). Catherine (Romane Bohringer), a haughty French intellectual, refuses to play Cordelia but becomes murderously jealous when Henry offers the part to Gina (Jennifer Jason Leigh), a conventionally naïve American blond whom the director sees as a substitute for his own estranged daughter. George, an English businessman, obsessed with fear of ageing, agrees to play Gloucester only in exchange for Gina's sexual favours. When she, poisoned by Catherine, tells him how much she loathed keeping her side of the bargain, he urinates on her and then hangs himself. George's thuggish son Paul/Edgar (Chris Walker) mistreats his wife, Amanda/the Fool (Lia Williams), until she, empowered by the acting experience, finds the strength to oppose him. As in *Avantju-rata Hamlet*, the rehearsals are set against harsh but stunning landscapes that impact the action.

The anti-Hollywood stance of Dogme 95 did not stop the director from accepting American money to fund his costly film. In turn, this arrangement made it impossible for him to use a language other than English for the dialogue and for *King Lear*. Instead of resenting the imposition, as Castellani had, Levring makes the most of it.

In the first part of the film, he shows that for the Anglophone tourists Shakespeare's English is a foreign language; their struggle to master it is tersely summed up by Kanana: "I didn't understand a word they said. Nor did they." The director makes the most of their ordeal, which "arguably allegorizes Dogme's strenuous effort to breathe new life into a Shakespeare that seems to have disappeared from the cultural landscape" (Calbi 2013: 52). The tourists gradually come to grips with their lines, and we are led to believe that Shakespeare's words in performance will be the perfect way to celebrate their deliverance; but resorting to the Hollywood cliché of disastrous rehearsals followed by a great opening night would be against the rules of Dogme 95.

After a quarrel with Liz, Ray walks into the desert and finds Jack's corpse: help is not on its way. He dashes back into Liz's arms, and she cradles him like a child. Paul, too, responds to the dreadful news by retreating into childhood. Instead of Edgar's mad lines, he comes up with a variation of "This little piggy went to market": when death is approaching, a hug and a nursery rhyme can be more comforting than Shakespeare. In an apparent effort to hasten the inevitable end, the tourists start dismantling their shelters and throwing their provisions into a huge bonfire. *King Lear* comes next. Around the bonfire, they speak lines from act 5 with great feeling, but as if they were committing them too to the flames. They are nearly done discarding the tragedy when the camera cuts to the headlights of approaching trucks. We learn, before the tourists do, that they are about to encounter a group of African labourers who have chanced upon the village. The rescuers have arrived just in time to save human lives, but a few minutes too late to save Shakespeare's text.

CONCLUSION

This tour of continental Europe in seventeen films has highlighted some of the trends in the screen treatment of Shakespeare's works, but could not possibly do justice to the wealth of existing material. Many of the European films that Shakespeareans would like to study are listed in the database hosted by the British Universities Film and Video Council (<http://bufvc.ac.uk/shakespeare>). Unfortunately, they frequently remain inaccessible, even if, in recent years, the new media have started offering unprecedented opportunities for the on-line study of hard-to-find items from marginalized film industries. Moreover, many films whose titles do not conveniently reference the plays have yet to be identified as Shakespeare-related. On the corpus of European titles that are accessible, a lot more critical work needs to be done locally, because foreign scholars are dependent on the notoriously unreliable subtitles and can easily miss or misinterpret cultural clues. There is a great need for more sites like the one hosted by the University of Montpellier III for materials in French (<http://shakscreen.org>).

Reverence for the classics is not a trait usually associated with the auteurs of European cinema. When surveying the field, we should therefore expect tongue-in-cheek treatments of the plays to outnumber by far deferential new readings even among arthouse products. Brilliant adaptations and appropriations will often stem not from an urge to engage directly with Shakespeare but from a decision to employ him as facilitator when exploring topical or controversial issues. Like their Anglo-American

colleagues, the directors of B-movies from Continental Europe are inclined to exploit the added cultural value and brand recognition provided by “Shakespeare” while at the same time exposing them to ridicule.

The directors of the films introduced in this chapter have drawn our attention to French villagers who mistake Olivier’s *Hamlet* for an American action movie; Bulgarian mountaineers who chop up a stage for wood; Portuguese kids who use rehearsals of *Romeo and Juliet* as an excuse for making out; a Spanish girl who has never heard of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*; and a Dutch girl who cares nothing for a major Shakespeare festival. They are all there to remind us that in-depth knowledge and appreciation of Shakespeare’s plays are far from universal. This lack is something directors must take into account when embarking on such a costly enterprise as film-making. Before reading too much into their products, we should remind ourselves that, quite often, their dialogue with the playwright will not be as highly sophisticated as we may hope. From revered auteurs to anonymous drudges, most directors share a desire to see their work as widely appreciated as possible. Very few of them will have professional Shakespeareans in mind as their target audience.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE CLOUD-CAPPED TOWERS AND
THE CHARCOAL SKETCH
Shakespeare on film in North America

Samuel Crowl

Kenneth Rothwell, the leading historian of the Shakespeare-on-film movement, liked to begin public lectures on his subject by quoting the Chorus from *Henry V* and cleverly changing one word of his opening declaration:

O for a muse of fire, that would ascend
The brightest heaven of invention,
A kingdom for a stage, princes to act,
And monarchs to behold the swelling screen!

Rothwell's change of the last word of the passage, "screen" for "scene," changes also the implicit meaning of preceding key words: "muse," "fire," "invention." Film yokes the Shakespearean poetic muse with the Promethean fires of scientific invention to produce illuminations both historic and contemporary, ascendant and grounded.

The French connection was as crucial to the history of film as it is to *Henry V*. While photographic experimenters in Russia, England, and North America (Thomas Edison) all can make a case for being the first filmmakers, it is commonly agreed that the Lumière brothers (Auguste and Louis) were the first actually to project their films for a paying audience, in Paris in 1895. The very first of their films showed workers departing from their father's factory in Lyons, which manufactured photographic plates; it was an appropriate urban landscape, as the making of motion pictures is an industrial art-form. While early films concentrated on capturing the "motion" in moving pictures with scenes of a locomotive bearing down on a train-station platform, mounted riders chasing a wagon, or traffic on a city street, it is perhaps remarkable that by 1899 a few scenes from more static material, Shakespeare's *King John*, were being shot in a small film studio built along the Thames Embankment in London. The actors were all members of Sir Herbert Beerbohm Tree's company, then playing *King John* at His Majesty's Theatre less than a mile away.

Motion pictures quickly established themselves as a new form of entertainment in North America during the early years of the twentieth century. The Lumière brothers' device, called the Cinématographe, could project film on to any makeshift screen or empty wall, and thus transform a room into a "nickelodeon." It quickly cornered the

market, besting Edison's Kinetoscope, which could be used only by a single viewer at a time. Rothwell reports that by 1907 there were between 2,500 and 3,000 such theatres in the United States, where the admission price was a nickel (1999: 5). Thus, film was from its origins a popular art-form meant to appeal to ordinary citizens, who crowded into the nickelodeons and eventually vaudeville houses in the cities and tents at county fairs in the countryside to absorb the wonders of the new form of entertainment. Such crowds, much like those who had made the theatre so commercially successful in Elizabethan London, were hungry for this new product; and an immense silent-film industry rapidly developed in New York and eventually expanded to California and Hollywood by the early 1920s.

As was the case in London in 1899, film in North America quickly turned to Shakespeare for material, and he settled right in among Westerns, train-robbery tales, cops-and-robbers car chases, conventional melodramas, and Buster Keaton as the stuff early film dreams were made on. Most such films were only one or two "reelers" lasting from ten to twenty minutes. As a result, the versions of Shakespeare which appeared were highly condensed. J. Stuart Blackton's Vitagraph Company made something of a speciality in turning out such silent versions of Shakespeare. Film historians say it is impossible to identify the very first silent American Shakespeare film, which appeared c. 1903–04; but we do know that between 1908 and 1912 Blackton's Vitagraph Company released highly condensed adaptations of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *As You Like It*, *Henry VIII*, *Julius Caesar*, *King Lear*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Othello*, *Richard III*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Twelfth Night*.

The development of Shakespeare on film in North America moves geographically from New York to Hollywood, and commercially from the major studios like Warner Brothers and Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM), to mavericks like Orson Welles and Michael Almereyda, to the new independent film companies like Miramax and Castle Rock created in the 1990s. In its twelve decades of growth the American Shakespeare film can be seen as going through six major stages of development:

- the silent Shakespeares;
- Hollywood's first attempts to get Shakespeare to talk in the 1930s;
- the post-World War II period dominated by the films of Orson Welles;
- the last gasp of big-studio Shakespeare;
- the stunning revival of the genre following the success of Kenneth Branagh's *Henry V* and the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989;
- and then, in the new century, America's contribution to the global expansion of Shakespeare on film into India, other parts of Asia, and Latin America.

Running parallel to this narrative are a host of Shakespeare spin-offs, ranging from Hollywood to Bollywood, where his plots and characters are reimaged in unfamiliar languages and landscapes. Some of these films have become honoured representatives of the genre, including *A Double Life* (1947), *Joe Macbeth* (1955), *Harry and Tonto* (1974), and *Shakespeare in Love* (1998); but the primary focus of this chapter will be on Shakespeare films which adapt his language, sometimes in a drastically trimmed fashion, not just his themes and plots – for Shakespeare's language is not

only the basis of his genius as a writer, but also the primary challenge to the film director who works in an art-form based on visual rather than verbal images.

SILENT SHAKESPEARE

In the era of silent film (1895–1927) Shakespeare was plundered for material by filmmakers in continental Europe, England, Russia, and America. Gradually the dominance in commercial film output shifted from France to America. In 1900, 60 per cent of all silent films were shot in France; by 1925, 80 per cent were being made in Hollywood. Similar percentages held for silent Shakespeares, although there the shift was from London to New York and then California. Like the Elizabethan theatre, the early silent films quickly drew outrage from vociferous critics, in this case American descendants of Stephen Gosson and Philip Stubbs, Puritan moralists caterwauling against flashy decadence. Both Rothwell and Judith Buchanan (the leading British authority on silent Shakespeare films) believe that filmmakers were attracted to Shakespeare as an antidote to such attacks. How could film be a “low” art meant to distract the masses from more serious obligations if it was, in fact, bringing Shakespeare, by now promoted to being the representative of “high” culture, to the nickel-odeon (Rothwell 1999: 6; Buchanan 2005: 38)?

Shakespeare was, in many ways, a natural for silent film. He was a cultural icon; his plots were widely known and, stripped of their poetry, highly melodramatic; and his plays were loaded with supernatural elements (ghosts, witches, folk- and fairy-sprites, figures from classical myth, and odd creatures of his own devising like Puck, Caliban, and Ariel) that lent themselves to presentation by film’s “trick” photography. The Victorian theatre was the last gasp of spectacular Shakespeare on stage. Film emerged just in time to save Shakespeare’s plays from productions on stage with even more of the scenic hyperbole of grand opera than with the open, minimalist space for which they had first been conceived. It is more than mere coincidence that the first efforts to reimagine Shakespeare for the non-representational space for which he wrote – by William Poel, Edward Gordon Craig, and Harley Granville Barker in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – coincided with the advent of film.

Rothwell estimates that there were close to 500 silent Shakespeares made between 1899 and 1927 (1999: 1). By the second decade of the twentieth century, the length of many of the films had increased from one or two reels to four or more; a film of four or more reels is considered full-length. By another coincidence, this one remarkable, the oldest surviving American full-length film is a Shakespeare: M.B. Dudley and James Keane’s *Richard III* (1912), starring the British actor Frederick Warde. A copy of the film surfaced in 1996; it was in the possession of an amateur film enthusiast, William Buffum, who had known how to care for early films and their highly unstable nitrate prints. He asked the American Film Institute (AFI) if they would be interested in his copy, having no idea of its historical pre-eminence. Indeed, they were. The film is a representative example of the American silent film and was “one of the most elaborate of its time,” according to Robert Hamilton Ball, the indispensable historian of Shakespeare on silent film (1968: 162).

Richard III was shot on location on Long Island and in Westchester County, just north of New York City, where several of the leading East Coast film producers had

moved their offices. It makes use of early film grammar and rhetoric, including a stationary camera, establishing shots, medium long shots, cross-cutting, rhythm in editing, and even humour. Dudley indulges in film's natural love of spectacle by including many processions filled with flag- and pike-toting extras; the ghosts that appear in Richard's tent the night before the battle; Richmond's landing at Milford Haven, disembarking from a two-masted schooner that might have carried an Edward VIII but never an Edward IV; and a stirring version of the battle at Bosworth Field. Warde gives his Richard a rolling gait, more bear than spider or toad. Even in his twisted shape, he is a physically powerful presence. In a nice touch of visual humour, Dudley has Richard enter and exit through a hedge in the scene where he interrupts the progression of the coffin of Henry VI and woos Lady Anne, who early on tries to dismiss him as a "hedgehog." Warde toured America with the film, providing pre- and post-screening remarks – a much easier task than actually having to perform the role at each stop, and more economical than paying a full company of actors. The reel has now come full circle, so to speak, as contemporary university Shakespeare professors adopt a similar model, weaving their lectures around clips from the films.

TALKING SHAKESPEARE

When Al Jolson talked and sang in the 1927 *Jazz Singer*, the Age of the Silent Film was quickly eclipsed; and just as quickly Shakespeare was being heard on the film set. The first talking Shakespeare, *The Taming of the Shrew*, appeared in 1929 and was a collaboration between two of Hollywood's most famous stars, the husband-and-wife team of Douglas Fairbanks, Jr. and Mary Pickford. Studio Hollywood made two more early attempts to assimilate Shakespeare's verbal images with film's visual ones: the Warner Brothers' *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1935) and MGM's *Romeo and Juliet* (1936). Although all three films failed to make a significant profit, and thus initiated the Hollywood certainty that Shakespeare was box-office poison, they also reveal qualities that were to become crucial components of the American Shakespeare film as it developed through the twentieth century.

All three films were eager to link Shakespeare with established Hollywood film actors rather than with London or New York stage actors trained in performing the classics. One of the joys of these early sound films is watching established film actors like Fairbanks, Pickford, Dick Powell, James Cagney, Mickey Rooney, Olivia de Havilland, Victor Jory, Norma Shearer, Leslie Howard, and even Andy Devine attempt to find a way of speaking Shakespeare appropriate for the screen. (Only John Barrymore, the Mercutio in the MGM *Romeo and Juliet*, was an experienced Shakespearean actor.) The established Hollywood actors in early sound films are the forerunners of the American film actors in the modern era, ranging from Marlon Brando and Edmond O'Brien to Glenn Close and Al Pacino, who have found success in building convincing film performances on Shakespearean roles. These films, especially *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Romeo and Juliet*, were determined to make film's capacity for spectacle and special effects work on their Shakespearean material. Russell Jackson argues that the grandeur, lavishness, and Renaissance detail of the MGM *Romeo and Juliet* were meant by its producer, Irving Thalberg, not only as a compliment to Shakespeare's artistry and an appropriate high-art vehicle for his wife, Norma Shearer (who played Juliet), but also as a representation of "the studio's

vision of itself and of the industry” (Jackson 2007: 132). Today the film’s cautious and conservative approach to Shakespeare and the lavish display of MGM’s production values seem turgid and prosaic, especially in light of Franco Zeffirelli’s fast-paced and passionate 1968 film version of the play and Baz Luhrmann’s MTV-inspired adaptation of 1996. Even the film’s well-respected Hollywood director, George Cukor, realized what was wrong with his approach when he commented: “It’s the one picture that if I had to do over again, I’d know how. I’d get the garlic and the Mediterranean into it” (quoted in Jackson 2007: 161).

The 1935 Warner Brothers’ *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, while also determined to bring lavish production values to its conception of Shakespeare’s great early comedy, has fared better. The film is a collaboration between two German directors, William Dieterle and Max Reinhardt, who, like many Europeans fleeing Hitler and the Nazis in the 1930s, found a home in Hollywood. Although the film’s cast is an eclectic mix of film old-timers and fresh faces, Reinhardt had initially wanted even more well-known film stars for his venture – including Clark Gable, Gary Cooper, Charlie Chaplin (as Bottom), Greta Garbo, Joan Crawford, Myrna Loy, and Fred Astaire (as Puck). If Chaplin’s style and Astaire’s sophistication would have given the film a touch of class, Reinhardt is even better served by Cagney’s Bottom and Rooney’s Puck, who bring the gangster and the wild child into Shakespeare’s woods and remind us, long before Jan Kott, that those woods are cold, confusing, and sexually threatening as much as they are an idealized, inviting pastoral retreat.

In creating the woods Reinhardt exploits a variety of visual effects, including balletic fairies streaming up and down on moonbeams and enveloped in Felix Mendelssohn’s famous music, effects which anticipate Walt Disney’s *Fantasia* (1940). The ballet mimes the play, in which the forces of light and dark are pitted against each other, much as Victor Jory’s black-clad Oberon, mounted on a huge stallion, comes to dominate Anita Louise’s all-white maternal Titania (in her dealings with the little Indian boy and Bottom). Reinhardt and Dieterle add a dash of their own heritage, the Brothers Grimm, to Shakespeare’s melding of supernatural figures from Ovid (Oberon and Titania) and his own Warwickshire countryside (Puck). As Jack Jorgens notes, the Warner Brothers’ *Midsummer Night’s Dream* is “the first production on stage or screen to give anything near full weight to the play’s darker elements” (1977: 42).

POST-WORLD WAR II SHAKESPEARE

These first three Hollywood Shakespeare films attracted enough of an audience to recoup their expenses, but none was a money-maker; and the bottom line remained the bottom line for studio moguls. The film industry was one of the few that thrived in the Great Depression, selling dreams of fantasy and escape, if not to poor, naked wretches at least to the recently impoverished middle class. Film did not appear to need Shakespeare as it had in its silent beginnings, and the advent of sound had made manifest the difficulties of merging the visual images of film with the verbal images of Shakespeare. World War II, along with a great classical actor who had spurned a promising career as a Hollywood leading man once the war started, came to the rescue. Laurence Olivier was urged to make a film of *Henry V* by the British Ministry of Information and managed to produce, as Jackson argues, “one of the subtlest war films of its time” (2007: 71). Olivier’s 1944 film of *Henry V* was released just months

after the Allied Forces launched their invasion to reclaim France and other parts of Europe from Hitler and the Nazis. Olivier's wonderful film became associated with the Allied victory and the triumph of the culture that had produced Shakespeare. After the war, cultural festivals sprang up all over continental Europe, England, and North America, and productions of Shakespeare were often at their centre. Olivier followed his *Henry V* with his film of *Hamlet* (1948), which won the Academy Award for Best Picture and made Shakespeare once again a fashionable commodity in Hollywood.

The post-war period and Olivier's pioneering work created the atmosphere for the great auteur-led interest in Shakespeare as material for films. Orson Welles in North America, Grigori Kozintsev in Russia, and Akira Kurosawa in Japan each produced, like Olivier, three Shakespeare films over the next several decades – including *Gamlet* (1964) and *Throne of Blood* (1957) – and firmly established the genre of the Shakespeare film as a constant in the cinematic repertoire. Olivier and Welles make for an odd, intriguing pair. Olivier was the polished, classically trained, ambitious stage actor who had worked his way to the top of his profession in a culture that admired the actor. Welles was a precocious, self-taught theatrical entrepreneur who had found his way to the cover of *Time* magazine at age twenty-five in a culture that adored the star. When Olivier was still caught between a career as a Hollywood leading man and leading the Old Vic in London, Welles made *Citizen Kane* and film history. The two men admired each other, were wary friends, but they emerged from radically different traditions and possessed such cunning egos that they were prevented from working together successfully. But each was powerfully aware of the other's work.

The artistic success of *Citizen Kane* (1941) and the commercial success of *Henry V* allowed Welles to pitch an idea to Republic Pictures that it finance a low-budget film of *Macbeth* to be shot in twenty-three days as evidence, he hoped, that Shakespeare could be brought to the large American film audience at minimal expense. Republic specialized in "B" films, especially Westerns, and was taken with the idea of linking itself with Shakespeare's high art but at the low cost of a B film. At virtually the same moment Olivier was shooting his decidedly high-art film of *Hamlet* where he used a variety of film techniques that Welles had pioneered in *Citizen Kane*, especially deep-focus photography, where images in both the rear and front of the frame are held in equally clear focus. Welles's *Macbeth* repeatedly reveals its limited budget (the costumes, and especially the hats and headpieces, are risible to the first-time viewer) and its rapid and experimental shooting schedule (the soundtrack is confusing because of Welles's decision to pre-record the dialogue using Scottish accents and lip-synch the actual filmed performances). The film creates a radically surreal visual atmosphere that is perfectly resonant with Welles's performance of the title-character. Welles, as director and actor, creates one particularly indelible image. The interiors of Macbeth's castle were shot in an abandoned silver mine used in several Republic Westerns. When Macbeth receives the news that while Banquo has been murdered Fleance has escaped, Welles shoots himself in medium close-up trapped against one of the mine's black walls, which oozes precipitation as a similar bead of sweat runs down Welles's bug-eyed, terror-stricken face. The image tells us as powerfully as Shakespeare's words that Macbeth is "cabined, cribbed, confined, bound in/To saucy doubts and fears" (3.4.23–24).

Welles was the first established Shakespearean to experiment radically with ideas about translating Shakespeare from stage to screen, in this case through a willingness to allow visual images to take precedence over spoken images. His film of *Othello* (1952) moved even more successfully in that direction. By now the Hollywood studios regarded Welles, much as they did Shakespeare, as box-office poison. He left for Europe in search of financing just as avant-garde directors in France and Italy and Sweden were transforming the film landscape with low-budget, independently financed, highly personal films. Welles was a cinema hero, especially for the French, and now he was one of them as well. Welles's *Othello* is the most remarkable film in the ever-expanding collection of North American Shakespeare films. The story of its making almost eclipses the story it tells on screen. It inspired the best book on the making of a Shakespeare film ever written, Micheál MacLiammóir's *Put Money in Thy Purse* (1972); the only full-length television documentary we have on a Shakespeare film (*Filming Othello*, 1978); and it became the only Shakespeare winner of the Palme d'Or at the Cannes Film Festival. The film was shot in Morocco and Italy over a period of two years, as Welles repeatedly had to suspend shooting when he ran out of money. He would then take a few film-acting jobs to replenish the budget before reassembling his cast. He also sold the film's rights several times to different backers, a strategy which meant that the film went unseen, after its initial release, for over twenty-five years while the ownership issues were being resolved.

Welles's *Othello* is a black-and-white feast for the cineaste. From its opening sequence of the funerals of Othello (Welles) and Desdemona (Suzanne Cloutier) – with Iago (MacLiammóir) hanging suspended in a cage above the procession to the final overhead shot peering down on the bed where Othello strangles Desdemona – the film is full of startling images. Welles employs a vivid chiaroscuro effect to capture the mingling of Othello's and Iago's shadows into "one murderous image" (MacLiammóir 1972: 28). He uses repeated overhead shots to look down into the fetid sewers where Cassio (Michael Laurence) and Roderigo (Robert Coote) slosh in the riot that will arouse their General from his wedding bed, and low-angle shots to peer up through the wooden slats in the great Turkish bath scene of Iago's quarrel with Roderigo, with the actors dressed in nothing but terrycloth towels as a Wellesian invention to cover for the costumes which had not yet arrived from Rome. Most prominently, Welles created the famous shot where his Othello stares into the mirror where he sees not only his own but also Desdemona's and Iago's reflections as Iago plants the poison about Desdemona's infidelity. Yes, the film is like *Macbeth* plagued with soundtrack problems. Yes, the film suffers continuity problems, no surprise given its shooting schedule and changing locations. Yes, Welles's black-face make-up varies from scene to scene, again because the Othello who steps from one room into another may in fact be stepping from a room in Venice to another in Viterbo months later. And yes, it is a great film best appreciated after watching four or five more conventional Shakespeare films.

But as great as Welles's *Othello* is as film art, it is surpassed by his retelling of the Falstaff–Hal story in *Chimes at Midnight* (1965). This film, anticipating the practice of later Shakespeare cinema, features a luminous international cast including Welles (Figure 11.1), John Gielgud, Keith Baxter, Jeanne Moreau, Norman Rodway, Marina Vlady, Walter Chiari, Fernando Rey, Margaret Rutherford, Alan Webb, and Welles's young daughter Beatrice. For Welles, Falstaff was not just a rich role to be played but



Figure 11.1 Orson Welles as Falstaff in *Chimes at Midnight* (1965; dir. Orson Welles; Alpine Films/Internacional Films).
Courtesy of Ronald Grant Archive

something of an alter ego to be cherished. The man and the character share a love of conversation, good fellowship, magical thinking, clever wit, and gormandizing, while looking to catch the main chance but always failing to seize the opportunity when it appears. Welles associates Falstaff with his notion of merry old England, a green-world version of the golden age when the joys of the flesh and festive revelry triumphed over the material and religious demands of everyday existence. Welles's Falstaff does have a keen eye out for his own advancement, but otherwise he does not have any sharpness in his ample body. He adores Hal, and his tragedy is that he fails to see that the source of his downfall will be his own pupil.

Welles builds the texture of his film from the contrast between stone (the court of Henry IV) and timber (Falstaff's tavern). He repeatedly shoots John Gielgud on a high platform in the abandoned cathedral at Cardonna (which serves as Westminster in the film) from a low angle, further elevating the King's separation from his subjects and his son. Welles's camera captures small shafts of light streaming through the cathedral's clerestory windows, making visible the King's cold breath as it travels upwards and away from those stirring to revolt after what they perceive to be Henry's high-handed behaviour. By contrast, the timber of the Boar's Head feels lived in and human as it contains the festive swirl that surrounds Falstaff. Welles's camera frames Falstaff against the tavern's rafters, enhancing his size and the benign warmth that glows from his ruddy cheeks. The cathedral is high, narrow, cold, and impregnable; the tavern is huge, wide, warm, and inviting. One radiates power, the other pleasure. The film, at key moments, appropriately places Hal between these two settings as he is caught between the two fathers they define and contain. Each

of these moments comes as Hal is saying goodbye to Falstaff for reasons understood within the conventional narrative but coming to signal symbolically Hal's eventual rejection of the comically subversive father as clearly as his chilling "I do; I will" at the end of the play extempore (1 *Henry IV*, 2.5.486).

Welles's screenplay is as intelligent as the images it inspires from his camera. There are repeated brilliant cuts from one scene to the next created by Welles's rearrangement of Shakespeare's text. One example will have to stand for many. Hotspur, still roiling from his confrontation with the King about his prisoners, turns his attention to his rival, Hal, dismissing him by commenting that he could have him "poisoned with a pot of ale" (1 *Henry IV*, 1.3.231). Welles then cuts to a close-up of the bottom of a tankard that is tipped to Hal's lips as he enjoys his life of cakes and ale at the Boar's Head. The quick cut inspired by Hotspur's line links the two young rivals even as it reveals the distance between the landscapes they inhabit: rebel politics and private pleasures. We have come to expect large cinematic effects in Welles's Shakespeare films when the soundtrack is filled only with silence or the film score. *Chimes at Midnight* is no exception. Welles makes the Gad's Hill robbery scene, shot in Madrid's El Retiro Park, a little comic masterpiece, and the Battle of Shrewsbury has rightly taken its place in film history next to those brilliant battle scenes by Sergei Eisenstein, D.W. Griffith, Akira Kurosawa, John Ford, and Steven Spielberg. In *Chimes at Midnight* Welles finally brought the verbal and the visual into harmony, and in the process created what many believe is the greatest American Shakespeare film ever made.

HOLLYWOOD-STUDIO SHAKESPEARE

Although Welles, metaphorically speaking, took the American Shakespeare film from the Hollywood studio to the European street, his move was not the end of Hollywood studio Shakespeare. As Welles was exploring new ways of bringing Shakespeare to the screen, Hollywood finally managed to make a good Shakespeare film its way: sound-stage shooting; a cast of Anglo-American stars; and a studio director with a degree in English from Columbia and several Best Picture Oscars to his credit. In 1953 Joseph Mankiewicz shot a film of *Julius Caesar* on the back lots at MGM using the sets left over from *Quo Vadis* (1951). He gathered together an all-star cast made up of stage and screen actors meant to demonstrate that film actors were vital to the success of an American Shakespeare movie. The cast included James Mason, Edmond O'Brien, Louis Calhern, Deborah Kerr, and Greer Garson. The most daring and notorious pair were John Gielgud and Marlon Brando (Figure 11.2). Gielgud was regarded by many as the greatest living English classical actor after Olivier, but was an actor by self-admission far more comfortable on stage than screen. Brando, on the basis of his performances in *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1951) and *Viva Zapata!* (1952), was already being hailed as the greatest screen actor of his generation. Gielgud spoke the text with the plummy resonance of the classically trained actor; Brando was known as the great mumblar, having been trained at the Actors Studio in New York, where subtext trumped text; but he went to school to Gielgud and to Shakespeare's verse rhythms, and produced the finest performance in the film. The film is a triumph of literary and film formalism. Mankiewicz keeps the camera focused on his actors, who are linked in tight geometrical patterns; and Brando's performance is a lesson in film acting. His eyes are as expressive as his speech, yet he does not slight Shakespeare's

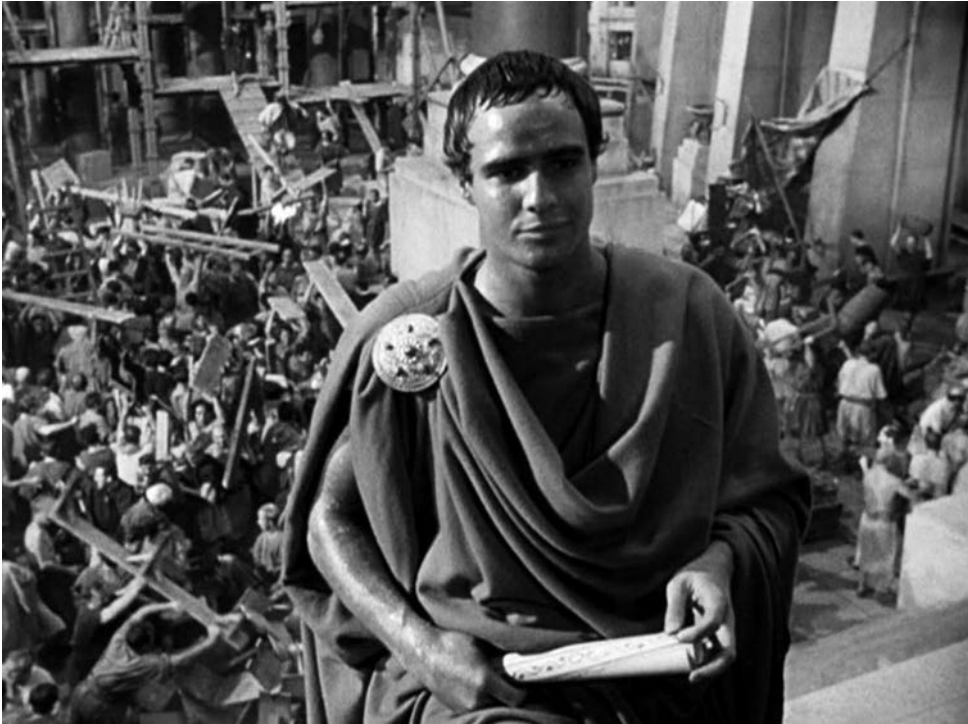


Figure 11.2 Marlon Brando as Antony in *Julius Caesar*
(1953; dir. Joseph L. Mankiewicz, MGM).
Courtesy of Ronald Grant Archive

rhetorical tricks in the funeral oration; and he even manages one last, subtle film detail of his own as he turns from the crowd he has transformed into a mob and gives the camera a sly, silent smile.

It might seem odd to claim Franco Zeffirelli for Hollywood rather than Rome, but he created the first great international studio Shakespeare in the history of the genre: his 1968 *Romeo and Juliet*. By the late 1960s the Hollywood studio was on its last legs as the conceiver, producer, maker, and distributor of mass-entertainment films. Studios no longer controlled actors and directors with long-term contracts committed to making several films a year on studio back lots and soundstages. The new Hollywood was a mingling of money and market. Now studios only rarely developed their own product from script to final cut. Instead, they packaged deals based on ideas brought to them by independent producers, maverick directors, powerful stars, and even successful screen-writers. The Paramount that distributed Zeffirelli's *Romeo and Juliet* in 1968 bore little resemblance to the big-studio MGM of the mid-thirties that created Irving Thalberg's version of Shakespeare's tale of the star-crossed lovers. Zeffirelli's film had several primary backers from England and Italy, including the famed Dino De Laurentiis; it was distributed by Paramount; its cast was as international as that for Welles's *Chimes at Midnight* (but not as star-laden) and

came from England, Ireland, Italy, and Argentina; it was shot on location in Tuscany and Umbria, and at the famed Cinecittà Studios in Rome; and it was a block-buster – the first Shakespeare film to compete with commercial Hollywood films and make a robust profit.

Zeffirelli's film was perfectly attuned to its historical moment, appearing late in the decade of the 1960s, which had been dominated by the energy, passion, and excesses of the youth movement in America, England, and continental Europe. It was heady, fast-paced, shot largely on location with handheld cameras, sexy (well . . . as sexy as a Shakespeare film had managed to be by that time), enhanced by its lavish Renaissance setting and by Nino Rota's lush film score. Zeffirelli was a unique figure in post-war European culture. As a stage director he had been mentored by Laurence Olivier; as a filmmaker, by Luchino Visconti; as a director of Grand Opera, by Corrado Pavolini. He deftly employed key ingredients from all three art-forms in the making of his *Romeo and Juliet*. Not surprisingly, the financial success of the film was not lost on Hollywood; and soon thereafter financing was completed for Roman Polanski's film of *Macbeth* (1971) to be largely underwritten by Hugh Hefner's Playboy Enterprises, yet another example of low (this time magazine) art attaching itself to movie Shakespeare as a means of elevating its cultural ambitions.

If Zeffirelli's film reopened the door to Hollywood interest in Shakespeare on film, however, Polanski's quickly closed it. On the surface it appeared that Polanski's *Macbeth* was geared towards the youth audience that had made *Romeo and Juliet* a triumph. It had a savvy European film director fresh from an Academy Award nomination for *Rosemary's Baby* (1967); a young English cast devoid of stars but with experience working both on stage and screen; a naked Lady Macbeth (Francesca Annis); location shooting in Wales and Scotland in Technicolor; a hip dissonant film score created largely for bagpipe and bass guitar from the rock group Third Ear Band; and visual insistence on the play's violence. But this time the mix did not attract a large commercial audience. The film failed at the box-office but has become a favourite of many Shakespeare-on-film critics who hail its cinematic virtues, including intelligent cross-cutting; the impact of the visual landscape on the psychological density of both *Macbeth* and *Lady Macbeth*; clever use of editing and voice-over in several of *Macbeth*'s soliloquies; and the refusal to look away from the play's murderousness even if the film shows us some graphic violence that is only reported in the text (for instance, the killing of Duncan).

Two other Shakespeare films were made at this moment in the early 1970s – Peter Brook's *King Lear* (1971) and Charlton Heston's *Antony and Cleopatra* (1972) – and they were both box-office failures as well. Heston's film never even found an American distributor. Together the three films represented the work of a heady young Polish film director who had proved he could make successful Hollywood films as well as arthouse favourites; the age's most famous experimental English stage director of Shakespeare whose productions for the Royal Shakespeare Company of *King Lear* (1964) and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1970) became instant legends; and one of Hollywood's biggest stars willing to risk much of his own fortune to make a Shakespeare film. All three failed to produce a film that turned a profit. Hollywood producers shoved Shakespeare out and locked the doors behind him: "Go . . . let him smell his way to Dover," they seemed to say.

Shakespeare was a presence in the big-studio period, however, not only as text but as subtext. With a few key exceptions, Hollywood struggled to get Shakespeare's text expressed in a manner that worked on film; it had better success when it simply raided him for ideas, plots, and characters. Hollywood managed to incorporate elements of Shakespeare in almost every major film genre, including the Western, screwball comedy, the gangster film, *film noir*, the thriller, and science fiction. Two years before Olivier made his patriotic *Henry V*, the great German director Ernst Lubitsch, with his aim also firmly set on the Nazis, made a brilliant comedy with Jack Benny and Carole Lombard, *To Be or Not to Be* (1942). The film uses a production of *Hamlet* and Shylock's speech from *The Merchant of Venice* ("Hath not a Jew eyes?") to shame, send up, and outwit Hitler and his Polish collaborators comically.

After the war, Ronald Colman won the Academy Award for Best Actor by playing a psychologically disturbed actor performing Othello in the film *A Double Life* (1947). Colman's character eventually becomes so overwrought that he kills the poor waitress (Shelley Winters) he has grown to confuse with Desdemona, and comes close to strangling the actress (who is also his former wife) playing Desdemona as well. The director, George Cukor, getting a second and more comfortable crack at Shakespeare, cleverly makes *Othello* feel at home in the world of Hollywood *film noir*. In 1956 Fred Wilcox made a science-fiction film, *Forbidden Planet*, that is an outer-space version of *The Tempest* with Prospero transformed into Dr Morbius (Walter Pidgeon), the only survivor – along with his daughter Altaira and their robot Robby (a mingling of Ariel and Caliban) – of the expedition of their spaceship, Bellerophon, to the planet Altair-4. The film, appropriate for America's preoccupation in the 1950s with both space and the concept of the mad scientist, seizes on the Faustian elements in Shakespeare's late romance, and makes Morbius ultimately closer to one of Marlowe's great overreaching subversive heroes than to Prospero. But once again Hollywood finds a way to reclaim and reframe Shakespeare imaginatively for the movies, and *Forbidden Planet* has influenced space-travel melodramas from *Star Trek* (1979) to *Interstellar* (2014).

This pattern of Hollywood creating a series of ur-Shakespeare films to appeal to a market preferring to receive a touch of the classics in more familiar contemporary forms has persisted into our own age. In the past twenty-five years films ranging from cartoons like *The Lion King* (1994) and *Gnomeo and Juliet* (2011), to high-school teen flicks like *10 Things I Hate About You* (1999) and *O* (2001), to musical fantasias like *Were the World Mine* (2009) and *Hamlet 2* (2008), to Westerns like *The King of Texas* (2002) have flowed along in equal if not greater numbers than the many Shakespeare films that suddenly blossomed in the 1990s. One of these films, John Madden's *Shakespeare in Love*, even managed to win the Academy Award for Best Picture in 1998, edging out Steven Spielberg's massive block-buster about the Normandy invasion, *Saving Private Ryan*.

One of the sweetest and craziest of such adaptations is perhaps Anglophone Canada's greatest contribution to Shakespeare on film, *Strange Brew* (1983). The film grew out of sketch material Dave Thomas and Rick Moranis invented for SCTV, the Canadian version of *Saturday Night Live*. Thomas and Moranis played the McKenzie brothers, Bob and Doug, and their comedy was meant to be a daft parody of Canadian culture composed largely of beer, hockey, and doughnuts. For *Strange Brew* they went after bigger game, Shakespeare and *Hamlet*. In the film, Bob and Doug are loopy

Canadian versions of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, Hamlet's clueless schoolmates. Perpetually out of money for beer, they come up with a scheme involving a mouse (yes, there is a mouse stirring in this Denmark) in a beer bottle to discredit the Elsinore Brewery. When they confront the management they are quickly given jobs, rather than the cases of beer for which they had hoped, on the production line run by Henry Green. Green is played by Douglas Campbell, one of Canada's great Shakespearean actors, who is sadly wasted here. In their own dull and plodding way, Bob and Doug eventually come to discover that more is rotten in this Elsinore than the beer.

In a wild and whirling plot Doug and Bob, while rarely understanding exactly what is going on, manage to aid the Ophelia-figure, Pam (whose father was the original owner of the brewery before being murdered by his brother Claude and the prime villain, Brewmeister Smith), in regaining control of the brewery and preventing the Brewmeister (played with wicked relish by Max von Sydow) from taking over the world by distributing beer contaminated with a mind-controlling drug. The film jettisons Hamlet himself, but gives power and agency to Ophelia/Pam (Lynne Griffin) by having her actively oppose her uncle and his evil partner. While the film's inspiration, setting, and script were all Canadian, it was financed and distributed by Hollywood's MGM, who made a tidy profit. A long-planned sequel, *Home Brew*, was never made. Canada's other major contributions to Shakespearean adaptations include André Forcier's *Une histoire inventée* (1990), an *Othello* spin-off, and Yves Desgagnés's *Roméo et Juliette* (2006), a retelling of the famous story in French which updates the setting to contemporary Quebec, where the lovers are trapped between Juliet's father, a Superior Court judge, and Romeo's, a gangster.

INDEPENDENT SHAKESPEARE

Although major film adaptations of Shakespeare's texts largely disappeared from the movies in the 1970s and 1980s, Shakespeare was not long absent from the television screen, as in 1975 the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) announced an ambitious plan to make television productions of all his plays. For the next decade those BBC productions, broadcast at the rate of three or four per year, dominated Shakespeare on screen. Attempts to finance Shakespeare-on-film projects in Hollywood were met not only with the old bromide (Shakespeare is box-office poison) but also with a new excuse: why would an audience pay to see Shakespeare when they are getting him for free on television? One small British film changed these attitudes. The release and subsequent critical and commercial success of Kenneth Branagh's film of *Henry V* in 1989 sparked a renaissance in the making of Shakespeare films in Hollywood and the world. Paradoxically, Branagh's film had been produced without a single bit of "film" money. Studios and producers in both England and America spurned his advances, and *Henry V* was made using private money raised from bankers and traders in London's financial market. Once the film was released, however, it was critically lauded; nominated for six Academy Awards, including Best Picture, Best Actor, and Best Director; and modestly profitable for its backers. Consequently, Hollywood was eager to get on the Shakespeare bandwagon. As Al Pacino, who had been pitching a film of *Richard III* in Hollywood for over a decade, remarked: "Branagh opened it all up with *Henry V*. Now you say Shakespeare on Film in Hollywood and people listen" (quoted in Rosenthal 2000: 215).

The 1989 release of Branagh's *Henry V* coincided with two important micro- and macro-events. On the macro-level, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Empire brought the end of the Cold War and momentarily opened up the possibilities of Hollywood films taking on more mature subject-matter than the endless cycle of apocalyptic, doomsday, spy, and horror films it had manufactured for years to appeal to an audience living in an anxious world. The micro-event, also dating from 1989, was the rise of the independent-film movement defined by the success of Branagh's film in England and by Steven Soderbergh's *sex, lies and videotape* in America. Soderbergh's movie proved that serious films shot on minimal budgets could, if properly marketed and distributed, produce substantial profits. Miramax is the company most associated with the rise of the independent film (known in the industry as "indies"); but it was quickly joined by others, including Samuel Goldwyn, Pathé, Fine Line, Fox Searchlight, and Castle Rock. Some of these companies were completely independent, like Miramax, while others were new divisions carved out of major studios to specialize in identifying finished small-budget films with commercial potential when they were screened at major film festivals like Cannes and Sundance.

Shakespeare rode the commercial success of Branagh's *Much Ado About Nothing* (1993) and Baz Luhrmann's *William Shakespeare's Romeo + Juliet* (1996), and the capitalization of the independent film company, throughout the decade of the 1990s back into film history. That decade produced the richest trove of Shakespeare films in the history of the genre, and made Shakespeare a global film phenomenon. Although independent studio money at least partially backed almost all of the eighteen major Shakespeare films released in the decade, only six of the films can be regarded as largely American: Zeffirelli's *Hamlet* (1990), Pacino's *Looking for Richard* (1996), Luhrmann's *William Shakespeare's Romeo + Juliet* (1996), Michael Hoffman's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1999), Julie Taymor's *Titus* (1999), and Michael Almereyda's *Hamlet* (2000). It may seem odd to claim Zeffirelli (an Italian) and Luhrmann (an Australian) for North American Shakespeare on film, but Zeffirelli's film is Hollywood-driven by its two stars, Glenn Close and Mel Gibson, and was financed by Paramount Pictures and Gibson's own film company, Icon. Luhrmann's *Romeo + Juliet* is also driven by its two American teenage stars, features a cast dominated by other American actors, and was financed by Twentieth Century Fox. What we can see about all of these films is that they participate in an Anglo-American alliance increasingly uniting all English-language Shakespeare films, including those produced in Britain. Even Pacino's very American *Looking for Richard* finds itself across the Atlantic in London interviewing British scholars, actors, and directors about Richard III and *Richard III*, with the scholars included mainly for comic relief.

Perhaps the most richly American film of the 1990s, which does not participate in an Anglo-American alliance, is Michael Almereyda's *Hamlet*. As Almereyda acknowledges, his film is, in the Welles tradition, a "rough charcoal sketch" of the play made with the understanding that "you don't need lavish production values to make a Shakespeare movie that is accessible and alive. Shakespeare's language is, after all, lavish enough" (2000: vii). Almereyda is fierce in cutting the text, retaining less than 25 per cent, and in rearranging what he keeps. He repeatedly reminds us that we are watching his film, not Shakespeare's play – the first Wellesian rule in successfully translating Shakespeare from stage to screen. Almereyda's setting is quintessentially

American – corporate Manhattan – and his cast includes: the Hollywood leading man Ethan Hawke; the greatest of living American dramatists, Sam Shepard; the young *ingénue* then a student at Yale, Julia Stiles; one of America's great comic actors, Bill Murray; a television star, Kyle MacLachlan; and Diane Venora, perhaps the only actress ever to play Ophelia, Hamlet (for Joseph Papp's New York Shakespeare Festival), and Gertrude.

Almeryda situates his film in a media-saturated world where spirit, imagination, and intelligence are all controlled and imprisoned by image. Media-spun, often hypocritical appearances replace reality. People and events are effaced by the media, and the chief mode of observation is private surveillance. Security cameras are everywhere; television sets flicker in the background of boardrooms, limousines, bars, hotel rooms, and working spaces; Ophelia is fitted with a wire for her fateful interview with Hamlet; messages are sent by fax, received by answering machine; and the powerful communicate via laptops. Everything in the film is mediated: even the Manhattan settings are captured as mirrors sending back reflection, not reality. To counter this corporate hypocrisy, Almeryda provides his Hamlet with a Fisher-Price toy, a pixel-driven video recorder by which Hamlet attempts to subvert Claudius's narrative with his own. The film is distinguished by several fine performances, especially Shepard's stern Ghost with a handkerchief still pressed to his poisoned ear; Murray's concerned Polonius casually reaching over to tie Ophelia's sneakers; and Stiles's young Ophelia determined to exercise her independence, only to suffer a heart-wrenching breakdown at a corporate reception at the Guggenheim Museum. Hawke's Hamlet is curiously passive, hiding behind a pair of shades and disappearing within his video-version of the dysfunctional family romance.

Almeryda's film is an impudent American response to the overreach of Branagh's complete-text, four-hour film version of the play; but neither film found success at the box-office. This lack of success proved true of most of the Shakespeare films released in the latter half of the decade – with the exception of Hoffman's star-studded *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1999) – as each in its own way became more experimental and pushed the boundaries of the Shakespeare film towards the epic, the movie musical, the surreal fantasia, or even film as community project. Many of these efforts were remarkable aesthetic achievements, especially Taymor's *Titus*, but they failed to find an audience at the cinema, although many have had solid sales in DVD versions. Once again the funding for the Shakespeare film on both sides of the Atlantic dried up. The catastrophe of 9/11 took its toll as Hollywood turned its eyes again to film stories with apocalyptic themes, this time about terror and terrorism, meant to appeal to an audience once again caught up in an overarching narrative about the world on the brink. The Shakespeare film, in England and America, did not disappear with the coming of the new century; but it returned to a former pattern, a new Shakespeare film being released once every two or three years rather than following a trend of several films being released each year, as had been the case in the 1990s.

GLOBAL SHAKESPEARE

The major new development of the Shakespeare film in the new century is its reach beyond Europe and North America into India, China, Africa, and Latin America, as

outlined in Mark Thornton Burnett's comprehensive study: *Shakespeare and World Cinema*. As he argues:

Prising the Bard away from Hollywood . . . allows for other kinds of interconnections – and transnational commerce – to come into view. It facilitates adjustments to enshrined visions and it means that a more generous remit for Shakespeare studies can be endorsed.

(Burnett 2013: 3)

Aware of these geographic and cultural shifts, Julie Taymor's *The Tempest*, the most interesting American Shakespeare film to appear in the twenty-first century, sets Prospero's island not in the Mediterranean or the Atlantic but in the Pacific, acknowledging in this turn to the East a film aesthetic influenced by her own early training in the magic of light and shadow in Indonesian puppet-theatre. Hawaii's volcanic islands become a more significant landscape for Taymor's transformation of Prospero into Prospera and Helen Mirren's heroic attempt to reconcile maternity and power than a slip of land off the coast of Algeria or the "still vexed Bermoothes."

The tension in North American Shakespeare on film between films conceived for the cineplex or the arthouse is likely to persist. But big-studio spectacular Shakespeare is dead. Shakespeare films, with Shakespeare's language, will continue to get made, but only by directors consumed and driven by their Shakespearean material, as Almereyda's *Cymbeline* (2015) attests. They will be made on arthouse, independent film budgets and will reach the cineplex only if they manage to catch Shakespearean lightning in a commercial bottle, as happened with Luhrmann's *Romeo + Juliet* and Branagh's *Much Ado About Nothing*. New energies and ideas for the next generation of Shakespeare films are most likely to come from the brave new world economic power-houses: Brazil, China, and India. Such films, wedded to indigenous film genres like India's Bollywood or the Chinese epic, may well restore the spectacular to the aesthetics of Shakespeare on film – as Sherwood Hu's bright, bold Tibetan version of *Hamlet, The Prince of the Himalayas* (2006), so vigorously suggests; but for North American Shakespeare, it is Orson Welles's example that will continue to triumph rather than MGM's.

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CHAPTER TWELVE

SHAKESPEARE ON FILM IN ASIA



Alexa Huang

“My angel!” A woman’s voice is heard outside a hut in the snow in Kashmir in 1995, a landscape devoid of colour other than mostly black, white, and deep blue. Ghazala’s son, Haider, a lone fighter, is hiding inside the severely damaged hut. Having sustained gunshot wounds, he is surrounded by the soldiers led by his uncle Khurram, who plans to kill him with a shoulder-launched rocket; but Ghazala, caught between her lover and her son, who is intent on avenging his father’s death, convinces Khurram to give her one last chance to persuade Haider to give up his revenge plan and surrender. Soft-spoken, Ghazala may not appear to be a particularly strong woman at first glance, but she is taking on the active role of a liaison, negotiator, and now a game-changer.

Family issues and personal identity are tragically entangled in terrorism, politics, and national identity when Haider responds to his mother’s plea that “there is no greater pain than to see the corpse of your own child” by reasserting that he cannot “die without avenging the murder of one’s father.” His moral compass is clearly pointing in a different direction. His mother does not believe politics should and can take precedence over love. His mother’s love is apparent, but it is not enough to change Haider’s mind. In her desperate last attempt to turn her son around, Ghazala spells out what is one of the most significant themes of Vishal Bhardwaj’s 2014 film *Haider*: “revenge begets revenge; revenge does not set us free. True freedom lies beyond revenge.” The clash between the world-views of the mother and her son is tragic.

What follows is a moving scene in which a determined mother sacrifices her own life to save her son. Ghazala kisses Haider goodbye and walks out towards Khurram and his men. Once standing in front of them, she opens her coat to reveal a suicide vest consisting of numerous hand-grenades. As everyone runs away from her, Khurram and Haider rush towards Ghazala but are unable to stop her. Bhardwaj’s choice of slow motion accentuates the impossible weight of time. Khurram and Haider finally realize what is at stake, only too late. They race against time to save their lover and mother, but they are up against time – linear time. Nothing can be turned back; life can be lived only in forward motion.

The blast kills everyone except Haider, who is spared because he is farther away, and Khurram, who loses his legs and is severely injured. For a brief moment, the flame over Ghazala's remains brings, in an eerie way, both warmth and despair to Haider's face as he stands over the carnage. He wastes no time to mourn his mother, picking up a pistol and walking towards Khurram, now crawling in the snow, to take his revenge. As the camera pans over the two blood-covered figures against a background of blood-stained snow, two competing voices are heard in the voice-over: that of Haider's father, "Aim bullets at those cunning, deceiving eyes that entrapped your mother," followed by the plea of Haider's mother for him to give up his revenge mission. Haider eventually spares Khurram's life and walks away, leaving him howling in the snow, begging for Haider to "finish him off." It is ambiguous whether Haider spares Khurram because his mother's death has shown him the path to love and peace, or because finishing him off, in view of Khurram's circumstances, is a charitable act rather than revenge.

For students familiar with Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, despite divergences in plot and characterization, it should become apparent that we are watching an Indian film adaptation of the tragedy. There are explicit and more subtle parallels and echoes among Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Indian history, and *Haider*: the figures of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern can be seen in the video-store owners (Suman and Suman) in the film; the talented journalist Arshia finds herself on a path leading towards Ophelia's tragic life thanks to her father and brother. Like *Hamlet*, *Haider* explores dramatic ambiguity. How much does the Gertrude figure know about Claudius's plan to kill Hamlet? Does she consciously intervene to save Hamlet? If so, does her act of self-sacrifice give her more agency in a man's world? As Tony Howard points out, *Haider*'s ending "poses uncomfortable contemporary questions about suicide and revenge – and the ability of Shakespeare's texts to help us answer them" (2015: 51). The ending of *Haider* is ambiguous, as we are not shown whether or how Haider finds a new path in life; rather, we see rolling intertitles which bring us back to our contemporary reality. The information given here is largely positive, and hints at the reconciliation between India and Pakistan over the territorial conflict:

In the last two decades, thousands of lives have been lost in the Kashmir conflict. The last few years of relative peace have renewed hope. With tourism growing from just 4.2 million tourists in 1995 to 140 million tourists in 2013, . . .

Self-conscious about the film's portrayal of the Indian soldiers, the filmmaker decides to provide a counterbalance:

In the recent devastating floods in Kashmir, the Indian army saved the lives of thousands of civilians. We salute their efforts and their valour. Principal photography for this film was entirely conducted in Kashmir without any disruptions.

Conflicts generate drama, and drama on and behind the screen creates great films. Ben Jonson's much-quoted praise of Shakespeare for being not of an age, but for all time, suggests that one of the defining features of Shakespearean drama is its artistic malleability – a capacity to sustain conversations in differing historical contexts and thereby to give the impression that the works "transcend" time. But is Shakespeare

also for all places and media? Shakespeare has been a part of the film and popular cultures of various Asian countries, with *Romeo and Juliet*, *Macbeth*, and *Hamlet* at the centre of cinematic imaginations.

This chapter introduces readers to the rich intercultural contexts and visual texts of Asian film adaptations of Shakespeare, particularly those films' network of allusions to Eastern and Western visual sources, Shakespearean characterization, and Asian histories. What is entailed in the screening, in both senses of the verb, of Shakespeare in transnational audio-visual idioms? How do *Haider* and *Hamlet* talk to each other across cultural and historical divides? How are pre-linguistic structures of spectacle and music appropriated along with dramatic narratives in Shakespeare and the new screenplay? What are some of the common strategies to adapt Shakespeare to Asian cinemas?

ASIAN SHAKESPEARE FILMS PAST AND PRESENT

Japanese director Akira Kurosawa's *Throne of Blood* (his adaptation of *Macbeth*, 1957) and *Ran* (his adaptation of *King Lear*, 1985) – while now canonical in Anglophone education and the study of Shakespeare – are far from the earliest or the only Shakespeare films from Asia: there are also early twentieth-century silent-film adaptations. Around the time that actress Asta Nielsen's cross-dressed *Hamlet* (directed by Svend Gade and Heinz Schall, 1921) was filmed, gender-bending silent-film adaptations of *The Merchant of Venice* and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* were being made in Shanghai and marketed to the European expatriate and Chinese diasporic communities there and in Canton and Southeast Asia (see the Filmography at the end of Chapter 13). Since 1927, the Indian cinematic tradition has engaged Shakespearean motifs in diverse genres ranging from silent film and theatrical cinematization to feature films that localize the plays. Shakespeare films have been produced in India, Malaysia, Tibet, Hong Kong, Singapore, China, and Japan.

Some Asian films have not only become world classics but also influenced other films and theatre productions. *Throne of Blood* (Figure 12.1), for example, has inspired Taiwanese performer and director Wu Hsing-kuo's Beijing opera *The Kingdom of Desire* (1987); American playwright John R. Briggs's *Shogun Macbeth*, an English-language adaptation of Kurosawa on stage in New York (premiered in 1985); and an English stage version called *Throne of Blood*, visually faithful to the film and staged at the Oregon Shakespeare Festival (2010).

There has been an explosion of bold and imaginative filmic interpretations of Shakespeare's plays since the 1990s, many of which aim to attract audiences in multiple locations both East and West. The beginning of the new millennium is for Asian cinematic Shakespeares as the 1990s were for Anglophone Shakespeare on film. Asian Shakespeare films dazzle with unique visual, kinetic energy, aural and musical landscapes, and – often but not always – contemporary political significance. While Asian films are by no means devoid of speech, some scholars have observed a particular kind of freedom enjoyed mostly by non-Anglophone filmmakers, namely that “not needing to record in English on the soundtrack, [filmmakers such as Kurosawa] enjoyed the luxury of reinventing the plays in purely cinematic terms” (Rothwell 2004: 160). Likewise, British theatre director Tim Supple, who has produced *A Midsummer Night's Dream* with a pan-Asian cast in seven languages (Royal Shakespeare



Figure 12.1 Scene from *Throne of Blood* (1957; dir. Akira Kurosawa).
Courtesy of Toho Company

Company, 2005–06), focuses in his multilingual productions on Shakespearean narratives rather than the purportedly untranslatable language of Shakespeare’s poetic drama.

Asian-themed adaptations have also been produced outside Asia. For example, Sangeeta Datta directed *Life Goes On* (2009), a British-Indian film adaptation of *King Lear*. It is set and shot in contemporary London. The story revolves around an immigrant family of Hindus from Bengal. The film creates a cultural location that is neither here nor there, and the cross-cultural *double entendres* in the film raise questions about global heritage and the concept of homeland. If Anthony Chan’s Hong Kong film *One Husband Too Many* (1988) and Chee Kong Cheah’s Singaporean film *Chicken Rice War* (2000) reinterpreted *Romeo and Juliet* creatively, Baz Luhrmann’s *Romeo + Juliet* (1996) and John Madden’s *Shakespeare in Love* (1998) not only reinterpreted Shakespeare’s tragedy but also inspired creative reinterpretations of themselves. In 2006, Chinese director Feng Xiaogang adapted *Hamlet*, Hollywood visual language, and the martial-arts genre in his feature film *The Banquet*. *Angoor* (dir. Gulzar, 1982; based on *The Comedy of Errors*) and *The Last Lear* (dir. Rituparno Ghosh, 2007) suggest that the cultural flows no longer travel unilaterally from the West to the “rest.” The rash of new Shakespeare films from Asia may be the result of

increasingly aggressive transnationalizing strategies since the 1990s. Asian audio-visual idioms have been appropriated along with Shakespeare's texts.

SEEING DOUBLES

Last thing he did, dear Queen,
He kissed – the last of many doubled kisses –
This orient pearl.

Antony and Cleopatra (1.5.38–40)

The films considered here recast Shakespeare and Asia as condensed collective signifiers of cultural values through their double marketability for audiences in different locations. Outside their countries of origin, they attract audiences who are enthralled by the performance of the exotic, whether it is through Shakespearean or Asian motifs. Within their local markets, the name brand of an editorialized Anglophone Shakespeare helps boost their production value. Further, the co-presence of Shakespearean and Asian motifs in these films suggests that certain cinematic elements – such as Shakespeare's imagery and narrative patterns in tragedy, and conventionalized Bollywood dance and Chinese martial-arts sequences – are used as common denominators and bonding agents between different periods and cultures. Further, filmmakers (whatever their ethnicity or "origin") working with Asian motifs, aesthetics, or outlooks often have to contend with their own aesthetic or political visions and their regionally marked cultural identities. Their works respond to the competing demands to inhabit simultaneously the local and the global; in other words, to represent "Asia" on the world market and to be the conveyer of a "global West" to Asian audiences.

For example, we see doubles in director Ing Kanjanavanit's metatheatrical adaptation of *Macbeth*, *Shakespeare Must Die* (2012). The duality of its reception was anticipated in the parallel worlds depicted by *Shakespeare Must Die*. The general in *Macbeth*, which characters in the film are staging, takes the throne through a bloody series of murders; and he parallels a contemporary superstitious and murderous dictator known as Dear Leader. The two worlds collide when the players stage *Macbeth* in a world ruled by the dictator. Like *Haider*, *Shakespeare Must Die* is political in nature and critiques Thai politicians; its fate of being censored seems unavoidable. Shakespeare's tragedy serves as a platform to launch a difficult conversation about contemporary issues, as Ing said in an interview: "When Cambodians watch this they'll think it's Hun Sen. When Libyans watch it they would think it's Gaddafi" (Kennedy 2013).

Likewise, Haider's life experience and identity are full of paradoxes: the film engages with the notion of duality. Ironically, Haider's Muslim family send him away to university in the hope that he will not be religiously and politically radicalized. A student of "revolutionary poets of British India" (as he tells the Indian guard at the check-point), Haider returns to his homeland of militarized Kashmir in the midst of mid-1990s Pakistan–India conflicts upon the news of his dissident father's disappearance. Even the props carry this duality. Arshia (Ophelia) knits her father a red scarf, which he wears often and proudly; the same scarf is used to tie Haider's hands in a later scene. Many scenes, shot on site in Kashmir, are colourless and overwhelmed by the weight of politics. Politics means there are always more than two sides to the

story. Haider finds his mother in a relationship with his uncle, a high-ranking official. The play-within-a-play and grave-digger scenes are staged in the form of musical numbers. Cited at the beginning of this chapter, *Haider* (2014; in Hindi and Urdu), directed by Vishal Bhardwaj and written by the Kashmiri journalist Basharat Peer, is one of the latest Asian Shakespeare films. Similar to *Shakespeare Must Die*, which was banned in Thailand – even though, ironically, the Culture Ministry’s Office of Contemporary Art and Culture partially funded the production (Shakespeare News 2013) – *Haider* had a limited distribution in Asia and did not pass the Pakistani censor. It was screened in the US and UK, however, and is available now on DVD with English subtitles and reasonably easy to obtain in Canada, the US, and the UK. The same could not be said of other Asian Shakespeare films which are not available on VCD or DVD, do not have subtitles (in any language), or are not easy to obtain even if they have been commercially released.

Like Kurosawa’s, Bhardwaj’s international career is an exception rather than the norm for a large number of Asian directors. He is very well established; and he has also appropriated other Shakespearean tragedies previously and with success, including *Othello* (*Omkara*, 2006) and *Macbeth* (*Maqbool*, 2003). *Maqbool* is the first Indian film adaptation of Shakespeare to gain international recognition. As a bold period epic, *Maqbool* has been described as “*Macbeth* meets *The Godfather*” on its Internet Movie Database (IMDb) entry. It combines Bollywood gangster film, Muslim social drama, ethnography, and postmodernist artwork. For instance, the closing scene is connected to Luc Besson’s *Léon* (1994) through its visual strategies. The Macbeths inhabit both the present-day Mumbai criminal underworld and India’s film industry in an environment reminiscent of the world of the Scottish play. As an intensely Bollywood film with transnational networks of funding and artistic collaboration, *Maqbool* is self-conscious about its local as well as international audiences.

The double visions in Asian film adaptations are perhaps not surprising, because Shakespearean tragedy is often constructed on a framework of mighty opposites and sometimes irreconcilable differences. *Omkara* explores universals in human emotions through caste politics and gang culture. This adaptation of *Othello*, set in contemporary India, focuses on the notion of fraternity which, as Gitanjali Shahani and Brinda Charry point out, can in fact be fully understood only through the idea of otherness. One’s brother is an extension of oneself, but he is also an independent person, an “other” (2014: 174). *Omkara* (*Othello*) naïvely assumes that Tyagi (Iago), “our own brother,” will not be jealous and will surely understand Kesu’s (Cassio’s) promotion. The gang’s interest should always take precedence over its members’ individual needs, so goes the assumption. *Omkara*’s tragedy is his failure to realize the falsehood of this brotherly bond. The narrative about duality also corresponds with the reception of the film. The film offers “an international fraternity of art” – Bollywood cinema, Shakespeare, and Hollywood aesthetics; but the question remains: “Will popular Indian cinema ever be perceived across the world as being on par with Shakespeare?” (Shahani and Charry 2014: 175).

The narrative of the James Ivory film *Shakespeare Wallah* (1965) may signal the collapse of Shakespeare’s status in twentieth-century India. Its story about the fate of a touring British theatre company performing Shakespeare in post-independence India perhaps conveys “the end of cultural colonization.” By comparison, Bhardwaj’s internationally acclaimed films suggest the rise of local aesthetics in the post-national

marketplace (Singh 2008: 233). The double identities and visions of these Asian films are both exciting and confusing. Scholars have debated the dual visions of films such as *Shakespeare Wallah*, whether it is “an example of or a critique of cultural imperialism,” and the ethical burden and validity of intercultural exchange (Venning 2011: 162–63). The real challenge is in pinpointing not what an artwork is (a cultural-imperialist project or a site of cultural redemption), but rather how artists – across time and culture – listen to and respond to one another.

Beyond politics and multiple markets, filmmakers also have to contend with the inevitable tensions between various cultural sources and cinematic spaces. Several films compel us to reconsider our assumptions about the kinetic energy of Asian visual media and the textual foundation of English-language Shakespeare films. *The King and the Clown* (dir. Lee Joon-ik, 2005), set during the Joseon era, chronicles a king who hires a group of vagabond travelling players to help him catch the conscience of corrupt court officials. Like *Chicken Rice War*, the film thrives on the tension between theatrical presentation (play-within-a-play in the genre of *namsadang nori*) and cinematic narrative (the fabula of the film itself). The “mousetrap” play gradually supersedes the cinematic framework to become the primary, more interesting narrative. Like Kurosawa’s uses of traditional Japanese theatrical elements in his films, *The King and the Clown* draws attention to Korean theatrical traditions by frequently placing an emphasis, ironically, on the stage rather than the screen as a medium of expression.

LOCAL PLEASURE, GLOBAL BRAND

Depictions of the tension between the stage and the screen and metatheatrical frameworks are not unique to *Shakespeare Wallah* and *The King and the Clown*. In a college rehearsal of *Romeo and Juliet*, a stuttering student, Fenson Wong (Pierre Png), asks his drama coach if he may act the part of Romeo. The young lady playing Juliet, Audrey Chan (May Yee Lum), rolls her eyes and challenges her class-mate: “What makes you think that you can play Romeo? You don’t have the looks, and you can’t even speak properly.” She is quick to point out that another student, originally cast for the male lead, is eminently more qualified even if he cannot remember his lines: “Nick, on the other hand, looks like Leonardo DiCaprio. That’s why he’s Romeo.” Her protégé promptly supports her cause and leaves the aspiring thespian speechless.

The Singaporean *Chicken Rice War* parodies Hollywood rhetoric and global teen culture by commenting on the popularity of Baz Luhrmann’s 1996 film *William Shakespeare’s Romeo + Juliet*, starring Claire Danes and Leonardo DiCaprio, which brought the classic tale of power and passion to modern-day Verona Beach. Producer Daniel Yun pitched the film as “a very Singaporean experience. You can call it Singapore’s take on *Shakespeare in Love*. Or rather *Romeo and Juliet* at the hawker centre [a large food-stall market]” (quoted in Yong 2007: 141).

Eventually, Fenson gets the role and “cures” his stutter through reciting and performing Shakespeare. While recitation of Shakespearean passages seems to have “cured” Fenson of his stuttering, however, other scenes expose the instability of any illusion of Shakespeare’s universal utility. One family member asks during the bilingual performance: “Hey, aren’t they supposed to speak in English?” As Mark Thornton Burnett theorizes, such scenes “demolish the illusion that Shakespeare constitutes a universal

language” (2013: 134). The text of *Romeo and Juliet* haunts, informs, and structures *Chicken Rice War*, not only because rehearsals and a final performance of key scenes of the play parallel the action of the film, but also because these re-enactments serve as reminders of the film’s investment in critiquing the popular belief that enacting Anglo-European civilization is a staple of progressive global modernity.

Linguistically marked cultural difference also plays an important role in *Chicken Rice War*. The older generation converses in Cantonese, while the younger generation speaks mostly Singlish (an English patois used in Singapore). Marked linguistically, the feud between the two families appears both arbitrary and historically rooted. English, Singlish, and Cantonese serve as reminders of both the “Global West” and “New Asia” that Singapore embodies – “New Asia” being part of the government’s slogan for tourism development. The characters are aware of the cultural crossroads where they stand and where Singapore finds itself; the familiar trope of “star-crossed lovers” is turned inside out in this tragedy-turned-parody. Contrary to *The King and the Clown*, the tension between the stage and the screen as media of expression in *Chicken Rice War* leads to comedy of incongruity and mismatched identities on and off stage.

THE ART OF CITING SHAKESPEARE AND LOCAL HISTORIES

This artistic and market duality of Asian Shakespeare films is embodied in the making and reception of a notable, full-length silent film entitled *A Spray of Plum Blossoms* (1931), directed by Bu Wancang in China (available on DVD). Its engagement with contemporary politics parallels that of several films discussed so far, including *Haider*. Also known as *The Amorous Bandit*, the 110-minute silent film turned Shakespeare’s *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* into a chivalric romance about two self-determined modern women travelling from Shanghai to Canton (Guangzhou). Canton, China’s gateway to Hong Kong and Southeast Asia, stands in for Milan, where the men go to complete their education in male friendship and become knightly gentlemen. The “amorous bandit” refers to Hu Lunting (Valentine), an exile who leads a group of Robin Hood-style bandits identifying themselves as “A Spray of Plum Blossoms.” They vow to “help the weak and suppress the villains,” as the plum-blossom-marked notes they leave at crime scenes reveal. Another source for the film’s title is a classical Chinese poem composed by Hu Lunting (played by Jin Yan) and Shi Luohua (played by Lin Chuchu) on a rock in Shi’s garden, which is filled with plum blossoms. The setting, the characters’ names, and the codes governing social behaviours have been thoroughly localized.

The film boasts a stellar cast, including Ruan Lingyu, one of the most revered actresses of the 1930s. Her acclaimed roles and films include a patriot in *Three Modern Women* (*San ge modeng nüxing*, also directed by Bu Wancang, 1933) and a writer in *New Woman* (*Xin nüxing*, directed by Cai Chusheng, 1934). Before committing suicide in 1935 at the age of twenty-four, she appeared in twenty-nine films. In the culture of stardom, Ruan’s private life attracted as much media attention as her films. Her unhappy marriage, pending divorce, and affair with another man attracted vindictive coverage. Her extra-marital romantic interest and defiance of normative social roles assigned to women in real life seem to parallel her role in *A Spray of Plum Blossoms*.

Although the film was marketed as both a “domestic film” (national film *guopian*) and a “Great Picture of Knightly Love,” one of its advertisements clearly demonstrates the paradoxical nature of China’s cosmopolitan performance culture. The two couplets that frame the ad read:

Resist Foreign Cultural and Economic Invasions;
Propagate the Essential Virtues of Our Nation.

Down with Films That Are Nonartistic and Harmful to Society;
Regain the International Status of Domestic Films.

Similar to *Chicken Rice War*, *A Spray of Plum Blossoms* thrives at the crossroads of genres and cultures, and it does not shy away from its hybrid identity. The couplets and essentialist discourse become self-contradictory when one considers the film’s genre, style, and theme. Interestingly, the Lianhua Studio initially marketed the film as one of the “ten great [Chinese] works” with an “original screenplay by Huang Yicuo,” rather than cinema derived from Shakespeare, although the film itself opens with a quotation from *As You Like It* (with modernized spelling) and attributes it to Shakespeare: “All the world is a stage./ And men and women merely players.”

The film’s title marks its distance from the Shakespearean point of origin, and its opening sequence lays claim to Shakespeare but references a completely different Shakespearean play. As a result, the film seems to acknowledge local movie-goers’ desire for Western novelty; and yet at the same time it teasingly denies the validity of any sense of authenticity. *A Spray of Plum Blossoms* opens up a new vista where citation and appropriation – rather than translation – create and assert the authority of a new “original” in the transnational circuit of literary texts.

The opening sequence is followed by a statement in English that establishes the film’s mood: “Life’s adventure commences as college session terminates.” Hu Lunting (Valentine) and Bai Lede (Proteus) are recent graduates of a military academy ready to take on the world, although Bai Lede “knows more about girls than soldiers.” The cast list – first appearing in traditional Chinese characters and then in English – also provides the original names of Shakespearean characters, making it clear that the localized Chinese names are partly based on Chinese transliteration of the foreign names (for example, Julia as Zhuli). The cast members’ names are also listed in English as they were known outside the Chinese-speaking community: Lily Yuen (Ruan Lingyu), Lim Chocho (Lin Chuchu), Raymond King (Jin Yan), and so forth. The Lianhua Studio had clearly hoped for a large market that extended beyond China.

This film displaced the themes of fidelity and betrayal in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* into a female-centred frame of narration that was perceived by the filmmaker and the studio as more modern. Familial ties further complicate the gendered representation of Shakespeare’s characters. Hu Lunting (Valentine) is the brother of Hu Zhuli (Julia), and Shi Luohua (Silvia) is the daughter of Governor Shi of Canton (the Duke of Milan in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*) and the cousin of Bai Lede (Proteus). The Duke, who is unrelated to Proteus in Shakespeare, is now his uncle. The familial connections shift the audience’s attention to domestic matters. The film thus turns Shakespeare’s picaresque adventure into a *Bildungsroman* about two modern women.

While the film retains Shakespeare's two pairs of troubled lovers, the emphasis has been shifted to the roles of Hu Zhuli (played by Ruan Lingyu) and Shi Luohua. Ruan Lingyu departs from her previous melodramatic roles (e.g., a modern woman who is unable to resist her tragic fate) to play a witty and self-determined woman. In an early scene in which she sings and plays the song "I Am Willing" on the piano, the English intertitles introduce her as "Julia, sister of Valentine, a model of the modern maidens," and the Chinese intertitle describes her as "a modern woman ahead of her times." Throughout the film, she and Shi Luohua form a strong bond of sisterhood in masculine disguise or posture. The two "modern" women are often dressed in military costumes. Shakespeare's feisty Silvia becomes Shi Luohua, "a maiden with a spirit of masculinity" who often walks around with a horsewhip in hand and, in a prolonged scene, rides horses with her male peers. She also commands her male and female subordinates. After Hu Lunting is banished, Shi Luohua takes his position, showcasing "the way of a perfume general." The scene highlights the theatricality of a woman playing the role of a general, a situation that exists in fiction but not yet in real life. When Hu Zhuli arrives in Canton in search of Bai Lede (Proteus), her fiancé, Shi Luohua has her dress as a man and serve as her protégé. In Shakespeare's play, Silvia disguises herself to serve as Proteus's page. In the film, played by Ruan, Hu Zhuli appears in masculine military uniform. To make her transformation in Canton more dramatic, the film shows Hu Zhuli arriving in Canton in extremely feminine clothes and in tears, alone. Coupled with Ruan Lingyu's star power and the force of the market economy, the rhetoric of female agency helped turn Shakespeare's *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, a "shallow story of deep love" (I.I.21), into a *Bildungsroman* for two "gentlewomen" of Shanghai and Canton.

The image of these two women, accentuated by such epithets as "perfume general," fed into the dominant subgenre of the new martial-arts film commonly known as martial-heroine (*nüxia*) film, which expanded both the domestic and foreign markets for Chinese cinema. Zhen Zhang's study discusses several salient features in the narrative pattern of these films. The protagonist, usually a "maiden turned knight-errant," rescues another maiden in distress and "initiates the other maiden into the world of martial arts and knightly grace." The heroine often becomes the arbiter of a community. The theatrics of female agency mean that other characters are relegated to the background. The men they "love to hate" – in this case Bai Lede (Proteus) and Diao Li'ao (Thurio) – "serve as mere foils to the two 'gentlewomen'" (Zhen Zhang cited in Huang 2009: 121).

Of special interest is a scene in *A Spray of Plum Blossoms* where Shi Luohua takes over Hu Lunting's position as chief of the military police squad. As she takes command, she walks in military uniform, sabre hanging from her waist, to the front of the squad in a courtyard as her squad salutes her. But she dons a striped skirt and wears her hair long instead of tucking it into the officer's cap. The androgynous quality underscores at once her femininity and her transformation: she appears in the same costume at the end of the film. As a result, the film adds a twist to the popular female-knight genre by interrogating the gendered imagination of the figure of the new woman as necessarily masculine in appearance and outlook. Hu Zhuli and Shi Luohua's androgynous quality also reflects the widespread anxiety about the hybrid identity of the new woman, which is located between tradition and modernity, and between variously defined gender roles.

Interestingly, the central position of the two women in the film anticipates the general sentiments of late twentieth-century Shakespeare criticism. As one of the least appreciated and performed Shakespearean plays, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* has historically been either ignored or slighted. Yet criticism of the recent past has commended Shakespeare's "tendency to hand over most of the initiative and just judgment to the women" in the play, as well as Silvia and Julia's remarkable "constancy, devotion, and empathy" (Anne Barton cited in Huang 2009: 122). Although at the end of the play Julia and Silvia are subjected to female identities defined by heterosexuality and marriage, their Chinese incarnations as martial heroines do not go through the same process. The play ends with a disturbing silence from Julia and Silvia as the Duke and Valentine sort out the entangled relationships and arrange the marriages (5.4.120–71). In the film, after Hu Lunting is reinstated to his previous position and the two couples are married (Hu Lunting and Shi Luohua, Bai Lede and Hu Zhuli), the four – now with additional ties through marriage and service in the same squad as officers – are shown riding on horses to inspect the troops. (For an analysis of *A Spray of Plum Blossoms* in a different context, see Huang 2009: 118–23.)

CHARACTERIZATION: DIVERGENT PATHS

A Spray of Plum Blossoms is not the only film that gives Shakespeare's women characters more agency and visibility. An innocent yet assertive Ophelia emerges from Chinese director Feng Xiaogang's 2006 *The Banquet* (or *The Legend of the Black Scorpion*), a high-profile kung fu epic set in fifth-century China with an all-star cast (Figure 12.2). Feng is a household name in China, known for his invention of a new genre, the comic and often farcical "New Year celebration film" screened during the Chinese New Year. Highly profitable and entertaining, the genre subverts the didacticism that is standard fare in films produced by state studios. *The Banquet's* Ophelia (Qing Nü, played by Zhou Xun) dominates many scenes with her songs and dance, and is not shy about expressing her affection for Hamlet (Prince Wu Luan, played by Daniel Wu) even when she is threatened by the Gertrude figure (Empress Wan, played by Zhang Ziyi), who is both the Prince's stepmother and his lover. Significantly, Ophelia does not go mad. Although her songs allude to rivers and boating, and her intimate scene with Hamlet involves rain, Ophelia is not drowned in the end.

This bold cinematic reimagining of *Hamlet* shifts the focus from the question of interiority – traditionally embodied by Hamlet – to an ambitious, articulate Gertrude (Empress Wan) and an assertive Ophelia (Qing Nü): both characters do not hesitate to express their love for the Prince. As mentioned, Empress Wan is the Prince's stepmother, and she has kept her romantic relationship with him secret. Qing Nü's naïveté and purity make her a desirable yet unattainable figure of hope, in contrast to the calculating Empress; she is an ideal contrast to China's post-socialist society, driven by a new market economy that turns everything, including romance and love, into a commodity (McGrath 2008: 1–24). Instead, she is innocent, passionate, and courageous. Despite China's economic growth, censorship continues to pose a challenge to artists. In the film, Qing Nü shuns traditional methods of communication altogether. In response to Empress Wan's probing question as to whether Qing Nü has received any letters from the Prince, she offers a straightforward answer: "We never exchange letters." She also speaks of her dreams

openly: “The Prince always comes in my dreams. He came last night as well.” She makes this admission with a sense of pride.

The Banquet turns Ophelia into a symbol of innocence in a court of violence and intrigue. Significantly, for a martial-arts film, Qing Nü is the only character not versed in swordsmanship, and her only weapons are her perseverance in the face of insurmountable obstacles and headstrong adherence to her love for the Prince. Her name, Qing Nü, derives from the goddess of snow in Chinese mythology; and her robes are always white, regardless of the occasion. This symbolism highlights the idea of chastity, as snow is used as a trope for chaste women in traditional poetry (*Ciyuan* 1997). Qing Nü is uninterested in politics, and she refuses to accept her father’s advice to “learn from the Empress” and to use marriage as a political stepping-stone. Empress Wan, by contrast, marries her brother-in-law in exchange for power and security after her husband is killed by a scorpion’s sting. Yet Qing Nü’s innocence and dedication do not translate into childishness. In response to her brother’s reminder that “you are not in [the Prince’s] heart. Do not fool yourself,” Qing Nü indicates that she is fully aware of the situation, but she has “promised to always wait for him.” She chooses to stay by his side and sing to him so that he will not be lonely. The consequences are painful. Jealous of Qing Nü’s intimacy with the Prince and her ability to offer unconditional love, Empress Wan orders her to be whipped. Ever defiant and refusing to be manipulated by anyone, Qing Nü almost gets her face branded and is exiled to the south by the Empress.

Qing Nü also publicly expresses her love for the Prince. When Wu Luan is being sent by Emperor Li as a hostage to the Khitans, a nomadic people in northwestern China, Qing Nü petitions in front of the court to be allowed to go along, echoing Desdemona’s insistence on accompanying Othello to Cyprus. Her passion is uncensored, and her reasons simple: so that the Prince will not be lonely. Unlike Shakespeare’s Ophelia, Qing Nü does not have to go mad or speak allusively to express herself, although she sings on multiple occasions just as Ophelia does in *Hamlet*. Towards the end of the film, at the banquet celebrating the coronation of the Empress, she sings a song of solitude that the Prince has taught her, and she leads a group dance:

What blessed night is this?
Drifting down the river Qian.
What auspicious day is this?
On the boat with my Prince.
Too bashful to stare,
A secret I cannot share.
My heart is filled with longing.
Longing to know you, dear Prince.
Trees live on mountains,
And branches live on trees.
My heart lives for your heart,
But you do not see me.

She seems to be content simply to love the Prince without seeking anything in return. Qing Nü’s entrance takes Emperor Li and Empress Wan by surprise: her performance at the court commemorates her lover, who has been presumed dead en route to the Khitans. Unbeknown to Qing Nü and everyone in the court, however, the Prince has returned and disguised himself as one of the masked dancers.



Figure 12.2 Scene from *The Banquet* (2006; dir. Feng Xiaogang)
© Feng Xiaogang

Qing Nü's accidental death at the hands of the Empress has more in common with Shakespeare's Claudius or Gertrude than with Ophelia: she drinks from a poisoned cup the Empress intends for the Emperor. Ever a saintly presence, Qing Nü addresses her last words to the Prince: "Do you still feel lonely?" Mourning Qing Nü's demise, the Prince, a kung fu master, finally moves forward with his revenge plan. Ophelia's fatal fall from the willow tree into the stream in *Hamlet* is thus replaced by Qing Nü's selfless sacrifice and symbolic purging of the court's collective sins in *The Banquet*. The Ophelia-figure therefore represents ideal femininity in the face of a dysfunctional courtly structure and in opposition to Hamlet's ambiguous gender identity (Ko 2009).

In terms of visual strategy, Asian films have been known to draw on a wide range of sources, including renowned paintings such as John Everett Millais's famous *Ophelia* (1851), which has been exhibited in Tokyo, Kobe, and elsewhere and is well known to East Asian audiences. One of the themes of the painting is the cycle of growth and decay. Ophelia is portrayed as being in the transitional moment between life and death. Buoyed temporarily by the stream, the dying Ophelia is half submerged, but her head is still above the water. Extending upward, her open arms at first glance might resemble the traditional pose of a martyr at the moment of death.

Shot in Tibet with an all-Tibetan cast, Sherwood Hu's *Prince of the Himalayas* (2006) offers a fuller visual response to Millais's representation of the drowning Ophelia. Tibetan actress Sonamdolgar as Odsaluyang presents a feisty and assertive Ophelia who links the secular with the sacred and death with life. Ophelia is associated with water throughout the film. Early on, we are shown a rather explicit, intimate scene between Prince Lhamoklodan (Hamlet, played by Purba Rgyal) and

Odsaluyang in her hut by a stream, after which Ophelia becomes pregnant (the two are not married). In labour, Odsaluyang approaches Namtso Lake, a sacred site to Tibetan pilgrims, in search of the Prince, whom she loves – but also hates for killing her father. It seems that she walks into the lake to ease her pain, but the scene presents a haunting image of Ophelia's death that amounts to a visual citation of Millais's painting. Picking wild flowers and wearing a white garment with a floral wreath on her head, she lies down and floats on water, giving birth to her and Hamlet's child before "sinking down to the river bed in deep sleep" where she "meets her father and mother" (Pang 2006: 54). The camera pans over the water to give us a glimpse of the baby floating away from the mother. Presumably Odsaluyang dies after giving birth in the lake, but her death is not depicted on screen.

This scene takes Ophelia's association with the cyclic quality of nature in Millais to a different level, hinting at the necessary, if cruel, procession of fading and emerging generations. It is depicted in a painterly mode in Hu's film to focus attention on Ophelia's suffering. As Odsaluyang walks into the lake singing a song, the water runs red with her blood. The baby is carried by water to safety, rescued by the Wolf Woman, a prophet. As one of the most interesting departures from *Hamlet*, this scene hints at the possibility of a saintly Ophelia who, in her death, brings forth a new life and hope for the next generation. *Prince of the Himalayas* offers a courageous, independent Ophelia.

If Gertrude's account of Ophelia recasts her as a fairy-tale creature ("mermaid-like," 4.7.148), Odsaluyang in *Prince of the Himalayas* is a kind of goddess of nature, an immortal bride who returns to nature. The strong association between water and suffering women in Chinese art and film history contributed to Hu's decision to shoot Ophelia's death scene by the mirror-like Namtso Lake near Lhasa. Water may play the role of a mirror of beauty or a gateway to darker realities lying beneath its surface. Female water deities celebrated in Chinese poetry "ruled the waves," and water can represent either "a mirror of beauty" or "darker possibilities hidden below its surface" (Silbergeld 1999: 175). Hu's film associates Ophelia with a water goddess not unlike the Luo River goddess or the goddesses of the Xiang River. She is a source of danger but also of rebirth. Such goddesses, according to legends, start out as:

unhappy spirits of drowned victims involved in female sacrifice, young girls given in local rituals as brides to pacify male river gods. Others may have been romantic love suicides (nobly following their deceased husbands) . . . or victims of no-love situations . . . while still others represented punishment for female sexual transgression.

(Silbergeld 1999: 175)

Prince of the Himalayas gives birth to a more sexual as well as a spiritual vision of Ophelia in the water. (For an analysis of *Prince of the Himalayas* in a different context, see Huang 2012.)

CONCLUSION

If but as well I other accents borrow
That can my speech diffuse, . . .

(*King Lear* 1.4.1–2)

These lines, spoken by the banished Earl of Kent in disguise as he approaches the raging Lear, provides a way to understand Shakespeare on Asian films. Kent continues:

my good intent
May carry through itself to that full issue
For which I razed my likeness.

(1.4.2-4)

Kent's statement about borrowed identities, a new accent, true intent, and the ethics of communication provides a lexicon for describing intercultural traffic on screen in the age of global Shakespeare, particularly Asian Shakespeare films. Performances of Shakespeare have always borrowed other accents – English, American, or otherwise; and the accents we learn from Asian films help us re-examine familiar and unfamiliar parts of Shakespeare's plays. Filming Shakespearean plays is an act that diffuses the speech and intensifies the vocabulary for performance such as costumes, stylization, sets, acting methods, and subtitles – whether the latter are Shakespearean lines used for their indexical value or translations back into English of the screenplay in a foreign language.

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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

SHAKESPEAREAN CINEMA AND THE REST OF THE WORLD



Mark Thornton Burnett

This chapter discusses the traditions of Shakespeare on film in four parts of the world: Africa, the Middle East, Australia/New Zealand, and Latin America. It identifies unique continuities and discontinuities within those traditions, arguing that, in a discrete fashion, Shakespeare serves as a means of confronting issues of national identity at times of, variously, revolution, independence, and political change. In this way, Shakespeare becomes a means to an end: a marker of a nation-state's relation to its global neighbours; an instrument to utilize in the transition from one order to another; and a body of meaning that signifies the embrace of perceived cultural value. Interestingly, what emerges from the discussion are the gaps and fissures where the engagement with Shakespeare is concerned. For example, where one part of the world may demonstrate a well-rooted history of Shakespearean production, another shows a more limited and short-term set of encounters. Such inconsistencies may be linked to questions of imperialism and post-colonialism, which themselves are manifested in educational policy and the presence (or lack) of film industry infrastructures. Exploring Shakespeare on film in the four designated parts of the world also gives rise to methodological considerations and, as I argue here, enables us to revisit key questions touching upon balance, coverage, access, terminology, and our own critical responsibilities.

Is there logic to the order of regional configurations with which this discussion is concerned? At one level, there are no obvious connections binding all of these areas, other than the Shakespearean point of confluence. In that sense, then, the chapter presents itself as a series of four discrete interventions in a global field. At another level, however, as the argument below begins to suggest, situating Africa and the Middle East alongside each other does make for a number of revealing cross-fertilizations and parallels; indeed, these are parts of the world that are very often discussed in interchangeable terms, an indication, perhaps, of at least some common cultural values and continuities.

AFRICA: LEGACIES, INDEPENDENCE, VIOLENCE

The vastness and imperfectness of Africa as a regional category notwithstanding, there is a steady stream of films that testifies to Shakespeare's significant presence in

some territorial contexts. As far as sub-Saharan Africa is concerned, a film that is frequently mentioned, but rarely investigated, is *Hamile* (dir. Terry Bishop, 1965), a version of *Hamlet* from Ghana. This work has been referred to somewhat dismissively as an “adaptation” by “students” of “their stage production” (Rothwell 2004: 161); and, indeed, the film does originate in the student work of producer Joe de Graft, at that time teaching at the University of Accra, Ghana. What has not been commented upon is the large-scale initiative that the film manifested. Part of a strategic investment in the local film industry of Ghana following independence, *Hamile* refracted an erstwhile attempt to re-create a classic that would stress the newly identified talents and ambitions of the country. Thus, a generous budget (for the time) was allocated to the production by the Ghana Film Corporation, as testified by the set: a walled compound, including huts and ceremonial open spaces, that was purpose-built for the proceedings. Sitting alongside the film’s privileging of such “African” signifiers was its conceptual template. The action, according to publicity, was relocated to Tonga, the home of the Frafra people, thus granting the production a northerly and perhaps more exotic conceptual anchorage. Accordingly, the production’s template stresses visual designs reminiscent of Ashanti art (walls are decorated with abstract criss-crossed motifs); drums and other percussion form an acoustic metanarrative; traditional costumes are worn (the King/Claudius sports a conical hat and robe, and wields a royal fly-switch); the Ghost appears as a straw-festooned entity, glimpsed in long shot to stress its otherworldliness; and the final duel is realized as a wrestling match taking place in the compound’s centre.

Such a localizing treatment is of a piece with the film’s linguistic strategy, Shakespearean referents being substituted for more recognizably “African” terms. Old Hamlet is abused by “crocodile poison in a vial”; the “firefly shows the morn to be near”; and “karis” and “bee,” as referenced by Habiba/Ophelia, take over from “fennel” and “columbines” (4.5.179). Such examples notwithstanding, *Hamile* is generally a respectful film at the level of Shakespearean language. Such changes as exist are designed to underscore a sense of the indigenous; but elsewhere speeches and soliloquies are delivered in formal, studied, and often static ways (*Hamile*/*Hamlet*’s rendition of the well-known soliloquies is typical), as if the whole is something of a dramatic or rhetorical exercise. Operating thus, *Hamile* comes across as an intriguing if divided creation which, at one and the same time, aims to rehabilitate Shakespeare and to see in him opportunities for cultural amelioration.

The tragedies, it seems, are particularly amenable to adaptation in African countries at critical stages of development. Film versions of *Romeo and Juliet* from northern and sub-Saharan areas of the continent, for example, suggest that the play functions to foreground negotiations around ethnic violence, the legacies of apartheid, and the continuing role of familial authority in expressions of emancipated womanhood. Germane here is *The Desert Ark* (dir. Mohamed Chouikh, 1997) from Algeria, which – revolving around the plight of Amin/Romeo and Myriam/Juliet, and taking place at an oasis in an unnamed African country – repeatedly indexes Shakespeare’s drama. This indexing occurs in scenes of tribal conflict; the separation and exile of the lovers (they converse through a chink in a wall rather than on a balcony); attempts at an arranged marriage; and the prioritization (substituting for Prince Escalus) of priests and priestesses. While not openly advertising itself as indebted to Shakespeare, the film clearly takes its overarching conception and

narrative thrust from *Romeo and Juliet*, not least in the extent to which the “ancient grudge” (Chorus, 3) is mediated in long-standing ethnic rivalry: “Each of us must remain within his ethnic group’s boundaries,” one elder commands. The only solution is the abandonment of the community for a new and better life, this idea conveyed in the departure of a young boy who has silently witnessed the destruction of his world at the close.

In ravaged and war-torn situations, *Romeo and Juliet* speaks with particular urgency. The point is illustrated in the South African adaptation *uGugu no Andile* (dir. Minky Schlesinger, 2008). Relocating the play from Verona to Thokoza, a township to the south of Johannesburg, the film takes place in the early 1990s, as Jonathan Farley writes, the eve of “the final demise of apartheid and the advent of . . . universal suffrage” (2008: 85). As might be expected, then, the film finds its rationale in conflict situations, these being expressed in the bridge over which township factions fight and the different languages (isiZulu and isiXhosa) that Gugu/Juliet and Andile/Romeo speak. Crucially, the film showcases in the midst of riot and devastation the prospects of an improved dispensation. Typical in this respect are the ways in which the Friar Laurence figure is split into two, the black Bishop Mbengashe and the white Father John. The fact that religious leaders are limned as occupying both sides of South Africa’s racial divide hints at a broader aspiration towards reconciliation. In this process, Shakespeare plays a pivotal role. In a classroom scene, Gugu/Juliet, heeding her teacher’s delivery of Prince Escalus’s closing speech – “Some shall be pardoned, and some punished” (5.3.307) – sheds a tear, having internalized the play’s relevancies. Fingering the letters of Andile/Romeo’s name, which she has carved on her desk, she is represented as a type of artist, having appropriated Shakespeare according to her own agenda.

Alterations to *Romeo and Juliet*’s classic tragic dénouement become, in some adaptations, a strategic characteristic. A revealing instance is the Burkina Faso film *Julie et Roméo* (dir. Boubakar Diallo, 2011), in which an alternating *mise en scène* (the action moves between scenes of rural village life and the vibrant capital, Ouagadougou) serves to highlight Julie/Juliet’s journey back in time to reverse an ancestral curse, so nullifying its effects. In the village of Wetenga, Julie/Juliet is able, thanks to her sorcerer uncle’s magic skills (Matao stands as a creative distillation of the Friar Laurence figure), to map a new history whereby her fiancé, Roméo/Romeo, is brought back to life. Intervening in time so as to prevent the incident that catalyses the family quarrel, Julie/Juliet is constructed not only as conflating gendered binaries (the villagers’ “Amazone” designation is indicative), but also as assuming her uncle’s mantle. Previously a type of apprentice, she now appears a fully fledged “witch.” Abandoning her suspicion of “black magic,” she is realized as embracing significant traditions and, hence, a notable part of her African heritage. *Julie et Roméo* suggests that only through challenging the customary Shakespearean ending can a return to African particularity be executed. The film refuses to countenance *Romeo and Juliet*’s close; and, in so doing, changes both the play and its back story, illuminating the vitality of African beliefs in the process. In the final scene, Julie/Juliet – installed in the present, still in her native costume – embraces Roméo/Romeo. Like a Shakespearean heroine who has not yet left her disguise behind, Julie/Juliet is given the last word, her actions pointing up the ways in which rewriting enjoys a culturally restorative purpose. (For more extensive discussion of these films, see Burnett 2013: 198, 207, 217–18, 224–26.)

About this clutch of African cinematic examples we might hazard some broad observations. First, it is the tragedies rather than the comedies to which directors gravitate in Africa, arguably because these are the works in which the Shakespearian imprimatur is most readily detected. Second, it is the tragic genre that allows for types of political intervention. A film such as *The Desert Ark*, for example, possesses an eloquence beyond itself in a context (Algeria) scarred by internal divisions, bloodshed, and a protracted war that, only in 1962, resulted in the country's independence. (Algeria had been a *département* of France since the nineteenth century.) Shakespeare, then, in these adaptations, is as much an artistic resource as an ideological battleground. *Hamile* is illuminating in these respects. The film was made in English rather than in one of the Ghanaian languages, a decision which resulted in a protracted academic debate. For some, producer Joe de Graft capitulated to post-colonial forces in favouring the English tongue. For others, it is the "cultural translation" on which we need to concentrate, de Graft's vision of *Hamlet* underscoring, somewhat in the manner of Akira Kurosawa, the imaginative charge attached to local tropes and motifs. As James Gibbs and Christine Matzke remark, "de Graft showed a largely liberated post-colonial attitude, approaching Shakespeare with an independent spirit" (2005: 22).

In the throes of newly defining itself, a country such as Ghana becomes a test case for negotiating, on the one hand, narratives of domination (as suggested by Shakespeare's association with an élite status) and, on the other, possibilities for experiment and release (the works being seen as blank canvasses ripe for indigenous adaptation). The interpenetration of influences as this manifests itself in Shakespeare is particularly in evidence in realizations of women who agitate for greater acknowledgement. Even in the title of *Julie et Roméo* this element is privileged, the word order flagging the Juliet role over and above Romeo's (secondary) part.

The film is not an isolated example. Across North Africa, and in many Arabic-speaking nations, it is the heroine's assertion of self against a backdrop of cultural expectation that looms large. Egyptian cinema demonstrates a healthily entrenched relation to Shakespeare, and recent criticism has begun to demonstrate a depth and range of pertinent examples. In its most articulate realization, the Egyptian Shakespeare film blends a Shakespearian narrative with a traditional folk-story. *Hassan and Naima* (dir. Henry Barakat, 1959) comes to mind in this connection. *Romeo and Juliet* is melded to the well-known account of a troubadour who falls in love with a rich farmer's daughter, the film charting the couple's efforts to overcome opposition to their match. *Romeo and Juliet* is shadowed in plot detail and in interludes in which Naima/Juliet breaks into song, her throaty melodies mediating her Shakespearian counterpart's impassioned verse. Countries with legacies of recent emancipation ventilate issues about the constitution of the nation-state via images of free-thinking and socially disenfranchised women. Hence, in *Hobak Nar* (dir. Ihab Radhi, 2004), another Egyptian adaptation of *Romeo and Juliet* – or, rather, of Baz Luhrmann's 1996 *William Shakespeare's Romeo + Juliet* (the Egyptian film boasts Luhrmannesque video insets, "bullet time" special effects, swishing zooms, expressive close-ups, and an accelerated montage) – Salma/Juliet is frequently discovered as given to affirmations of self-validation. "I have a heart and soul of my own," the leather-clad young woman remarks to her father. Such aphoristic sayings carry critical currency in a world in which all of the characters are defined through familial networks and

in which the power structures of modern Alexandria, where the film is set, are visibly shored up through systems of kinship and inheritance. Furthermore, Salma/Juliet's penchant for riding a motorbike becomes a symbol for her mobility, while her watching, with Karim/Romeo, the film *Naked Tango* (dir. Leonard Schrader, 1990) – in which a woman assumes a new identity to escape constriction and stereotyping – works metacinematically as a comment on the female protagonist's own efforts at reinvention.

Shakespearean criticism has established *The Taming of the Shrew* as the most pointed and trenchant of Shakespeare's plays about the condition of women and women's roles; and, interestingly, in Egyptian cinema there are, according to Yvette K. Khoury, no less than "five features based" on the play, a dramatic creation that resonates deeply with "the domesticity of Arab-Islamic patriarchal societies" (2010: 147–48). A typical instance is *Beware of Eve* (dir. Fatin Abdel Wahab, 1962), which centres on the fractious relationship between Amira/Katherine, the spoilt granddaughter of a *ghiddu* (a country landowner), and Hasan/Petruchio, a veterinarian who has been invited to the estate to tend to the ailing animals. There ensues a series of incidents, culled from or inspired by Shakespeare's play, in which Amira/Katherine is incrementally "tamed." She falls into an animal's water-trough (reinforcing an implied equation between the female protagonist and the ass); she is forced to perform a variety of menial tasks; and she is humiliated in front of her friends.

The conservative turn of the ending notwithstanding, *Beware of Eve* is still troubled by the spectre of resistant womanhood, and this makes itself manifest at multiple levels. Hence, Amira/Katherine's question "Are men the only ones who wear trousers?" is distinctive for threatening to upset traditional Arab-Islamic gender relations, while the comic spectacle of her wearing a moustache (an oil-stain from her work on her broken-down car) points to a potential dismantlement of visual signifiers that keep the sexes apart. In this way, alongside other films of a comparable cast, *Beware of Eve* reimagines male–female relations during a period in which Egyptian values were changing and adapting in response to the pressure of Western stresses and influences.

In their most extreme guises, film adaptations of Shakespeare permit expressions of same-sex desire, albeit in muted ways. For example, *Alexandria Why?* (dir. Youssef Chahine, 1978), part of an Egyptian trilogy, features coded references to *Hamlet* in reflections on conventions regarding native languages and articulations of a gay sensibility. A class-room scene shows a group of students at an élite Egyptian English-language school learning, by rote, Shakespearean speeches. After one student has cheatingly delivered a phonetic Arabic version of the "To be, or not to be" soliloquy by using a transliteration of the speech transcribed on the blackboard, the young hero, Yaha, a type of Hamlet, recites in "passionate literary Arabic" the "scene of the mother" (Hamlet's denunciation of Gertrude in the "closet scene"). As Margaret Litvin notes, the address shows a "direct and unhesitant" protagonist distinctive for transforming the Shakespearean word into indigenous parlance (2011: 56). The class and the teacher are highly impressed, so much so that a homoerotic dimension is suggested. In this all-male environment, thanks to his Shakespearean success, Yaha becomes president of the Student Theatre Club, and latterly travels to the US to pursue his acting career. As the ship draws into New York at the film's close, and Yaha beholds the Statue of Liberty, it is implied that he has been liberated

from his colonial and sexual restrictions, via Shakespeare, and that he has ascended to maturity as a homosexual artist.

THE MIDDLE EAST: VOICES, IDENTITIES, COLLISIONS

The tragedies, in fact, are continually returned to, at least in Middle Eastern treatments, as discovering subjectivities that belong to times and places that are “out of joint.” In the Iranian *Hamlet* adaptation *Tardid* (dir. Varuzh Karim-Masihi, 2009), for example, what is arresting is the extent to which the Hamlet character, Siavash – the photojournalist offspring of a Tehran-based family involved in shady business practices – is wholly divorced from his world’s corrupt interstices. When he recognizes the parallels between *Hamlet* and his own life, he is empowered to assert his own sense of integrity and, having survived the final carnage, to align himself with friends rather than kin. *Tardid* is perhaps at its most eloquent in showcasing the ways in which the tragic force of *Hamlet* can be resisted to create speaking spaces for disaffected Iranian youth. What is true for Siavash/Hamlet is also true for Mahtab/Ophelia. She also is distinguished for not succumbing to the fate of her Shakespearean equivalent, and in the closing montage of her standing next to an ornamental pool is implied a conscious choice “to be” rather than “not to be.”

Although different in origin and identification, *Someone Is Sleeping in My Pain: An East-West Macbeth* (dir. Michael Roes, 2001), made and set in Yemen but directed by a German anthropologist, complements these evocations of an “out-of-joint” state of affairs, based as it is on the ill-fated attempts of a fictional American director to stage a production of *Macbeth* among local tribesmen. The premise is that the “rough, archaic” conditions of Yemen – with its stunning citadels, crazy mountain passes, and tribal organization of society – evoke the “Scottish Middle Ages.” As Michael Roes reflects, “the whole setting seemed to us already Shakespearean if not *Macbeth*-like” (quoted in Burnett 2013: 173). In what ensues, however, these projected correspondences are belied. While the fictional director does indeed put on fragments of a type of *Macbeth* production – using different Macbeth actors, locations such as the Iman Palace at Kohlan, and the stunning landscape of the Yemeni milieu – he is constantly thwarted in his holistic ambitions. His lack of familiarity with local customs is indicated in his shocked reaction to the ritual slaughter of animals; he naïvely believes he can recruit women as performers; and initially he insists on directing in English a cast with no knowledge of the language. In fact, highlighted in the film more broadly is a critical impasse in relations between the US and the Middle East. Filming on the project commenced in Yemen in the wake of the attack on the USS *Cole* in October 2000, and ended in 2001 with the *première* taking place in December 2001, three months after 9/11.

Someone Is Sleeping in My Pain sits uneasily within this temporal trajectory. Certainly, the opening sequence of the New York-based fictional director looking at a map, the shot of his camouflage trousers, and the camera’s pan over the aeroplane cockpit reveal political crisis, uncertainty, and the growing role of *jihadist* movements to be constitutively embedded in the representational process. This is an adaptation of *Macbeth* in which uncertain global relations are ghostly intertexts: disequilibrium is part of the film’s make-up and mind-set. In a film such as *Someone Is Sleeping in My Pain* we discover a counter to the notion of a universalist Shakespeare, for

particular to the Middle Eastern adaptation is a sense of estrangement and the failure of the Shakespearean word to work across linguistic and cultural borders.

AUSTRALIA/NEW ZEALAND: POSTMODERNISM AND REVISIONISM

In Australia and New Zealand, the relatively few numbers of examples make large-scale statements difficult. Nevertheless, from the existing archive, it is clear that Hollywood-type fare is imitated in a film such as *Macbeth* (dir. Geoffrey Wright, 2006), an adaptation that, making a virtue of Melbourne's gangster-dominated drug wars, takes energy from punning approximations of Shakespearean situations. Examples of the method embrace a scene in a night-club, jokingly entitled the "Cawdor," and the climax: a lorry carrying "Birnam Timber" careers into the protagonist's swanky, upmarket home. But this *Macbeth* represents no simple homage to its precursor text. Rather, lacing the proceedings with generous portions of gore and irreverence, this recusant re-creation of Shakespeare's play sets out to shock and disorient, as testified by the parallels developed between Lady Macbeth and the Witches (as Amanda Kane Rooks notes, Macbeth's wife shares with the "midnight hags" [4.1.64] "long flowing, dark locks, pale skin, blood-red fingernails, and shimmering lips" [2009: 156]); in drug-induced scenes of sexual excess; and in viscerally pitched episodes of violence. This is *Macbeth* remodelled as cinematic horror for the multiplex.

Other Shakespearean films take an alternative tack. Defining themselves primarily as arthouse products, works such as *Hamlet X* (dir. James Clayden, 2004), a meditation on sound and image from fragmentary, postmodern perspectives, and *The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark* (dir. Oscar Redding, 2007), shot amidst alley-ways and underpasses from Osric's point of view, constitute alternatively angled readings to a canonically enshrined Shakespeare and a heroic princely protagonist. The latter film, for instance, clearly announces its indebtedness to French New Wave, Dogme 95 (Danish avant-garde), and experimental theatre in the ways in which it privileges Osric as a cameraman contracted to film the Gertrude/Claudius wedding. Shot at night over the course of thirty-eight hours, and making optimum use of atmospheric Melbourne locations including underground restaurants and cafes, the film forces the audience to be complicit in the action as it unfolds and fashions from visuals and acoustics (the buzz of flies, the howl of a dog, and the hum of a failing refrigerator) an unnerving but compelling experience. If nothing else, this collocation of filmic interpretations of Shakespeare plays up Melbourne as a dystopian urban space and a counter-cultural locale, as suggested in a grimly realized film aesthetic.

More politically oriented and, in its singularity, the sole exemplar of Shakespeare on film in New Zealand, is the first feature incarnation of Shakespeare in *te reo* (the Māori language), *The Māori Merchant of Venice* (dir. Don Selwyn, 2002). Particularly notable is the way in which the concentration on a particular culture carries with it a manifesto for political revisionism. Crucially, as a realization of Pei Te Hurinui Jones's 1946 translation of the play, and as the first large-scale screen incarnation of Shakespeare in *te reo*, *The Māori Merchant of Venice* urges its viewers to think actively about the ways in which Venice and Belmont are conceptualized. The former appears as a bustling Renaissance port, with the *mise en scène* drawing

extensively on Auckland settings, while the latter is discovered in terms of indigenous costumes, practices, and artefacts – such as elaborate wooden figures, feather cloaks, and a formalized *karanga* (welcome) and *wero* (challenge) at the arrival of Portia/Pohia's suitors.

The contrast is indicative of the interplay between native and colonial histories and influences and, as such, operates to steer an audience into considering the Māori experience in relation to legacies of European expansionism. In this connection, it is perhaps not surprising that the film should open with the (displaced) scene of Shylock/Hairoka's "Hath not a Jew eyes?" peroration; that it should feature an interpolated sequence in a gallery in the Venetian market where the contemporary painter Selwyn Muru is seen completing a canvas entitled *Holocaust*; and that its final moment should belong to Jessica/Tiehika, who is given the words "if my fortune be not crossed, I have a father, you a daughter lost" (2.5.55–56). In their new position, the lines are highlighted as an elegiac reflection on a lost connection and a culture compromised. To put the idea rather more specifically, as Catherine Silverstone does, the film clearly invites a connection between Shylock/Hairoka's desire to have his "bond" respected and contemporary attempts in New Zealand to "investigate and redress land claims" (2011: 71) in the wake of breaches of earlier agreements between settlers and the indigenous Maori population. *The Māori Merchant of Venice* is characterized by insistent contemporary reverberations and, as such, stages a look back to the past to stimulate its audience to contemplate the present purchase of its actors and subject.

LATIN AMERICA: CLASS, CRITIQUE, AND PLAY

We are again dealing with a vast regional configuration in turning to Latin America. Here, too, there are intriguing moments of Shakespearean film coupled with a number of distinctive trends. In Brazil, for instance, there was a remarkable florescence of Shakespearean filmmaking in the early 1970s, as testified by *Faustão* (dir. Eduardo Coutinho, 1971), an adaptation of *Henry IV*; and *A Herança* (dir. Ozualdo Candeias, 1970) and *O Jogo da Vida e da Morte* (dir. Mario Kuperman, 1971), both *Hamlet* adaptations. All three films identify themselves in relation to *Cinema Novo*, the contemporary movement that prioritized art as militancy and marshalled film in the war with neo-colonialism and class injustice. Alternatively accented, these films are directed towards showcasing themes of plebeian entitlement and interrogating, via linked portrayals of black protagonists, Brazil's contradictory espousal of *mestizaje* or an ideal of racial democracy.

A type of western, *Faustão* focuses on the figure of the social bandit or *cangaceiro*, here realized as a black manifestation of Falstaff. The film concerns the conflicted relations between Faustão, the bandit, and Henrique, the son of a wealthy landowner and a version of Prince Hal. Other Shakespearean parallels are evident: Henrique's marriage to a local woman brings Hal's coronation to mind, while the assumption of authority, as in Shakespeare's play, means that friendship has to be abandoned. Throughout, issues of race are filtered through the central action to reinforce a further – social – conflict. As Robert Stam notes, "allegiances" are unsettled because of Henrique's "alliance with the *coronéis* (landlords), the traditional enemies of the *cangaceiros*" (1997: 276).

Assembled from a similar set of priorities, *A Herança* and *O Jogo da Vida e da Morte* deploy peripheral locales (the *favela* or shanty town and the *sertão* or north-eastern rural region) to highlight a series of intricate relationships among land, property, and poverty. At a time of military rule, these two films make a virtue of focusing on occluded communities via a concentration on particular types of settings characterized by scarcity and lack. *O Jogo da Vida e da Morte* and *A Herança* are pre-occupied with communities that fail or are unable to provide for their own, thereby introducing images of Brazil that run counter to populist conceptions. For example, the black Ophelia figure in *O Jogo da Vida e da Morte* and *A Herança* is utilized as a significant vehicle through which Brazil's troubled racial histories are made visible, while the films' Hamlet figures are arresting for the extent to which they point up differing responses to the straitened conditions of Brazil in the 1970s. Whereas one film endorses an ideal of socialist utopia, the other underlines a more nihilistic attitude, suggesting how *Hamlet* can be pulled in contrary directions, occupying simultaneously recuperative and defeatist positions.

Themes of social realism and class divide continue into the most recent of Brazil's Shakespeare-on-film offerings, such as *Era Uma Vez* (dir. Breno Silveira, 2008) and *Maré, Nossa História de Amor* (dir. Lúcia Murat, 2008), adaptations of *Romeo and Juliet* which, set in Rio de Janeiro, take as their ideological premise the combined vibrancy and impoverishment of the *favelas*. Unfolding in the Maré *favela*, and taking the form of a music-based social parable, *Maré, Nossa História de Amor* discovers how the tribulations experienced by Jonata/Romeo and Analídia/Juliet are exacerbated by the drug trade wars involving their respective families. In the crowded alley-ways and houses of the *favela* (brilliantly decorated but haunted by uncertainty) we find a particularly apposite transposition of *Romeo and Juliet*'s warring "households" (Prologue, 1). As drug rivalries escalate, with "rage" (Prologue, 10) assuming greater prominence, differences between groups become more sharply defined. Blue and red colours mark out separate domains, while terms of racial abuse, earlier unthinkable as categories of classification, infiltrate the dialogue. Jonata/Romeo is labelled "black" and Analídia/Juliet a "whitey." It is as a contrastive and neutral space that the dance studio where the lovers meet comes to symbolize possibilities for cross-boundary romance. Gang warfare takes on a nuanced role when it spirals outwards to precipitate clashes in and with a larger society.

The film suggests that, in any conflict situation, issues of class inevitably surface. In an emblematic scene, the lovers and their friends leave the Maré *favela* for a day by the sea, only to find that the more privileged – and bourgeois – holiday-makers abandon the beach in disgust. The episode is the prompt for the film to showcase the rousing pop anthem "Minha Alma" (My Soul), in which Jonata/Romeo, Analídia/Juliet, and the company join in a musical arraignment of middle-class blindness. As the lyrics state, "the . . . condo is for your protection, but . . . maybe it's you in prison." Particularly forceful are the ways in which dancers' bodies, draped around the stationary cars or prostrated on the tarmac, connote vitalities ignored and a form of protest. Because this interlude takes place on the Linha Vermelha Expressway, a major artery that bisects communities even as it assists transit, the scene facilitates an expressive confrontation with Brazil's urban apartheid.

Working-class/bourgeois opposition is the ideological premise of *Era Uma Vez* because, with this *Romeo and Juliet* adaptation, it is the contrast between the

favela of Cantagalo, which Dé/Romeo inhabits, and the rich beachfront district of Ipanema, in which Nina/Juliet lives, that highlights difference. As in *Maré, Nossa Historia de Amor*, the overlapping relations among gangs, poverty, and crime is implicated in the lovers' "fate" (3.1.119). This is demonstrated not least in the ways in which *Era Uma Vez*, via rapid-fire scenes of hyper-realized masculinity, represents drug-trade antagonisms hovering at the edges of the action both as a form of "trafic" (Prologue, 12) and as a force of destiny. Yet, as publicity for the film makes clear (the poster depicts the lovers separated by a lightning bolt), it is the inexorable logic of a split city that ultimately inflects the tragic outcome. Francisco Vidal Luna and Herbert S. Klein note that "Brazil exhibits very high indices of inequality and poverty even by Latin American standards" (2006: 210), and it is such material realities that inform the film's aesthetic framework. Throughout, shots of washing lines and telephone lines that cut across the frame operate to conjure continuing processes of exclusion, underscoring the sense of a world defined by binaries. Figurative suggestions are given a realist twist as images of bars and cordons come to dominate: factionalism is tacitly encouraged by local policing policies. So do these interlinked interventions in the screen history of *Romeo and Juliet* play up glaring manifestations of segregation practices.

But these are also films that aspire to overcome the "ancient grudge" (Prologue, 3) and a better dispensation. The pirouettes the dancers execute around the community's gangs in *Maré, Nossa Historia de Amor*, for example, are envisaged as socially utile manoeuvres. Violence can be avoided, it is implied; there are significant sources of creativity. As the dance teacher, Fernanda/Friar Laurence, intimates, Shakespeare is a stimulus to action and an agent of cohesion. A comparable idea undergirds *Era Uma Vez*, not least as this is suggested in consistently prioritized widescreen shots of Rio de Janeiro that demonstrate that the city is best appreciated from a range of perspectives. Nowhere is this more obvious than in the scene where Dé/Romeo accompanies Nina/Juliet onto a shabby Cantagalo roof-top to show off his own "huge balcony with an ocean view," and extends his arms in a gesture of blessing reminiscent of Rio's hilltop statue *Christ the Redeemer* (just visible in the uppermost part of the frame). Dé/Romeo's pose is striking in its inclusivity. It also suggests that Shakespearean reinvention may be redemptive.

Interestingly, a wholly different recent Brazilian film – at least at the level of genre – espouses a similarly inflected impulse. As *Alegres Comadres* (dir. Leila Hipólito, 2003; Figure 13.1), a "heritage-style" adaptation of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* that owes much to the lush Italianate imaginings of Kenneth Branagh, concludes with a scene of carnival. This is a collective occasion, one in keeping with the final welcoming of Fausto/Falstaff and with the orientation of a film keenly invested in the representation of plurality. In appearance, the sequence shows bodies intermingling, forms dancing in circles, characters becoming indistinguishable, and fiery cart-wheels blending into one another. National colours form part of a creative jumble, a constantly changing mixture. In its very closing sequence, these democratizing energies are seen again, the various participants processing en masse around "Frog Lake" in an idealized registration of a healed and joyous community. Notably, leading the procession and bringing up the rear are Harlequin-figures whose motley costumes announce the film's affirmation of admixture. As the camera shifts outwards to reveal the length of the column and its encompassing of conviviality, it is implied that this

scene forms part of a more general forward movement towards an improved collocation of social and cultural arrangements.

In some Latin American contexts, Shakespeare is used to pass critical comment; and, in a striking illustration of the transmigration of texts, the hidden work becomes a lever with which to push an anti-imperialist agenda. The point is borne out by the Mexican film *Romeo y Julieta* (dir. Miguel M. Delgado, 1943), which, at first sight, would seem to be overwhelmingly parodic. At the centre is the tricky Romeo (Cantinflas) who, elevated to play the role of his Shakespearean namesake, impresses with his mockery and malapropisms, as when “Shakespeare” becomes “Chicaspeare” in a transformation that suggests a change of gender as well as social belittlement. As Alfredo Michel Modenessi observes, Cantinflas makes his mark as a “*pedalo* . . . meaning ‘bare’” (disadvantaged and uneducated) defined by “blunt . . . profanity” (2005: 233). As *Romeo y Julieta* makes clear, however, the target of satire is not so much Shakespeare himself as particular adaptations of his work. For instance, as numerous references to the MGM *Romeo and Juliet* (dir. George Cukor, 1936) attest, extending to a careful re-creation of that film’s balcony and dance scenes, *Romeo y Julieta* works most incisively as a comic reflection on a US construction Shakespeare. Shakespeare’s words, often cited, are the tools with which one national culture is subjected to ridicule, and the resourcefulness and energy of another are affirmed. In this sense, and in the context of historical tensions between the US and Mexico that can be traced back to the so-called Monroe Doctrine, Cantinflas’s closest analogue



Figure 13.1 Fausto/Falstaff in despair in *As Alegres Comadres* (2003; dir. Leila Hipólito).
Courtesy of Ananã Produções

is the Shakespearean clown or servant who makes fun of his betters via acts of carnivalesque resistance.

Although it is historically distant from the *Cantinflas* example, something similar might be said for the Mexican film *Huapango* (dir. Iván Lipkies, 2004), which adapts *Othello* in terms of *huapango* dance traditions that are positioned against a homogenizing global movement. Set in Tamaulipas, a state in the Huasteca region of north-eastern Mexico, the film locates its action in a town's *casa de cultura*, a centre for the community which plays host to the numerous dance rehearsals that *Huapango* takes as its organizational principle. During these sequences, the camera's eye dwells insistently on the bold colours worn by the participants, suggesting regional affiliation as a form of theatre. National considerations are articulated in *Huapango* through the film's reification of varieties of Mexican "authenticity." Hence, the cattle-rancher Otilio/Othello is represented as opposed to Americanization, insisting on Huasteca food for the dance competition rather than "pizza" and "hamburgers," while the blouse with a floral design (a version of the play's handkerchief) registers as a "present" that is "hand-embroidered" rather than factory-made: its significance resides in its individually worked uniqueness.

Otilio/Othello's defence of traditional cuisine, and the *artesanía* or older skills conjured in the blouse, point to *Mexicanidad* or "Mexican-ness," a conception of heritage that has been traced to the 1910–17 revolution. The *ballet folklórico* plays a significant role here, for traditional dances belong with continuing projects backed by the Mexican government that support indigenous cultural traditions. Mexican nationalism in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries evolved in the wake of the US seizure of more than half of the country's national territory. *Huapango*'s elevation of what is deemed authentically Mexican springs from this legacy, and shows the ways in which Shakespeare can be marshalled to articulate a sense of injustice. What is deemed European and unchanging stands as a bastion against continuing waves of non-European territorial expansionism whose ramifications in Mexico are still powerfully in evidence.

Underscoring the point that broad regional configurations bear witness to distinctive moments of Shakespearean production rather than clear-cut trajectories and developments are the recent non-Mexican works *Sangrador* (dir. Leonardo Henríquez, 2000; Figure 13.2), a Venezuelan adaptation of *Macbeth*, and three short Shakespearean films by Matías Piñeiro, an Argentinian director, which riff upon the comedies. How to characterize *Sangrador*? Finding its rationale in a specific time and place – the date is 1900 and the place is the rural landscape of Mérida in the Venezuelan Andes – the film images Max/Macbeth as a bandit who, holed up in his mountain stronghold, contests the forces of wealth and élitism before succumbing to the lure of tyranny. In this way, the film evokes both folk-heroism (the film brings Simón Bolívar, "El Libertador," to mind) and the more contemporary figure Hugo Chávez, until his recent death Venezuela's populist president.

Working at a number of registers, *Sangrador* uses *Macbeth*'s status as a political tragedy to reflect on militaristic authoritarianism in an explicitly Venezuelan guise. Thanks to a dominant property, the film implicates the Muier de Max/Lady Macbeth, as well as Max/Macbeth, in the narrative's downward spiral. Dominating a shrine dedicated to the archangel Michael is an icon of the commander of the heavenly army crushing the devil beneath his feet; and, because this version of Lady Macbeth



Figure 13.2 Max/Macbeth and the Muier de Max/Lady Macbeth at prayer in *Sangrador* (2000; dir. Leonardo Henríquez).

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sleeps alongside the holy construction, a connection between woman and saint is afforded. But, in fact, the parallel is an inverted one. At least in her fancy, the Muier de Max/Lady Macbeth tramples upon and enslaves not so much evil as goodness. In addition, in that they adorn cemeteries in the Andean region, the calla lilies that cover the shrine work further to refract the deathly effects of the female protagonist's aspirations. Further characterizing *Sangrador* is a heightened use of Catholic imagery, locally rooted, that expounds and focuses a central Shakespearean dynamic. (For more extensive discussion of these films, see Burnett 2013: 89–124.)

I close this discussion of Shakespearean cinema and the rest of the world firmly in the contemporary moment. His ongoing series of Shakespeare-derived films – *Rosalinda* (2010), *Viola* (2012), and *The Princess of France* (2014) – have earned Argentinian director Matías Piñeiro plaudits and praise on the international festival circuit. How to characterize these films? Viewed together, they have much in common. Each film privileges the performance of a Shakespearean play, inviting parallels between the action of that play and external events; and each also purposefully mixes “imagined” and “real” worlds. Mirror-like, the films discover how Shakespeare operates to reflect our innermost fears, hopes, and projections. Thus, in *Rosalinda*, an adaptation of *As You Like It*, characters engage with the play through rehearsal, with a sense of the “original” being captured in the setting – the rural backwater of Le Tigre that invokes not only a delicious fluidity but also Shakespearean metaphors of change and changeability.

Viola unfolds, by contrast, in an urban milieu (Buenos Aires), and focuses on personalities who, in a range of relations to *Twelfth Night*, play with prescribed gender roles and alternative modes of being, thereby underlining the capacity of the play to infiltrate “real life.” In *The Princess of France*, Buenos Aires is again the setting, with

the narrative centring on the attempts of Lothario actor Victor to put a *pasticcio* or pastiche version of Shakespeare on the radio (the main play deployed in the broadcast will be *Love's Labour's Lost*). Unfortunately for Victor, the broadcast allows for the five women participants, each romantically involved with Victor at some level, to recognize his multiple infidelities, the film closing with a sense that Shakespeare has proved an emancipatory influence. Yet, as is so typical of Piñeiro's roundelay work, and his mixing of registers, we are offered two alternative endings: one in which Victor is summarily rejected, and the other in which he is reunited with his girlfriend. We close, then, in a limbo-like state, one which references the several possibilities encoded in the ending of *Love's Labour's Lost* and that showcases the potential for Shakespeare to be infinitely malleable in cinematic hands. In these arthouse works, we see writ large the capacity of Shakespeare, in film, to launch audiences into a complex of shifting relationships, relationships that promise the ending of old associations as much as the opportunity for new beginnings.

From an appraisal of Shakespeare on film in four distinct regions of the world, it is clear that there are no easily identifiable overarching narratives. Shakespeare in Africa, the Middle East, Australia/New Zealand, and Latin America serves a variety of functions in the cinematic medium. His work can be accessed in parodic or semi-reverential fashion; and, if there are "faithful adaptations," there are also so-called spin-offs and appropriations. Whatever broad continuities present themselves tend to be particularized and localized, making it difficult to establish a larger-scale world picture. If it appears that the tragedies are generally favoured by filmmakers, this impression is countered by forays into comedy; and if it seems as if a localizing treatment is popular, then an opposite tendency is evident in works which tip the balance away from locale and towards content and theme. What can be suggested with certainty is that the examples explored here have been generally neglected. Arguably, this neglect may be traced to the ways in which Shakespeare on screen has traditionally been addressed, the focus tending to fall on well-known Anglophone examples to the detriment of non-Anglophone traditions and tendencies. Despite growing attention to "world Shakespeare," we still require a movement away from the "west" which would involve acknowledgement of plurality and polysemy: a holistic understanding of the field. In this way, all Shakespearean adaptations, irrespective of national or linguistic points of origin, might be encompassed within a wider and more capacious remit that demonstrates the infinite capabilities of the global cinema imaginary to rework Shakespeare's themes and stories.

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FILMOGRAPHY FOR ALL CHAPTERS IN PART II

This filmography includes all Shakespeare-related films named in Part II of the book. The films are arranged according to the play to which they are most closely related, and are listed alphabetically beneath the appropriate play title according to the title the authors use in their chapters. In most cases where the first title given is in a language other than English, we have provided an English translation. In most cases where the first title listed is in English but the title is originally in another language, we have provided the original title.

Antony and Cleopatra

Antony and Cleopatra (1972) dir. Charlton Heston; UK, Spain, Switzerland; English.

As You Like It

As You Like It (1992) dir. Christine Edzard; UK; English.

As You Like It (2006) dir. Kenneth Branagh; USA and UK; English.

Rosalinda (2010) dir. Matías Piñeiro; Argentina; Spanish.

The Comedy of Errors

Angoor (1982) dir. Gulzar; India; Hindi.

Coriolanus

Coriolanus (2011) dir. Ralph Fiennes; UK; English.

Cymbeline

Cymbeline (2015) dir. Michael Almereyda; USA; English.

Hamlet

Alexandria Why? (Iskanderija . . . lih?, 1978) dir. Youssef Chahine; Egypt; Arabic and English.

Avantjurata Hamlet (The Hamlet Adventure, 2008) dir. Greg Roach and Ivaylo Dikanski; Bulgaria; Bulgarian, English, Spanish, German.

Beregis Avtomobilya (Beware of the Car, or Uncommon Thief, 1966) dir. Eld'ar Riazanov; USSR; Russian.

Gamlet (1964) dir. Grigori Kozintsev; USSR; Russian.

Haider (2014) dir. Vishal Bhardwaj; India; Hindi and Urdu.

Hamile (1965) dir. Terry Bishop; Ghana; English.

Hamlet (1921) dir. Svend Gade and Heinz Schall; USA, Germany, etc.; silent; German.

Hamlet (1948) dir. Laurence Olivier; UK; English.

Hamlet (1990) dir. Franco Zeffirelli; UK and USA; English.

Hamlet (1996) dir. Kenneth Branagh; UK and USA; English.

Hamlet (2000) dir. Michael Almereyda; USA; English.

Hamlet liikemaailmassa (Hamlet Goes Business, 1987) dir. Aki Kaurismäki; Finland; Finnish.

Hamlet X (2004) dir. James Clayden; Australia; English.

A Herança (1970) dir. Ozualdo Candeias; Brazil; Portuguese.

İntikam meleği – Kadın Hamlet (Angel of Vengeance – The Female Hamlet, 1977) dir. Metin Erksan; Turkey; Turkish.

The King and the Clown (Wang-ui namja, 2005) dir. Joon-ik Lee; South Korea; Korean.

Last Action Hero (1993) dir. John McTiernan; USA; English.

O Jogo da Vida e da Morte (A Game of Life and Death, 1971) dir. Mario Kuperman; Brazil; Portuguese.

Ophélie (1963) dir. Claude Chabrol; France; French.

Der Rest ist Schweigen (The Rest Is Silence, 1959) dir. Helmut Käutner; West Germany; German.

Strange Brew (1983) dir. Rick Moranis and Dave Thomas; USA and Canada; English.

Tardid (Doubt, 2009) dir. Varuzh Karim-Masihi; Iran; Farsi.

To Be or Not to Be (1942) dir. Ernst Lubitsch; USA; English.

The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark (2007) dir. Oscar Redding; Australia; English.

Ximalaya wangzi (Prince of the Himalayas, 2006) dir. Sherwood Hu; China; Tibetan.

Ye yan (The Banquet, or The Legend of the Black Scorpion, 2006) dir. Feng Xiaogang; China; Mandarin.

1 and 2 Henry IV

Chimes at Midnight (1965) dir. Orson Welles; Spain; English.

Faustão (1971) dir. Eduardo Coutinho; Brazil; Portuguese.

Henry V

Henry V (1944) dir. Laurence Olivier; UK; English and French.

Henry V (1989) dir. Kenneth Branagh; UK; English and French.

Julius Caesar

Julius Caesar (1953) dir. Joseph Mankiewicz; USA; English.

King John

King John (1899) dir. William K.L. Dickson; UK; silent.

King Lear

Harry and Tonto (1974) dir. Paul Mazursky; USA; English.

The King Is Alive (2000) dir. Kristian Levring; Denmark, Sweden, USA; English, French, Sotho.

King Lear (1971) dir. Peter Brook; UK and Denmark; English.

Korol Lir (*King Lear*, 1971) dir. Grigori Kozintsev; USSR; Russian.

The Last Lear (2007) dir. Rituparno Ghosh; India; English, Bengali, Hindi.

Life Goes On (2009) dir. Sangeeta Datta; UK; English, Hindi, Bengali.

My Kingdom (2001) dir. Don Boyd; Italy and UK; English.

Ran (1985) dir. Akira Kurosawa; Japan and France; Japanese.

Love's Labour's Lost

Love's Labour's Lost (2000) dir. Kenneth Branagh; UK, France, USA; English.

The Princess of France (*La princesa de Francia*, 2014) dir. Matías Piñeiro; Argentina; Spanish.

Macbeth

Joe Macbeth (1955) dir. Ken Hughes; UK and USA; English.

Macbeth (1948) dir. Orson Welles; USA; English.

Macbeth (1971) dir. Roman Polanski; UK and USA; English.

Macbeth (1982) dir. Béla Tarr; Hungary; Hungarian.

Macbeth (2004) dir. Bo Landin and Alex Scherpf; Sweden; Sámi.

Macbeth (2006) dir. Geoffrey Wright; Australia; English.

Maqbool (2003) dir. Vishal Bhardwaj; India; Urdu and Hindi.

Sangrador (*Bleeder*, 2000) dir. Leonardo Henríquez; Venezuela; Spanish.

Shakespeare Must Die (2012) dir. Ing Kanjanavanit; Thailand; Thai.

Someone Is Sleeping in My Pain: An East-West Macbeth (2001) dir. Michael Roes; Germany; English and Arabic.

Throne of Blood (*Kumonosu-jô*, 1957) dir. Akira Kurosawa; Japan; Japanese.

The Merchant of Venice

The Māori Merchant of Venice (2002) dir. Don Selwyn; New Zealand; Te Reo.

Merry Wives of Windsor

As Alegres Comadres (*The Merry Wives*, 2003) dir. Leila Hipólito; Brazil; Portuguese.

A Midsummer Night's Dream

A Midsummer Night's Dream (1935) dir. Max Reinhardt and William Dieterle; USA; English.
A Midsummer Night's Dream (1999) dir. Michael Hoffman; USA and Italy; English.
Midsummer's Night Dream (2000) dir. Steve Cadro [István Korda]; Hungary; Hungarian.
Sen noci svatojánské (A Midsummer Night's Dream, 1959) dir. Jiří Trnka; Czechoslovakia; Czech.
Sogno di una notte d'estate (A Summer Night's Dream, 1983) dir. Gabriele Salvatores; Italy; Italian.
El Sueño de una noche de San Juan (The Dream of a Night of Saint John, 2005) dir. Ángel de la Cruz and Manolo Gómez; Spain and Portugal; Spanish.

Much Ado About Nothing

Much Ado About Nothing (1993) dir. Kenneth Branagh; UK and USA; English.

Othello

All Night Long (1962) dir. Basil Dearden; UK; English.
A Double Life (1947) dir. George Cukor; USA; English.
Une histoire inventée (1990) dir. André Forcier; Canada; French.
Huapango (2004) dir. Iván Lipkies; Mexico; Spanish.
Omkara (2006) dir. Vishal Bhardwaj; India; Hindi.
Othello (1952) dir. Orson Welles; Morocco and Italy; English.
Othello (1995) dir. Oliver Parker; USA and UK; English.

Richard III

Looking for Richard (1996) dir. Al Pacino; USA; English.
Richard III (1911) dir. Frank R. Benson; UK; silent, English.
Richard III (1912) dir. André Calmettes and James Keane; USA; silent, English.
Richard III (1955) dir. Laurence Olivier; UK; English.
Richard III (1995) dir. Richard Loncraine; UK and USA; English.

Romeo and Juliet

Um amor de perdição (Doomed Love, 2008) dir. Mário Barroso; Portugal and Brazil; Portuguese.
Chicken Rice War (Jiyuan qiaohe, 2000) dir. Chee Kong Cheah; Singapore; Cantonese and English.
The Desert Ark (L'arche du desert, 1997) dir. Mohamed Chouikh; Algeria; Arabic.
Era Uma Vez (Once upon a Time in Rio, 2008) dir. Breno Silveira; Brazil; Portuguese.
Gnomeo and Juliet (2011) dir. Kelly Asbury; UK and USA; English.
Hassan and Naima (Hassan wa Nayima, 1959) dir. Henry Barakat; Egypt; Arabic.
Hobak Nar (2004) dir. Ihab Radhi; Egypt; Arabic.
Julie et Roméo (2011) dir. Boubakar Diallo; Burkina Faso; French.
Maré, Nossa Historia de Amor (Another Love Story, 2008) dir. Lúcia Murat; Brazil; Portuguese.
Phileine zegt sorry (Phileine Says Sorry, 2003) dir. Robert Jan Westdijk; Holland; Dutch and English.
Romeo and Juliet (1936) dir. George Cukor; USA; English.

Romeo and Juliet (1954) dir. Renato Castellani; Italy and UK; English.
Romeo and Juliet (1968) dir. Franco Zeffirelli; USA and Italy; English.
Roméo et Juliette (2006) dir. Yves Desgagnés; Canada; French.
Romeo y Julieta (1943) dir. Miguel M. Delgado; Mexico; Spanish.
uGugu no Andile (*Gugu and Andile*, 2008) dir. Minky Schlesinger; South Africa; isiZulu and isiXhosa.
William Shakespeare's Romeo + Juliet (1996) dir. Baz Luhrmann; USA; English.
Yi qi liang fu (*One Husband Too Many*, 1988) dir. Anthony Chan; Hong Kong; Cantonese.

The Taming of the Shrew

Beware of Eve (*Ah min hawaa*, 1962) dir. Fatin Abdel Wahab; Egypt; Arabic.
The Taming of the Shrew (1929) dir. Sam Taylor; USA; English.
The Taming of the Shrew (1967) dir. Franco Zeffirelli; Italy, USA; English.

The Tempest

The Cook, the Thief, His Wife, and Her Lover (1989) dir. Peter Greenaway; UK; English.
Forbidden Planet (1956) dir. Fred Wilcox; USA; English.
The Little Mermaid (1989) dir. Ron Clements and John Musker; USA; English and French.
Prospero's Books (1991) dir. Peter Greenaway; UK, Netherlands, France, Italy, Japan; English.
The Tempest (1908) dir. Percy Stow; UK; silent, English.
The Tempest (1979) dir. Derek Jarman; UK; English.
The Tempest (2010) dir. Julie Taymor; USA; English.

Titus Andronicus

Titus (1999) dir. Julie Taymor; USA and Italy; English.

Twelfth Night

Twelfth Night, or What You Will (1996) dir. Trevor Nunn; UK, Ireland, USA; English.
Viola (2012) dir. Matías Piñeiro; Argentina; Spanish.

The Two Gentlemen of Verona

Yi jian mei (*A Spray of Plum Blossoms*, 1931) dir. Bu Wancang; China; silent, English and Chinese.

Other

Anonymous (2011) dir. Roland Emmerich; UK, Germany, USA; English.
Shakespeare in Love (1998) dir. John Madden; USA; English.
Shakespeare Wallah (1965) dir. James Ivory; India; Hindi and English.



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PART III

SHAKESPEARE IN THE ARTS
BEYOND DRAMA AND
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CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE SUBJECT OF *SHAKE-SPEARES* SONNETS AND AFTERLIFE IN LYRIC POETRY



Peter Robinson

In 1599, his biography on *A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare*, James Shapiro notes of William Jaggard's piratical miscellany *The Passionate Pilgrim*, published in April or May, that Londoners would have been "free to gossip about the sonnets' intimate (if fictional) biographical details, for these teasingly allusive poems almost beg for that sort of response" (2005: 214). But were they? Scholarly protocol in the absence of evidence gives the "biographical" only to take it away as "fictional." The prudent critic finds poems neither allusive nor not (being "teasingly" so) and on "both sides thus" is "simple truth suppressed" (138). "In a poem," Fernando Pessoa asserted, not attributing it to any of his heteronyms, "we must understand what the poet wants, but we may feel what we like" (2007a: 207). Yet to understand what poems "almost beg for" we need, however free to feel, to distinguish between understanding their expectation of response and our success or failure in so responding – and to make this distinction it would help to know whether *Shake-speares Sonnets* (1609) are begging, or pretending to beg, or not begging at all.

Let me begin, then, by addressing such equivocations, echoed across criticism concerned not only with the versions of 138 and 144 in Jaggard's collection, but with all 154. These sonnets are regularly proposed as either, or degrees of both, a poetic *roman-à-clef* (with key lost) or a fragmented series of rhetorical performances with multiplied protagonists entirely or largely invented. Such conflicted views focus down on the strict impossibility of their being, in Shapiro's words, both "fictional" and autobiographically "allusive," for the latter requires reference to anterior persons while the former assumes their independence of any such priorities. Addressing the irreducibly relational nature of their first-person subjectivity, its dependence on the functioning of other pronouns in the sequence, and, further, how and to what its pronouns expect us to respond, I first offer a way of proceeding as regards both fictions and allusiveness.

My use of the word "subject" is intentionally ambiguous, referring of necessity to the subject-matter of *Sonnets* and their subjectivity – the subject-matter being the vicissitudes of Shakespeare's relationships with other persons, one male and one female, and with related complexities regarding other lovers and poets to whom he compares and contrasts himself. The subjectivity is the singular viewpoint, with its

limits, by means of which this matter is rendered. In *Shakespeare's Perjured Eye*, Joel Fineman sustains connections between these two subjects, for the "reflections of praise are also reflexive" and "in pointing *there* praise will also point to *here*" (1986: 6). He conjoins the fictional and the allusive by observing of epideictic praise poetry that it is a meeting of mimesis and metaphor; that praise elevates description above fact into figuration; and that the honouring of the love-object, whether in Dante or Petrarch, implicitly beatifies or laureates the poet. Fineman links this reflexivity to the deixis of pronominal use in *Sonnets*: "we grow accustomed to a praising self whose 'I' and 'me' depend upon their correspondence to a praiseworthy 'thou' and 'thee'" (Fineman 1986: 7). His argument leads, as have so many, to the "disrupting" of "what until Shakespeare's sonnets is the normative nature of poetic person and poetic persona" (1986: 1). Thus a similar incompatibility of a fictional figuration and an allusive fact, reflexively played back onto the poet's "I," is critically mined to multiply and divide both subject-matter and subjectivity.

Leaving aside whether such disrupting would be as apt to Dante's and Petrarch's person or persona, I argue that this reflexivity and its disrupting rely upon a functioning reference to operatively un-disrupted entities, the imagined persons to whom the pronouns point. The complex predicaments of selves and others that critics have explicated *are* present in *Sonnets*; but these predicaments and what the poems engage to do about them are disabled if reference to singular entities identified in utterance by the writer of the sonnet is dispersed. In short, the meaning of the subject-matter, however complex, is dependent on the action and agency of the subject, its person and subjectivity as reflexively indicated. Without such an implicit and operative understanding, the meaning yield of *Sonnets* is impoverished because both dispersed and disabled. I offer an account of how recognition of the subject's agency allows even the work of its relative disruption to be delivered to readers, readers being the other essential agents in any actions that these poems may undertake to perform.

THE SUBJECT AND FIRST PUBLICATION

Katherine Duncan-Jones observes of the 1609 Quarto published by Thomas Thorpe:

The title of Shakespeare's sonnets is *Shakespeare's Sonnets*. On this point, the Stationers' Register entry and Q are quite consistent; and the appearance of "SHAKE-SPEARES / SONNETS" as a running title in every single opening of Q also ensures that, however far a reader proceeds into the sequence, the labelling of the poems being read both as sonnets and as Shakespeare's can never be forgotten.

(Duncan-Jones 1997: 85)

She notes a widespread reluctance to take the point of such naming, and concludes:

A literal identification of the "I" of *Sonnets* with Shakespeare himself has been actively repudiated by most late-twentieth-century critics. Yet it should be acknowledged that this form of title, provided that we believe the work to be authorized, positively invites such an identification. Indeed, in referring to

Shakespeare as publishing his sonnets “in his owne name” Thomas Heywood may have been alluding to the spear-shaking wording of the title.

(Duncan-Jones 1997: 86)

The Quarto *Sonnets* was published in Shakespeare’s name, then, whether Heywood was right or not about his authorizing publication. Yet Duncan-Jones equivocates by adopting the conventional non-identification of Shakespeare with a proxy figure supposedly generated by the poems when she writes: “The *Sonnets*-speaker finds himself ultimately trapped in a web of his own poetic fabrication” (1997: 94). Here the created fictional “figure” is simultaneously an actual poet and caught in a “poetic fabrication.” Her introduction is alert to a centuries-long resistance to the national poet having penned 126 seemingly homoerotic poems. The habitual strategy of distinguishing between Shakespeare himself and an unidentified “*Sonnets*-speaker” who “finds himself” so “trapped in the web” of a real poet’s productions preserves Shakespeare from what cometh, it has been thought, of evil.

Such opportune convenience derives from a broader tendency in the reading of lyric poetry:

The emergence of New Criticism in the 1930s was fortunate for admirers of *Shakespeare’s Sonnets*, for it opened up techniques of “close reading” which were on principle decontextualized, thus prohibiting biographical reference.

(Duncan-Jones 1997: 83)

When she identifies the “I” of *Sonnets* with Shakespeare, Duncan-Jones close reads the title-page and running heads of the 1609 Quarto. Her interpretation is, though, an author-intended meaning dependent on the conundrum of whether Thorpe’s edition was authorized. When she refers to the “on principle decontextualized” procedure of New Criticism, she employs its assumption that the reading of the “I” pronoun in a lyric poem is never identifiable with the historical person known, as far as anything is, to have written the poem. But let me suggest that to read the “I” pronoun in lyric poems, and *Sonnets* among them, in this fashion – generating a proxy figure to stand in for the historical author – is to practise not so much close as evasively professionalized reading.

Towards the end of his inquiry into the nature and operation of the first-person pronoun, Maximilian de Gaynesford concludes: “*I* is a genuine singular referring expression. It is a linguistic counter whose meaning indicates which one particular thing is relevant to the truth-value of the sentence containing it,” and he adds: “As with other terms, it would be anti-conventional for the user to ask which individual is identified when there is no likelihood of misidentification” (2006: 163, 164). His observations refer to the use of first-person pronouns in any circumstances. They do not distinguish between real-life uses and literary ones for the reason, offered by John Searle (1979: 63), that if there were such a distinction between uses inside and outside literary works, then, when learning to read, we would have to understand the words differently for each supposed sphere. We would have to learn our native (and any other) language twice over. New Criticism insists on such an unreal doubling of effort by obliging us not to assume when we read “I leant upon a coppice gate” (Hardy 1982: 188) that it is the sixty-year-old author of a poem dated 1900 who can be imagined so leaning.

De Gaynesford's saying "it would be anti-conventional for the user to ask which individual is identified when there is no likelihood of misidentification" asserts that when I write or speak using the first-person pronoun I take it to be me who is issuing the words. The "user" is anyone who addresses anything to someone or talks to her- or himself in the first person, for, as the philosopher adds:

I is a device with varying referents (a "variant device"). *I* may be used by anyone to refer to themselves; everyone who uses *I* can only refer to himself; context disambiguates which object is referred to by any use, not which term is in use.
(De Gaynesford 2006: 163)

If I, speaking or writing to someone or myself, do not ask who utters these sentences (but take it to be me), then, since others will do the same for themselves, they will also, hearing me using "I" as referring to myself, take it "since there is no likelihood of misidentification" to be me, an inference I will, in turn, make for them.

Thus Duncan-Jones's "literal identification of the 'I' of *Sonnets* with Shakespeare himself" (although she soon lapses into the "the *Sonnets*-speaker" locution) was right the first time: those readers paying their few pence to buy the 1609 Quarto would have thought that "the *Sonnets*-speaker" and "Shakespeare himself" were the "one particular thing" that is "relevant to the truth-value of" the poems they were reading. Annotators of surviving copies from 1609 showed impactful reader responses when striking through sonnet 129 ("Th'expense of spirit in a waste of shame") or writing after the concluding sonnet 154: "What a heap of wretched Infidel Stuff" (Duncan-Jones 1997: 69–70). Such reactions paid *Sonnets* the tribute of assuming that "reader, he was *not kidding*," as John Berryman (1976: 316) said of Shakespeare in "Two loves I have, of comfort and despair" (144). Those readers took the producer of the "Stuff" to be the living person named on the title-page and running heads, referred to in the publisher's dedication, not a decontextualized proxy, disembodied voice, or textual trace.

Applying de Gaynesford's understanding of "I" to *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, where there is "no likelihood of misidentification," the "I" of these lyric poems may be understood as referring to Shakespeare, who puns on a short form of his first name in sonnets 135 and 136. Bruce R. Smith, who takes on the pronouns in his "I, You, He, She, and We," would argue that:

"I," "he," and "she" exist ontologically in these texts exactly as three principal characters might in a theatrical script: they have no independent existence, but exist in terms of each other. Each of them may speak and act as if "she" or "he" were an independent "I," but each of them desperately needs the others for "his" or "her" very existence.

(Smith 2000: 424)

Sleight of mind allows the three pronouns to "exist ontologically" only to become "characters . . . in a theatrical script" and then "have no independent existence." Pronouns, though, do not and cannot "exist ontologically." They refer to antecedent ontological entities, while the characteristics of these referred-to persons depend upon reader imagination. Like reading a theatrical script, the ontology of the play's

characters is assumed as necessary within the fiction represented, and lent to those characters by actual persons, the actors, when staged. Yet in *Sonnets* we do not identify the pronouns with “characters,” but do have grounds for identifying them with persons, their “I” with the author named in title and running heads. This is to say not that the “I” is Shakespeare, but that it refers to him; and readers have reasons for identifying what is said by and about this “I” with the writer of *Shake-speares Sonnets*.

Smith’s theoretical subtlety, though, makes it impossible for him to make such identifications, although he is happy to note: “the Sonnets read like autobiographical confessions” (2000: 414). He too gestures and withholds:

Furthermore, all three parties – “he,” “she,” and the “I” they constitute – are cultural constructs, products of early modern ways of marking gender and articulating sexual desire. To state it in Lacan’s terms, “I” is mediated by language, and language is mediated by culture – in this case, the culture of early modern England.

(Smith 2000: 427)

The “I,” mediated by language, in turn mediated by culture, early modern England’s, can be understood to refer linguistically to a person also mediated by that culture: William Shakespeare. Smith is appropriately exercised by the complex and historically specific gendering and sexualizing of that first-person pronoun – also impossible, given its multiply gendered and transhistorical capacities of reference. He blames readers’ need to identify with the “I” of *Sonnets* as the explanation for the denial of complexity:

These contingencies should warn us against identifying with the speaking “I,” and yet that is the very thing that has made Shakespeare’s Sonnets the last bastion of conservative critical thinking.

(Smith 2000: 427)

Yet if we do allow the ordinary reading, by which, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, the “I” of *Sonnets* refers to their author, this could further serve Smith’s purpose. He assumes that heterosexual and homophobic reader-identification has prevented these poems from being read accurately. Yet not feeling the need to defend their poet against what had been thought inappropriate sexual desires, and understanding these written literary utterances as referring to their author, I do not need to occasion the possible sexual panic or solidarity of identifying the sonnets with *my* love life. By identifying them appropriately with someone else, one definitively located in early modern England, I *can* then *metaphorically* identify: by imaginatively reaching towards them because I know that their subject, however like or unlike me, is not me.

Smith’s observations on the pronouns in *Sonnets* offer a further line of fruitful inquiry if reinterpreted in the light of the ontologically anterior entities to which these pronouns deictically point, giving readers reasons for imagining their beings. This is his suggestion that “they have no independent existence, but exist in terms of each other” (2000: 424). If the existence of these persons is imagined, their lack

of independence corresponds to an aspect of human subjectivity, to speech-act reciprocities, and the status interdependencies of *Sonnets*. When Smith writes that each “may speak and act as if ‘she’ or ‘he’ were an independent ‘I,’” his “as if” implies they are mistaken. Yet the subject of *Sonnets* deploys an “I” legitimately assuming sufficient independence and autonomy to deploy the verbs to which it is attached, speech-act verbs among them, an independence and autonomy realistically grounded because, in more than one sense, relative, for “each of them desperately needs the others for ‘his’ or ‘her’ very existence.” This seeming contradiction, that they exist as distinct entities and need each other to exist, is a condition of their being imagined as living in a culture. The degrees of dependence, socially and culturally specified, are also culturally unequal and varying within the changing circumstances of individual sonnets.

IMAGINING THE SUBJECT

This requirement for understanding the actions the poems undertake to perform is not the renewal of fruitlessly tantalizing searches for the person who *really* wrote *Shakespeare's Sonnets* (Oxford or whoever) or the people to whom they are addressed and refer (Southampton, Lanyer, Chapman, or whomever). Rather, it entails the imaginative identification, in reading, of personal pronouns with appropriately imagined antecedent persons. In *Speech and Performance in Shakespeare's Sonnets and Plays*, David Schalkwyk notes: “the problem with the persona as he is usually projected into Shakespeare’s sonnets is that it is too thin a designation to sustain a fictional narrative” (2002: 22). How substantial must the imagined persons be to make sense of their stories? They must be agents for speech-acts such as the assertion, and oath, and response to it in “When my love swears that she is made of truth / I do believe her though I know she lies” (138). The “I” in *Shake-speares Sonnets* needs to pick out a living person with awareness of identity over time in its social relations with others who are similarly aware.

Paul Hammond, though, refers to “the Poet” (as distinct from Shakespeare) and “the speaker” again, multiplying the objects of reference for the first-person pronoun. “Moreover,” he suggests, “we do not even know that the sonnets which address a Boy and a Woman are to be thought of as addressing the same Boy and the same Woman” (Hammond 2012: 5), and draws on Colin Burrow for support: “the addressee is a different thing depending on how he or she is addressed, and on how the epithet by which he or she is addressed is inflected in the context” (Burrow 2002: 123; cited in Hammond 2012: 5). Hammond concludes: “each sonnet creates the characters anew, and that includes the character of the Poet” (2012: 5). It is true that we do not know whether Shakespeare in writing these sonnets did or did not draw upon various experiences of different young men, dark ladies, and rival poets in evoking his sequence’s significant persons. But whether “the sonnets which address a Boy and a Woman are to be thought of as addressing the same Boy and the same Woman” we can decide. Commentators on *Shake-speares Sonnets* frequently note that one sonnet begins where the last left off, while the second- and third-person pronouns offer no support for thinking that they do not refer to the same people.

Changes of epithetical characterization from line to line or sonnet to sonnet depend upon the imagined continuity of the persons who experience this relentless addressing by the person formalistically called “the Poet.” There is nomenclatural inequality between the antecedents for the key pronouns in *Sonnets*. Schalkwyk makes much of the almost-fact that no proper names are given: he acknowledges, but does not count, the poet’s punning on his own first name, and possibly on that of the addressee; but he does not mention the contention that there is punning on Anne Hathaway’s name in sonnet 145. Yet “the Poet” does have a name, “Shake-speare,” the person, that is, to whom these poems are attributed in the entitling of their first publication. The Young Man, or Boy, may be alluded to in the publisher’s dedication as “Mr. W.H.” There’s a likely witticism in his being “THE. ONLY. BEGETTER,” since the sequence begins with seventeen sonnets urging him to beget children. The conventionally entitled Dark Lady and Rival Poet, or Poets, are evoked and alluded to, but not named. Just as each of *Sonnets* does not create characters anew, varying, rather, the characterizations of the persons referred to, so is this true (not of that formula “the Poet” but) of “OUR. EVER-LIVING. POET,” the actually mortal person who could be so praised for having written *Shake-speares Sonnets*.

Moreover, the “character of the Poet” cannot be “a different thing” depending on how “the epithet” is “inflected in the context.” Take sonnet 14, which begins “Not from the stars do I my judgement pluck,” reiterating its “I,” “And yet methinks I have astronomy,” and again (“Nor can I fortune to brief minutes tell”); then once more (“By oft predict that I in heaven find”); and repeatedly in the sestet:

But from thine eyes my knowledge I derive,
And, constant stars, in them I read such art
As truth and beauty shall together thrive
If from thyself to store thou wouldst convert.
Or else of thee this I prognosticate:
Thy end is truth’s and beauty’s doom and date.

(9–14)

Just as the second-person possessive in “thyself” attributes an abstract object to someone and requires that object to be both singular in character and consistently extensive over time, so too the “I” does not change its nature with every verbal iteration. Were pronouns so to change referent between separate sonnets, they should also have to do so for every pronoun use within each fourteen lines. Rather, the “I” attributes consistency of selfhood and reference over time and across sonnets to the issuer of these words. Reading “When I consider every thing that grows / Holds in perfection but a little moment” (sonnet 15), not only do I not think “new poem, new ‘I,’” but rather I carry forward my assumed reference for the pronoun in sonnet 14 to its next iteration in sonnet 15, and do this even when the sonnet states that everything living changes with time, including the person to whom the pronoun refers. I have myself, after all, experienced the idea of relative continuity while ageing. This sustained reference for pronouns to subjects relatively consistent through time is essential to one of the key counter-intuitive assertions in *Shake-speares Sonnets* – their ability to immortalize the addressee’s beauty by means of their own survival.

THE SUBJECT'S LOVES AND TIME

Shake-speares Sonnets repeatedly attribute abstractions to persons, so as to play off the possessed against the unmodified: “my love” and “love” or “our minutes” against “time.” This attribution proves essential to the assertion of immortality through writing, where immortality mostly belongs to “thou,” although achieved by Shakespeare’s inscribing the effect of that beauty in his “black” lines (sonnet 65). Further, in sonnet 107, for the one and only time, it is the immortality of the “I” that is granted by the poem’s death-defeating survival: “Since spite of him [death] I’ll live in this poor rhyme / While he insults o’er dull and speechless tribes.” Unlike time, death, and love, though, immortality does not have agency; nor is it something existing without an attributed person or object to manifest it. So the possession of immortality is always at issue, whether it be “thou” who has, or will have it, or *Sonnets* that own it to grant to “thee,” or Shakespeare who has it because he is the possessive subject of *Shake-speares Sonnets* that grant it to “thee.” This crucial theme links a number of sonnets, 65 and 107 especially (Robinson 2002: 127–33), because it involves the highest power they can deploy to counteract other interpersonal power-relations the collection evokes – in sonnet 29, for example, when “in disgrace with fortune and men’s eyes” (Robinson 1992: 144–47). Immortality, too, is an inter-relational value achieved with the aid of readers, those innumerable, necessary, unknown persons, for “So long as men can breathe or eyes can see, / So long lives this, and this gives life to thee” (sonnet 18).

Peter Lamarque observes that the “theme of Shakespeare’s sonnet 65” is “easy to discern.” It involves:

the inescapability of time and the sadness of mortality with a hint that love might attain a kind of immortality through the written word, perhaps in the form of the sonnets themselves. The beauty and power of the poem lie in the way that the apparent hopelessness of the ravages of time is expressed and developed, tempered at the end by a glimmer of hope. The images are mixed – from the military (“the wreckful siege of batt’ring days”) to the mercenary (“Time’s best Jewel from Time’s chest hid”) – but they cohere round the ever-present central theme. What is typical of a literary work is that an idea in the form of a theme – either individual concepts such as mortality or passing time, or a proposition such as “poetry sustains love through the ravages of time” – is developed out of and gives coherence to specific detail at the subject level.

(Lamarque 2010: 224)

Sonnet 65 is a good choice to illustrate arguments concerning the interpretability of idea and theme in a literary work, for the abstractions (mortality, time, beauty) are personified without qualification by possessive pronouns:

Since brass, nor stone, nor earth, nor boundless sea,
But sad mortality o’ersways their power,
How with this rage shall beauty hold a plea,
Whose action is no stronger than a flower?
O how shall summer’s honey breath hold out

Against the wrackful siege of battering days
When rocks impregnable are not so stout,
Nor gates of steel so strong, but time decays?
O fearful meditation! Where, alack,
Shall time's best jewel from time's chest lie hid,
Or what strong hand can hold his swift foot back,
Or who his spoil or beauty can forbid?
O none, unless this miracle have might:
That in black ink my love may still shine bright.

The only pronominally possessed entity at work beyond this barrage of unqualified abstractions is “my love” in the last line. Nothing else can defeat mortality and time. No sooner has this “my” appeared, though, than the philosopher’s proposition (“poetry sustains love through the ravages of time”) runs into difficulties, for it is not that “poetry sustains love” but rather that “this miracle” can do it in this “black ink.” It is *this* sonnet, this poetry, not any or all poetry, that can sustain love; and it is not any unpossessed love or all love, but “my love” – itself an expression referring simultaneously to the object of the love and feelings about him. Even were the extractable proposition to be more strictly framed, still it would not be right as earlier expressed in this poem’s “hint that love might attain a kind of immortality through the written word, perhaps in the form of the sonnets themselves.” Lamarque’s own “kind of” and “perhaps” point to why its unlikelihood is underlined by the word “miracle.” The claim that this sonnet could possibly have such power, that it might “have might,” and thus “That in black ink my love may still shine bright,” itself qualified by “may,” is just that – a claim asserted against the grain of what has gone before, the power of mortality and time, abstractions stronger than brass, stone, earth, and boundless sea.

The more qualified the immortality claim is, the more it requires the force of personal assertion, the power of those written words, to make its claim even provisionally stick. Thus the “my” has to be there, has to refer to a person, and one not “too thin a designation to sustain” such a narrative, one self-understood as extensive over time and capable of the appropriate agency. The claim has to be limited and specified to function as praise of the loved individual, and, simultaneously, as a claim for the quality and power of Shakespeare’s expressed love. It has to be specified by means of the deictic “this” to indicate only this poem (or, at most, this and others in the sequence) because the competitiveness in *Shake-speares Sonnets* (the other poets or lovers and mistresses implicitly referred to in sonnet 130, for instance) makes it evident that the claim is not that any old poetry could to this. Were it readily acceptable that “poetry sustains love through the ravages of time,” there would then be no need for *this* miracle, power, or might, this evoked force. The implication is that most poetry, and even this poem, does not and cannot sustain love over the ravages of time. It is only thanks to “my love” (in both senses) that there is a chance, through its might, that it might.

Sonnet 65 has been associated with Horace’s Odi 30 in *Carmina* III (“Exegi monumentum aere perennius”), a boast about the time- and weather-defeating power of the works in his first three volumes of *Odes*. The “other” that guarantees this in Horace’s poem is Rome itself, including Maecenas’s patronage, and the “eternity” of its empire, evoked through allusions to imperial practices and history. That his work

has outlived the fall of the Roman Empire might both underline and haplessly ironize its successful claim. This sonnet manifests less confidence than Horace, the lack occasioning its compliment to “thee,” and, thus, its appeal for the patronage and support that Horace, also from a modest background, felt assured of in his third book’s final poem. Horace’s lines contain a first-person possessive pronoun (*mei*): “non omnis moriar multaque pars mei / vitabit Libitinam” (1968: 278). However, its meaning and effect are quite different from sonnet 65, for, unlike Horace’s assertion here that not everything of “me” will die, sonnet 65 stages the power of survival not in poetry, nor in its poet, but in the relational collaboration of the ambiguous referents in “my love.”

Approaches such as those of Burrow and Hammond – which postulate changing characters for “thee,” “you,” “he,” “she,” and “I” – have the further disadvantage that they make it difficult for there to be *significant* change to any of these pronouns’ referents. If I read *Sonnets* as having an endlessly metamorphosing and etiolating difference of reference, then neither their “I” nor the reader can articulate or understand that important developments have occurred, for there would be no single referent to whom such changes as loss of fortune in men’s eyes (sonnet 29), or a displacement in your affections by one or more unnamed rival poet(s) (sonnet 86), or the imbroglio when my mistress appears to have become sexually involved with you (sonnet 144) can be suffered. Yet this is the sense *Sonnets* offers in experiencing the travails of a coherently troubled and confused referent over time. The aesthetic and cognitive yield of *Sonnets* is far greater if taken at face value, imagining people sufficiently consistent in and unto themselves to feel the pain of the difficulties that are both set out and engaged with in the sequence.

A further point against the sophisticated versions of the multiplied authorial subject is that it would have to apply to all the other persons, too. When “thee” casts Shakespeare off, or appears to prefer the rival poet, then he could not be himself, being already another person. Yet this would relieve Shakespeare of reasons for feeling dejected (it was not *you*), and there are such arguments in *Sonnets* that ring with a hollow lack of conviction to emphasize the weakness of the position from which these sophisticated rationalizations are made. Without such continuity through time, the offering of immortality to “my love” would not have sufficient resilient singularity to be so projected by means of the survival of the poems and their being read. The consequence of the sophistication multiplying the referents of pronouns in *Sonnets* is that they haplessly disable the workings of the most powerful claim Shakespeare makes: to confer immortality on “thee” by means of these “black lines.”

ACTS THAT THE SUBJECT PERFORMS BY WRITING SPEECH

Schalkwyk also draws attention to how speech acts in *Sonnets* attempt “to negotiate the unequal political and social relationship between player-poet and aristocratic patron via performative uses of language.” This player-poet, then

seeks less to persuade careless nobility through rhetoric than to bring about something *in* the saying of it. Negotiations between power and weakness, authority and subordination in the sonnets are bound up with illocutionary rather than

constative uses of language, and such performatives are the means by which the player-poet negotiates the politics of self-authorization.

(Schalkwyk 2002: 33)

Betting on the efficacy of “self-authorization,” Schalkwyk’s way of putting it begs the question how such self-authoring could be acknowledged in, for instance, the gossip those Londoners were thought free to indulge in 1599. It begs the question of what might give performatives in lyric poems their authority to “bring about something *in* the saying of it.” Schalkwyk’s point depends on J.L. Austin’s distinction between perlocutory and illocutory utterances: the first being rhetorical assertions, the latter acts performed in the uttering of appropriate forms of words by right persons in properly occasioned circumstances. He refers to a requirement for the “happiness” of the latter, their felicity in bringing off what they speak to do, which, he notes, depends upon what Austin calls “*uptake*” and sketches as follows:

Unless a certain effect is achieved, the illocutionary act will not have been happily, successfully performed. This is not to say that the illocutionary act is the achieving of a certain effect. I cannot be said to have warned an audience unless it hears what I say and takes what I say in a certain sense. An effect must be achieved on the audience if the illocutionary act is to be carried out. How should we best put it here? And how can we limit it? Generally the effect amounts to bringing about the understanding of the meaning and of the force of the locution. So the performance of an illocutionary act involves the securing of *uptake*.

(Austin 1975: 116–17)

For the publishing, the making public, of a poem such a “bringing about the understanding of the meaning and of the force of the locution” must be relevant to the happiness of that performance, too. Yet the existence of a multivocal secondary literature for *Shake-speares Sonnets* – that “heap of wretched Infidel Stuff” as one early reader thought it – suggests that the freedom to respond in the circumstances of poetic exchange leaves securing uptake ever in difficulty. Such “securing of uptake” is what a poet, however authorized, and a poem, however felicitous, can never do in such a way as to guarantee the required conditions. Further, uptake cannot mean simply understanding meaning and force, for a reader’s responding so as to work with the poem to generate self-reflexive thought and feeling will be what counts, and counts for readers too.

Schalkwyk describes “O let me, true in love, but truly write, / And then believe me my love is as fair / As any mother’s child” (sonnet 21) as a “quasi-performative” because:

it rests on no clear-cut conventional form such as promising, warning, crowning or declaring war. Nevertheless it shrinks from abandoning the utterance to a merely rhetorical or perlocutionary force, since the effects of such force are notoriously unpredictable. The political request to be allowed to do something in the appeal, “O let me true in loue but truly write,” is overwritten by a conditional which seeks to make the uptake of belief its necessary (and not contingent) consequence.

(Schalkwyk 2002: 37)

But where is this “necessary (and not contingent) consequence” located, and have not “quasi-performative” and “uptake of belief” already abandoned hope? If belief in this highly subjective aesthetic judgement (the force of the subsequent “mother’s child” comparison) is to be meaningful, it cannot be compelled by necessity, but has to be freely given as a confirmation of what you invite me to think about your baby, as it were. An uptake of belief requires such autonomy of action on the part of the believer to have a relevant value. This is, by the by, different from the uptake in betting or ordering, where the bet has to be taken and order obeyed for the performative to be “happy.” Shakespeare’s ambiguous syntax leaps from wish to deed in “And then believe me my love is as fair.” It might be compactly proposing that “if you believe me then my love will be as fair,” or insisting “believe me, my love is as fair”; but the “then” seems to cut the former into the latter, forging the “necessity” Schalkwyk notes, for the plea “believe me” does not take wish for deed, but invites a countersigning performance of belief, while “my love is as fair” asserts as fact what it knows depends upon *your* belief. Doing that, it performs not so much a performative utterance by a priest or a judge as a rhetorical sleight of hand – and thus is what Schalkwyk calls “self-authorization” with all the attendant frailty of such an attempt.

Poems do not have the conferred authority to do things that would make a *formal* or *legal* difference to a state of affairs: they cannot marry, pronounce guilty, declare insane, and such like. They are then in a situation (to recall Shapiro’s words with which I began) like beggars, whose authority to beg is subject to tolerance by higher authorities, and whose “happiness” as beggars is dependent on the willingness of passersby to have their sympathies played upon appropriately. However, as I have argued (Robinson 2002: 1–5), if the speech acts in poems work to create informal institutional facts such as *my love for you* or *my promise to immortalize your beauty*, they have as much authority to do this as anyone. What makes the difference between claiming the existence of such informal states of affairs and having the claims validated is the “uptake” received – not as a necessity (there being none for poems, poems being one among many such informal institutional facts), but as a freely offered reciprocating act. Shakespeare’s evoked social weakness in *Sonnets* is why they cannot take wish for deed: the dependency of his poems on how they are received by an inscribed interlocutor and implicit reader is written into them. Such poems, then, are gambles with the response of both kinds of addressees. The possibility of their failing to receive the wished-for uptake is a part of the issuing situation, and one in which the poem would also fail if that risk were overridden in presumption – if it were not alive as risk still at the poem’s close. Shakespeare’s Rival Poet sonnets 78–86 relevantly bring into salience this “uptake,” which might be isolated by asking if the Young Man to whom these sonnets are addressed did grant Shakespeare the right to address him in this fashion, and did accept the avowals these poems perform.

The couplet of sonnet 85 (“Then others for the breath of words respect, / Me for my dumb thoughts, speaking in effect”) appeals for such authority, and attempts to solicit assent to a question that the syntax of the couplet leaves in doubt. Does the aristocratic Young Man, who has the power to prefer Shakespeare rather than the Rival Poet (or Poets), perform the requisite “uptake,” respond appropriately, and render the performance of the sonnet “happy”? Although the poem’s mere existence may affirm the minimal case of presumed authority to try, we cannot finally say; but we can say that the sonnet bets its felicity on this outcome. The nesting of relevant circumstances

within others then comes into play, for in late 1598 they were what Francis Meres called “sugred Sonnets among his private friends”; but in 1609, whether authorized by Shakespeare or not, they were among his public readers. Whatever conclusions commentators come to about sonnet 85 – and we can compare a positive (Vendler 1997: 374–75) with a doubtful (Paterson 2010: 243–44) – their being thus taken up, over four centuries after publication, indicates to what extent such readers have stood in for the aristocratic Young Man providing sufficient uptake to show what Austin called happiness.

Much that those eight Rival Poet sonnets appear to have set out to do has been done: Shakespeare *has* defeated his rival or rivals, and the secondary means by which defeat has been achieved (publication and “*uptake*”) also shows how, in literary history, the patronage situation of poetry (in which Shakespeare is dependent on the aristocrat’s approbation) is being, and has been, supplanted (in its means, though not its ends) by the wider democracy of readers’ affirmations. Shakespeare was well placed to envisage this outcome, as a full-time commoner playwright, not an aristocratic court poet such as Sidney, Spenser, or Harrington. He knew thus the benefits of a tacit double audience, explicitly addressing powers-that-be, and, implicitly, paying customers – as in both the dedication and the commercial success of *Venus and Adonis* (1592–93) and *The Rape of Lucrece* (1593–94). Readers *are* free to imagine that even if Shakespeare’s gamble in his Rival Poet sonnets failed, that the Young Man did not accept the argument and the rival poet or poets were preferred, yet, happily, the sonnet’s bid would be manifestly justified. By applying Austin’s insights to *Shake-speares Sonnets*, readers can see how the poems invite “*uptake*” and are affirmed over time by having received it.

THE SUBJECT’S AFTERLIFE IN USE

Uptake for poetry comes in many forms and, in so far as it depends on the mind-body responses of readers, it is not strictly accessible. However, such uptake can then result in further writing or speaking, and this, like that “heap of wretched Infidel Stuff” exclamation written on a surviving 1609 quarto, can be accessed and assessed. Epochal change wrought upon the literary subject has been found in *Shake-speares Sonnets* (Fineman 1986: 299–301). Yet such an argument about their uniqueness, having little space for the role of reader acts in the realizing of lyric poetry’s actions, must attribute everything to their effects as an interpretable by-product of writing. In so doing, it discovers the genius of Shakespeare in his poetry alone, rather than in the work as it has been taken up. Giving appropriate weight to the necessary role played by uptake makes clear that what may be thought to render Shakespeare so different from his contemporaries, a difference said to have shaped the nature of literary subjectivity to this day, is not only his artistry but, rather, what subsequent writers, shaped by so much more than a reading of *Sonnets*, have been able to find in its example – afterlife being the role a predecessor’s work plays when adopted by the generations that would otherwise tread it down.

So, to conclude, here are some of the innumerable instances countersigning the afterlife of *Shake-speares Sonnets*. As accounts of their critical heritage make clear, it was not until Edmond Malone’s edition (1783–90) that these poems were a sufficiently acknowledged part of the *œuvre* for poets to think of imitating them. But by

the time John Keats wrote “Time’s sea hath been five years at its slow ebb” on 4 February 1818, a sonnet in the appropriate rhyme-scheme that Robert Bridges thought “might have been written by Shakespeare,” *Sonnets* had entered the bloodstream of lyric subjectivity: “And yet I never look on midnight sky, / But I behold thine eyes’ well memoried light” (Keats 1988: 226, 615). Shakespeare’s “Like as the waves make towards the pebbled shore” (sonnet 60) is drawn upon here, as it would also aid that “pure ablution round earth’s human shores” of Keats’s most famous sonnet, one further borrowing from the “star to every wand’ring barque” of sonnet 116 in “Bright star! would I were steadfast as thou art” (Keats 1988: 452). Successful allusion in work that is itself remembered forms uptake’s most indelible trace.

Sixteen years earlier, in his “Scorn Not the Sonnet,” William Wordsworth had claimed: “With this same key Shakespeare unlocked his heart” (1969: 206). John Berryman is perhaps the only poet to have tried following, in his imitatively entitled *Berryman’s Sonnets*, Wordsworth’s idea to the letter (Roe 2011: 167–73). However, the Lake Poet’s statement assuming direct interiority, immediately accessible subjectivity, from words to heart and back, is qualified by implications in “unlocked.” It is by no means synonymous with what I have argued for here regarding first-person pronouns, the subject, and its agency. Wordsworth’s words were, what is more, roundly objected to by Robert Browning, a dramatizer of fictive masks in monologues, who responded to the line in the last stanza of “House” (1876), a poem arguing for proper privacy locked behind a front door:

“Hoity toity! A street to explore,
Your house the exception! ‘*With this same key*
Shakespeare unlocked his heart,’ once more!”
Did Shakespeare? If so, the less Shakespeare he!

(Browning 2001: 439)

The understanding of poems, and especially lyric poems, as forms of speech act identifies both Wordsworth’s and Browning’s contrary assertions as instancing uptake, while considering *Shakespeare’s Sonnets* in this light also finds both poets’ words to be not sufficiently true – for these poems neither reveal a unitary “heart” that is either Shakespeare or Shakespeare’s; nor are they dramatic projections of the experiences of characters independent of their identified first-person verbal agent.

Further qualifying the polemical contrast those poets’ words effect is the consideration that the younger poet’s wife, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, had herself unlocked her heart, or appeared to do so, by taking Robert as her “thee” and “thou” in the only lightly disguised *Sonnets from the Portuguese* (1846), the last word of the seventeenth (“My poet, thou canst touch on all the notes”) issuing an invitation with the grammar of a command:

How, Dearest, wilt thou have me for most use?
A hope, to sing by gladly? or a fine
Sad memory, with thy songs to interfuse?
A shade, in which to sing – of palm or pine?
A grave on which to rest from singing? Choose.

(Barrett Browning 1907: 51)

Browning read her sequence only after he had chosen, but it hardly lessens her poem's composing of such an action inviting that response, a response which readers take up by realizing the issues and, if they wish, imaginatively siding with the choice implicitly desired. When, in a published letter of Edward FitzGerald's, Browning came upon contempt for his wife's work, he too responded by unlocking his heart. Finding that "you, Fitzgerald, whom by ear and eye / She never knew, 'thanked God my wife was dead,'" he addresses the translator of *The Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám*:

Aye, dead! and were yourself alive, good Fitz,
How to return you thanks would task my wits:
Kicking you seems the common lot of curs –
While more appropriate greeting lends you grace:
Surely to spit there glorifies your face –
Spitting – from lips once sanctified by Hers.

(Browning 2001: 972)

Threatening the deceased with saliva from your own mouth is one way to keep alive, however painfully, their existence to yourself; and by publishing this in the *Athenaeum* just months before his own death in 1889, Browning invited imaginative agreement with such contempt. That not all his readers have felt the occasion dignified the outburst, and that it may not be among the poet's best performances, further underlines the necessity of reader uptake in the social process of literature, it being a complex instance of what Ludwig Wittgenstein called a "form of life." Illustrating this, and as if paying back the compliment in Elizabeth Barrett Browning's sequence, the Portuguese poet Fernando Pessoa would publish 35 *Sonnets* in Shakespearean English, sending them to the *Times Literary Supplement* for review in 1918. They concern the articulation of selves in language and with literary immortality, as here in the fifteenth, "Like a bad suitor desperate and trembling":

But, as he who doth love, and, loving, hopes,
Yet, hoping, fears, fears to put proof to proof,
And in his mind for possible proof gropes,
Delaying the true proof, lest the real thing scoff,
I daily live, i'th'fame I dream to see,
But by my thought of others' thought of me.

(Pessoa 2007b: 20)

This poem manifests uptake by being a stylistically imitative response to the sort of immortality claim made by *Sonnets*. Realizing their dependence upon such uptake, the Portuguese poet articulates the humiliation in such a deferral to time and to "others' thought of me" and especially if, as was the case for a Lisbon-based poet writing in period English, it cannot be readily grounded in any such response as Austin's understanding of verbal reciprocity requires.

Revitalizing the tradition of the beatifying or laureating muse figure in Italian lyric poetry, Eugenio Montale, with an expressed interest in an "Only Begetter" (1996: 75), draws upon sonnet 5, lines 7–8 as an epigraph for the fourth section of *Le occasioni* (1939), its seasonal gloom redirected towards the political and emotional

temperature of Mussolini's Italy: "Sap check'd with frost, and lusty leaves quite gone, / Beauty o'ersnow'd and bareness every where" (1996: 139). The poet also translated from *Shake-speares Sonnets*, the usual way writers in other languages manifest uptake – as have, among many, Yves Bonnefoy, Paul Celan, Pierre Jean Jouve, and Giuseppe Ungaretti. Montale does it not least by accurately rendering the first- and second-person pronominal agency in: "Presume not on thy heart when mine is slain: / Thou gav'st me thine not to give back again" (sonnet 22), which he gives as "Spento il mio cuore, in vano il tuo riprendere / vorresti: chi l'ha avuto non lo rende" (1996: 731). This could be back-translated as "My heart being dead, in vain would you take back your own: whoever has it won't return it." It seems appropriate too, then, that the great first translation into English of Marcel Proust's prose epic of individuated subjectivity, that by C.K. Scott Moncrieff, is not called *In Search of Lost Time*, but *Remembrance of Things Past* (1922–30), adopting for its title-another form of uptake – a phrase from the second line in "When to the sessions of sweet silent thought" (sonnet 30), a sonnet figuring memory as like a court's proceedings.

Yet perhaps the greatest instance of, and test for, uptake came when Oscar Wilde summoned up *Shake-speares Sonnets*, calling their characterization of the relationship between author and young man as witness for his defence in 1895 ("The whole idea was borrowed . . . from Shakespeare's sonnets"), and defining "The love that dare not speak its name," a phrase coined by Lord Alfred Douglas, as "such as you find in the sonnets of Michelangelo and Shakespeare" (Ellmann 1987: 422, 435). In late 1879, Wilde had composed "Portia," its sestet embroiling him in her play's trial scene:

Yet fairer when with wisdom as your shield
 The sober-suited lawyer's gown you donned,
 And would not let the laws of Venice yield
 Antonio's heart to that accursed Jew –
 O Portia! take my heart: it is thy due:
 I think I will not quarrel with the Bond.

(Wilde 2000: 121)

But in a painful retrospect, Wilde had, like "that accursed Jew" of conventional vilification, gone to the law unwisely to seek redress, and found it turned upon him by the "sober-suited" sharpness of the not cross-dressing lawyer, Sir Edward Carson, to the playwright's subsequent imprisonment, effective banishment, and humiliation.

Although Wilde's attempt to call *Shake-speares Sonnets* as a witness in his defence would seem to have failed in 1895, it need not follow that his performance was an unhappy speech act in the longer run, the longer time that poetic action takes as its usual course. He is said to have had the idea for the famous line in *The Ballad of Reading Gaol* ("For each man kills the thing he loves") while in the Old Bailey, perhaps recalling the trial scene in *The Merchant of Venice* and Bassanio's line to Shylock: "Do all men kill the things they do not love?" (4.1.65). His fictional *The Portrait of Mr W.H.* (1889) had subtly had its cake and eaten it too by revealing the painting of the beloved boy, the actor Willie Hughes proposed as the sequence's dedicatee, to be a forgery. In then calling upon *Shake-speares Sonnets* to defend himself in the series of court cases, Wilde had identified his experience of relationship between a mature artist and a young aristocrat with that of the antecedents to the first- and

second-person pronouns in *Sonnets*. In doing this, he too assumed that Shakespeare was “*not kidding*.” Time has most probably now shown Oscar Wilde to be more sinned against than sinning as regards the consequences of his doing so in the imitation of life by art and, as preferred in “The Decay of Lying,” of art by life.

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CHAPTER FIFTEEN

SHAKESPEARE AND THE NOVEL

“For that which had been lost
was found, and so on”



Jane Kingsley-Smith

To celebrate the 400th anniversary of Shakespeare's death, Hogarth Press commissioned a series of novels based on individual Shakespeare plays by popular contemporary writers. The publicity surrounding these new creative appropriations repeatedly stressed Shakespeare's incorporation into the novelists' pre-existing body of work: "All of us have talismanic texts that we have carried around and that carry us around. I have worked with *The Winter's Tale* in many disguises for many years" (Jeanette Winterson); "*Macbeth* is a story that is close to my heart because it tackles topics I've been dealing with since I started writing" (Jo Nesbo); "*Hamlet* has long been a fascination of mine: murder, betrayal, revenge, deceit, madness – all my favourite things" (Gillian Flynn) (Vintage Press Release). But as seamless as the transition from Shakespearean play to contemporary novel is made to appear, this impression belies the antagonistic relationship with the original that has characterized the Shakespearean novel from its inception.

Shakespeare's own adaptation of narrative fiction implies tension between the forms. He habitually compresses the time scheme of his prose sources, rejects their particular points of view, and erases motivation, so that characters' actions appear more mysterious. The appropriation of Shakespeare by later prose writers tends to reverse these changes, reinforcing the fundamental differences between plays written for performance and narrative fiction. For example, while events on stage happen in the moment, with the potential for other scenes to run concurrently off stage, the novel tends to emphasize linear causation through its traditionally retrospective narration of events. The novel may also promote a narrowing of interpretation. Whereas the play in performance "yields perspective and judgement to an audience with necessarily multiple view-points . . . telling a story imbeds it within a perspective" (Osborne 2007: 117) – although novel adaptations have often striven to overcome this limitation, either by deploying multiple narrators (see Gloria Naylor's *Mama Day*, 1988) or by telling the same story according to different sources (see John Updike's *Gertrude and Claudius: A Novel*, 2000). Nevertheless, what the Shakespeare novel loses in polyvalence it makes up for arguably in psychological depth, as the brief flashes of insight afforded by the dramatic soliloquy are expanded into the steady illumination of the first-person narrative. The significant difference between the word length of

the average novel compared with that of even a long Shakespeare play like *Hamlet* (approximately 30,000 words) virtually requires it to offer more in terms of character motivation, as well as in physical and temporal setting. As Iska Alter remarks:

fictional narrative as it operates in the more-or-less traditional, more-or-less realistic novel . . . requires a density of detail and motive to fill the interstices of events, a linked network of facts that localizes, specifies, and explains what the flexible dimensionality of performance can leave open.

(Alter 1999: 146)

The Shakespeare novel has often been criticized for domesticating the plays, directing attention away from the political to explore the tragedy of family life. This subject has been the particular concern of women writers, whose act of transforming the play into narrative fiction may itself be viewed as political (Sanders 2001: 4), but whose development of neglected or undeveloped female characters often goes hand in hand with a greater focus on conflicts within private rather than public life. That said, attempts to translate the plays into more recent historical and political situations have also rendered novelists liable to criticism. For example, Jane Smiley's *A Thousand Acres* (1991) – which transplants the action of *King Lear* from ancient Britain to the American Midwest in the 1980s, and translates the division of the kingdoms into the division of farmland – meets resistance: “Lear’s power may seem immeasurable and his fall cataclysmic, but Larry Cook’s imperium is confined to a narrow, restricted territory”; the “archetypal boundlessness of the play is lost” (Alter 1999: 153, 151).

Shakespeare has had a remarkable influence on prose fiction across the globe, from Ivan Turgenev’s short story “The Hamlet of the Shtchigri District,” originally published in Russian (1852), to Tayeb Salih’s *Othello*-influenced novel *Season of Migration to the North*, written in Arabic (1966). His works have inspired a number of short stories, including Margaret Atwood’s “Gertrude Talks Back” (1992) and Salman Rushdie’s “Yorick” (1995), and fictional biographies such as Anthony Burgess’s *Nothing Like the Sun* (1964) and Jude Morgan’s *The Secret Life of William Shakespeare* (2014). This chapter confines itself to the novel written in English, however, arguing that creative tension with its Shakespearean sources has generated some haunting questions about the nature of character, tragedy, and history. For example, can it really be that Shakespeare’s characters enable one to understand non-fictional people better, or do the plays’ deficits in terms of characterization require the novel to intervene? To what extent has Shakespearean character defined how we think about ourselves, and has this process had a positive or negative effect? How convincing is Shakespearean tragedy in the centuries after the plays were written? Can the novel compete in tragic terms, and should it try? To what extent is it the novel’s responsibility to dismantle the grand narratives erected by Shakespeare’s patriarchs, and what alternative histories can the novel tell by refracting the plays through a feminist and/or post-colonial lens?

The latter questions about Shakespearean history have taken shape since the mid-1960s, but the debates about character and tragedy can be traced much farther back. Indeed, earlier works of fiction continue to exert a powerful influence: Goethe’s *Wilhelm Meister’s Apprenticeship* (1794) influences George Eliot’s *Daniel Deronda*

(1876); Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* (1759–67) shadows Angela Carter's *Wise Children* (1991) and Rushdie's "Yorick." While such lines of influence might suggest the transhistorical nature of the Shakespeare novel's concerns, they also bear witness to the developing canon of "the Shakespeare novel" itself.

CHARACTER-BUILDING/*BILDUNG*

In Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women* (1868–69), Professor Bhaer gives Jo a copy of Shakespeare, with this instruction: "Read him well, and he will help you much; for the study of character in this book will help you to read it in the world, and paint it with your pen" (330). Jo has recently fallen into the habit of writing sensation fiction, and it is implied that the study of this book – previously placed on the shelf alongside the Bible, Homer, Plato, and Milton – will bring her back to a true understanding of human nature, and a more morally responsible literary output. And yet, one of the most enduring effects of Shakespeare on narrative fiction has been understanding of, and even sympathy with, the criminal mind.

Following a description of Ahab's lunacy after the loss of his leg, the narrator of *Moby Dick* (1851) observes: "This is much; yet Ahab's larger, darker, deeper part remains unhinted" (201). One of the means to imply such depth was Shakespearean allusion. Ahab's relentless pursuit of the white whale finds expression in a tragic resolution that seems generically Shakespearean: "What I've dared I've willed; and what I've willed, I'll do!" (183); but his remorseless self-knowledge and mental torment specifically recall Macbeth. Whereas the former is "in blood/Stepped in so far" (3.4.135–36), Ahab declares: "So far gone am I in the dark side of earth, that its other side, the theoretic bright one, seems but uncertain twilight to me" (575). The physical manifestation of benightedness for both men is insomnia (219); and the refrain of "Sleep no more" (2.2.33) is identified with villains in the work of Charles Dickens, including Bill Sikes, Ralph Nickleby, James Carker, and Paul Dombey. Indeed, Adrian Poole and Rebekah Scott conclude that "Macbeth and his play are associated for Dickens with a state of . . . unendurable guilt" (2011: 87). So powerful is this connection between the Macbeths' suffering and their crime that to be reminded of them in the twentieth-century detective novel is to unearth similar dark doings: "Was she, in fact, something like Lady Macbeth, haunted by the crime she had committed?" (Leonard Holton, *A Pact with Satan* [1960], quoted in Baker 1995: 443).

Detective fiction reveals how easily the assumption of depth in Shakespearean characterization can promote the superficial. Susan Baker observes that while allusions such as that to Lady Macbeth above "serve the genre's formal requirement for shorthand characterization," they also emphasize Shakespeare's value as "the-saurus or reservoir, as catalogue, menu, or fund of readily available transhistorical types" (1995: 434). So satisfyingly authentic do these types seem that they may actually retard characterization in detective fiction: "to supply a Shakespearean name for motivation is to legitimate the motive as psychologically apt" (435). Conversely, gaps or fissures in Shakespeare's plays have often seemed to require the novel, which becomes the compendium or encyclopaedia in their place. Mary Cowden Clarke may have praised Shakespeare in *The Ladies' Companion* (1849) – "Of all the male writers that have ever lived, he has seen most deeply into the female heart; he has most vividly depicted it in its strength, and in its weakness" (25, quoted in Thompson and

Roberts 1997: 82) – but she still felt it necessary to compose *The Girlhood of Shakespeare's Heroines* (1850), which undertakes to explain these heroines' behaviour through their imagined childhoods and adolescence. This sense of Shakespeare's deficiency in characterization has often seemed to justify the novel, inspiring narrative retellings from the perspectives of Gertrude, Yorick, Shylock, Caliban, Claribel, Sycorax, and others (discussed below).

The novel's response to Shakespearean characterization becomes more complex in those instances where a narrator provides brief Shakespearean allusions which suggest some relationship between the character and his or her Shakespearean antecedent, but without making clear what that relationship is or how the reader should be affected by it. Poole and Scott identify an extraordinary range of functions for Shakespeare in Dickens's characterization: "on the one hand to honour, compensate, or caress, and on the other to shame, demean, or deride" (2011: 67). The relationship between Arthur Clennam in *Little Dorrit* (1855–57) and Hamlet is particularly obscure. Arthur inherits the watch of his dead father, which bears the inscription "D.N.F" (362), recalling the Ghost who chastises Hamlet for his "almost blunted purpose" and urges him "Do not forget" (3.4.100–101). Like Hamlet, Arthur is haunted by his father's posthumous expectations: "His picture, dark and gloomy, earnestly speechless on the wall, with the eyes intently looking at the son, as they had looked when life departed from them, seemed to urge him awfully to the task he had attempted" (60). But if Arthur is conscious of some "wrong entrusted to us to set right" (52), he is never able to discover what this is. The revelation of Mrs Clennam's crime against Arthur's real mother is postponed beyond the ending of the novel, and it remains doubtful whether he will ever be told the truth. Even within the limits of this Goethe-inspired conception of Hamlet, Arthur is spectacularly ineffective, and yet the tone of allusions to their kinship remains difficult to judge. As Poole and Scott observe, when Arthur is finally prepared to take action,

he is gifted with a memory of Hamlet's famous advice to the players, to "suit the action to the word" . . . a phrase of which Dickens was particularly fond. But why here, at this point? Is Clennam being honoured for being like Hamlet (whatever that means), or punished for not being like Hamlet, or being teased for wanting to be? Is he being supported or undermined? Or somehow, impossibly, both at once?

(Poole and Scott 2011: 73)

Dickens's ambivalence here flies in the face of the literary tradition which placed Shakespeare, and more specifically *Hamlet*, at the heart of the *Bildungsroman*, and which tended to emphasize the value of the identification of character with character.

Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* (1794), which popularized the *Bildungsroman* throughout Europe, assumes that becoming acquainted with Shakespeare's characters is the path to self-knowledge: "As Wilhelm sat there reading, hosts of feelings and urges arose within him of which he had previously no conception or intimation" (108); "They seem to be the work of some spirit from heaven that comes down to men and gently makes them more acquainted with themselves" (112). Goethe's novel had a profound impact on the interpretation of *Hamlet*, not least its assertion that the sentimental hero is actually better suited to the novel than to drama

(185). Wilhelm's own experience of reading and acting Hamlet ultimately proves to be a critical part of his journey towards maturity. Initially, it seems to reinforce his natural tendency to verbosity, overanalysis, and indecision; but, as Thomas L. Jeffers argues: "To act Hamlet is, for Wilhelm, a homeopathic therapy. . . . By overdosing on passivity he can, so to speak, spit it out, and thus leave that particular adolescent phase behind him" (2005: 20). Unlike Aurelie, who dies of too much identification with Ophelia, Wilhelm casts off his nightly colour, abandons the stage, and "venture[s] forth in quite a different frame of mind than on his first journey. The prospects before him were appealing, and he hoped to achieve happiness along the way" (300). Nevertheless, for some novel protagonists the struggle with an overbearing Shakespearean prototype is far more damaging and restrictive.

Until the 1940s in Western literature, it was possible to consider Othello as a prototype for the jealous husband without any consideration of his race (as in Anthony Trollope's *He Knew He Was Right*, 1869). What emerges in Richard Wright's novel *Native Son* (1940) is the assumption that Othello's plight could not be experienced by Hamlet or Macbeth because it is predicated upon the former's fragile and temporary alignment with the white ruling class. The novel begins when the twenty-year-old black protagonist, Bigger Thomas, born into an impoverished family in Chicago, takes a job as chauffeur to the wealthy white Dalton family, believing that his dreams of making his fortune are about to come true. On his first evening in the new job, he helps the intoxicated heiress, Mary, up to her bedroom and onto the bed, when they are interrupted by her blind mother. So acutely conscious is Bigger of what he looks like leaning over the white woman, and so profound is his sense of shame and of terror, that he smothers her with a pillow: "He felt that he had been dreaming of something like this for a long time, and then suddenly, it was true" (121). James R. Andreas describes *Othello* as having "traumatised African American literature, and indeed Western culture at large, for most of its existence" (1995: 181), and the implication that Shakespeare's play is the "Fate" which has predetermined Bigger's actions is suggested through a number of allusions. Mary Dalton's rebelliousness, and her outspoken liberalism, echo the Desdemona of act 1: "this rich girl walked over everything, put herself in the way and, what was strange beyond understanding, talked and acted so simply and directly that she confounded him" (86). Mary's murder at Bigger's hands is obviously patterned on Shakespeare's tragedy: she is smothered by having a pillow held over her face as she lies half-asleep on her bed. Bigger also carries through Othello's ambition to "chop her into messes" (4.1.195) when he severs her head from her body and feeds them into the furnace. But if Bigger's sexual guilt towards Mary echoes Othello's personal shame for having elicited desire from Desdemona and thereby blackened her (see Snow 1980), it is also a deeply engrained cultural assumption which criminalizes the sexual approach of a black man towards a white woman, aligning it with both rape and murder. Celia R. Daileader includes *Native Son* in her history of "Othellophilia," defined as "the critical and cultural fixation on Shakespeare's tragedy of interracial marriage to the exclusion of broader definitions, and more positive visions, of interracial eroticism" (2005: 6).

Wright had a lifelong admiration for Shakespeare (Fabre 1993: 269), and *Native Son* does occasionally use Shakespeare's work to endow Bigger with tragic grandeur. Like Macbeth, Bigger feels a level of disassociation from his murderous self, imagining a knife that would cut his victim's flesh without his volition (123). At the

same time, he embraces the consequences of his actions as a means of achieving a new sense of wholeness and unity: “It was a kind of eagerness he felt, a confidence, a fullness, a freedom; his whole life was caught up in a supreme and meaningful act” (146). Nevertheless, Bigger is noticeably silent at his trial, and he lacks the articulacy so fundamental to the Shakespearean tragic hero. His final attempt to explain himself to his lawyer leads not to pity but to something like horror: “‘No, no, no . . . Bigger, not that . . .’ Max pleaded despairingly.” The Iago-inflected revelation, “what I killed for, I *am*” (453), may be preferable to the self-deception that arguably characterizes the final speeches of Shakespeare’s tragic heroes (see Bromwich 2010), but it does not allow Bigger to claim his position among them. And this failure may be Wright’s intention. As Dan Schneider has argued: “Bigger Thomas is not a tragic figure, for the essence of tragedy is a fall from grace. The whole point of *Native Son* is that Bigger, and Black America, have never known grace” (2007). Wright also rejected Aristotelian catharsis: following the experience of his short-story collection *Uncle Tom’s Children* (1938), “which even bankers’ daughters could read and weep over and feel good about,” he determined to write a novel “so hard and deep that they would have to face it without the consolation of tears” (1940: 23).

If Wright’s novel exposes the dangers of identification with a Shakespearean character, it also functions as a kind of anti-*Bildungsroman*. Although granted certain insights through his experience, Bigger faces execution at the age of twenty. Moreover, Wright’s attraction to but ultimate rejection of Shakespearean tragedy raises questions about the continuing relevance of that genre.

TRAGEDY IN THE AGE OF MELODRAMA

If Shakespeare allusion is required mainly to give substance or irony or ambiguity to characters in the novel, one popular innovation which emerged in the mid-eighteenth century is the scene in which fictional characters watch Shakespeare in performance. These interludes are often attended by protagonists disinclined to enjoy themselves, but brought to uproarious laughter by a Shakespeare tragedy. The amusement may be at the expense of a naïve spectator whose credulous and highly emotional response contrasts with the audience’s jaded sophistication, as in the case of Benjamin Partridge in Henry Fielding’s *Tom Jones* (1749, book 16, chapter 5). It may be at the expense of an amateur theatre troupe whose ineptitude transforms the dignity of Shakespearean tragedy into bathos, as in Fanny Burney’s *Camilla* (1796) and Dickens’s *Great Expectations* (1861). But in the process of satirizing actors and audiences, these interludes (particularly the latter two which address amateur performance) also offer a more probing interrogation of Shakespearean tragedy itself.

In *Camilla*, Sir Sedley concedes, “Poor Blacky! thou hast been most indissolubly comic, I confess” (323). The physical staging is found wanting from the start: “They had only a single scene . . . which depicted a camp, and which here served for a street, a senate, a city, a castle, and a bedchamber” (318): the fact that these would have been the original conditions for which Shakespeare wrote is forgotten. Limitations on wardrobe both destroy narrative suspense and blur distinctions of genre: thus Desdemona is “attired more suitably to her fate than to her expectations” by appearing not in “bridal” attire (319) but in “the sable weeds of Isabella” (318), while “Iago wore a suit of cloathes originally made for Lord Foppington” (318),

a character from John Vanbrugh's comedy *The Relapse* (1696). But perhaps most destructive of solemnity is the actors' inability to control their props. Othello's candle in the "Put out the light" scene first causes hot wax to burn his hand and then sets his wig alight. Unable to tear off the wig, he "flung himself upon the bed, and rolled the coverlid over his head. Desdemona, excessively frightened, started up, and jumped out shrieking aloud – 'O, Lord! I shall be burnt!'" (322). The distracting materiality of this amateur performance is partly explained by the players being "of the lowest strolling kind" (318), suggestive not only of a lack of technical skill but also of their own baseness. Yet it also anticipates Charles Lamb's concerns about the suitability of Shakespeare for theatrical performance. In his famous essay of 1812, he criticizes how vocal and gestural affectations, and the celebrity of particular actors (i.e., David Garrick), have detracted from the true appreciation of Shakespeare's art. As a result, it is a relief to read a play that has very little stage history. He condemns the "juvenile pleasure" of watching Shakespeare performed: "When the novelty is past, we find to our cost that instead of realizing an idea, we have only materialised and brought down a fine vision to the standard of flesh and blood" (Lamb 1812: 87).

If the staging of *Othello* in *Camilla* implies the novel's antitheatrical scruples, it also raises questions that cannot be put down to the incompetence of either actor or spectator, but that seem to indict Shakespeare himself. When the actress playing Desdemona fears that she will be set on fire, she runs screaming from the stage and has to be brought back by Othello to meet her scripted end; but the revelation that the actress wears under her costume a "dirty red and white linen gown" and "black shoes and stockings" in preparation "for tramping home" (Burney 1796: 322) reinforces her ambitions to escape, perhaps exposing as unrealistic the "real" Desdemona's passivity. Similarly, Othello's decision to murder his wife without properly ascertaining her guilt appears absurd:

"He's the finest fellow upon the face of the earth," cried Mr Macdersey, who had listened to the whole play with the most serious interest; "the instant he suspects his wife, he cuts her off without ceremony; though she's dearer to him than his eye sight, and beautiful as an angel. How I envy him!"

"Don't you think 'twould have been as well," said General Kinsale, "if he'd first made some little enquiry?"

"He can do that afterwards, General; and then nobody will dare surmise it's out of weakness. For to be sure and certain, he ought to right her fame; that's no more than his duty, after once he has satisfied his own. But a man's honour is dearest to him of all things. A wife's a bauble to it – not worth a thought."

(Burney 1796: 323)

The admiration of this spectator ironically exposes the flaws in Othello's thinking and damages his capacity to be admired. At the same time, the fact that Macdersey understands the play as straightforwardly endorsing such a brutal honour code potentially questions the ethical value of watching Shakespearean tragedy.

Before he came to *Great Expectations*, Dickens had published a brief essay called "Private Theatres" (*Sketches by Boz*, 1836), which satirized both the talentless amateurs willing to pay for the chance to perform Shakespeare and the audiences who came to watch them. The performance of Hamlet by Mr Wopsle in *Great Expectations*

is undermined by many of the same defects as *Othello* in *Camilla*: “On our arrival in Denmark, we found the king and queen of that country elevated in two arm-chairs on a kitchen table, holding a Court” (239). Costumes are similarly distracting: Hamlet’s penchant for black in the graveyard scene enables an audience member to mistake him for an undertaker (240); and the ambition to show off a pair of stockings (242) inhibits the ability to signal Hamlet’s madness, when their disorder is indicated only “by one very neat fold in the top, which I supposed to be always got up with a flat iron” (240). Whereas Burney’s Desdemona snores “from the effect of a bad cold” (321), old Hamlet “not only appeared to have been troubled with a cough at the time of his decease, but to have taken it with him to the tomb, and to have brought it back” (239).

Mr Wopsle’s ridiculous Hamlet might suggest the novelist’s struggle to venerate that play. Dickens was passionate about the ethical and communal value of theatre, including melodrama, which was “arguably the most popular form of theatre in the nineteenth century” (John 2001: 8). But in setting himself against the Romantic snobbery towards the theatre evinced by Lamb, he also disdained the Romantics’ poster boy, Hamlet, whose intellectual arrogance and introspection seemed fundamentally opposed to Dickens’s enthusiasm for mass culture (John 2003: 58) – hence the lack of sympathy shown by Mr Wopsle’s audience:

Whenever that undecided Prince had to ask a question or state a doubt, the public helped him out with it. As for example; on the question whether ’twas nobler in the mind to suffer, some roared yes, and some no, and some inclining to both opinions said “toss up for it”; and quite a Debating Society arose. When he asked what should such fellows as he do crawling between earth and heaven, he was encouraged with loud cries of “Hear! Hear!”

(Dickens 1861: 240)

In the case of both *Camilla* and *Great Expectations*, Shakespeare tragedy does have some bearing on the protagonist’s situation: Camilla’s suffering on account of Edgar’s mistrust finds a heightened echo in Desdemona’s destruction at the hands of a jealous Othello; Pip’s ultimately unfulfilled ambitions identify him both with Wopsle-acting-Hamlet and with Hamlet himself (Pollack-Pelzner 2007: 103). Nevertheless, what drains the tragic affectivity from both of these productions is not simply their theatrical ineptitude, or the characterological flaws thereby revealed, but the distance that pertains between the tragic protagonist and the novel hero/heroine. The latter is our concern, his/her sufferings related in exquisite and intimate detail. Hence, the novel produces the shoddy, unaffecting theatrical performance of Shakespearean tragedy as a demonstration of its own generic superiority, but in doing so it makes a case for the novel’s more inclusive and therefore comic perspective. As Dora Chance observes: “Comedy is tragedy that happens to *other* people” (Carter 1991: 213).

Angela Carter’s novel *Wise Children* (1991) extends some of this suspicion towards tragedy through a more sustained satire of the theatrical profession. It is narrated by Dora, one of a set of twin girls who are the illegitimate (and unacknowledged) offspring of the great Shakespearean actor Sir Melchior Hazard. While the girls pursue careers in music-hall, pantomime, and nude revues, their father performs Shakespeare on Shaftesbury Avenue. Yet the novel does not allow this opposition between high and

low culture, legitimacy and illegitimacy to survive for very long. The Hazard patriarchy is built on the veneration of Shakespeare, explicitly linked with Victorian imperialism: the great actor-manager Ranulph Hazard takes Shakespeare “to the ends of the empire” (Carter 1991: 17), but as the twentieth century draws to a close and the empire dwindles, so Shakespeare and patriarchal authority are increasingly mocked (Chedgzoy 1995: 73–77). This mockery is partly the effect of the novel’s Bakhtinian reassertion of the demands of the body. For example, the soil which Melchior has carefully transported from Stratford-upon-Avon to Hollywood to consecrate the film set of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* has been used as cat litter (Carter 1991: 129). At the costume ball, when Melchior’s faux-Elizabethan mansion burns down, the guests celebrate their survival with carnal exuberance: “I spotted Coriolanus stoutly bugging Banquo’s ghost under the pergola in the snowy rose-garden whilst, beside the snow-caked sundial, a gentleman who’d come as Cleopatra was orally pleasuring another dressed as Toby Belch” (103). Although Shakespearean comedy and tragedy are equally degraded through Melchior’s efforts to celebrate the Bard, it is tragedy against which Dora consistently declaims.

At first, Dora’s reaction seems like a defensive rejection of the genre from which she is excluded: “we didn’t know, then, how the Hazards would always upstage us. Tragedy, eternally more class than comedy. How could mere song-and-dance girls aspire so high?” (Carter 1991: 58). But in the course of the novel the opposition becomes deeper and more engaged, rejecting tragedy with its pretentiousness and its emotional self-indulgence:

Sad. Nothing more than sad. Let’s not call it a tragedy; a broken heart is never a tragedy. Only untimely death is a tragedy. And war, which, before we knew it, would be upon us; replace the comic mask with the one whose mouth turns down and close the theatre, because I refuse point-blank to play in tragedy.

(Carter 1991: 153–54)

In fact, the majority of Dora’s extended family is trapped within a Shakespearean tragic plot. Ranulph murders his wife, Estella, her lover, and himself in a jealous rage while they are all performing in *Othello*. The love-triangle between Tristram, his half-sister Saskia, and Tiffany is heavily indebted to *Hamlet*, with its secret incest, poisoning, and suicide by drowning. Yet Dora repeatedly undercuts the possibility of tragic affect with her caustic observations: “Perhaps by then old Ranulph couldn’t tell the difference between Shakespeare and living” (21); “she was going on about it all as if it were a matter of life and death. And how could we Chances believe that? We knew that nothing is a matter of life and death except life and death” (215).

If the aesthetic shape into which tragedy would fashion death offers no consolation, *Wise Children* does perceive comfort from another source. The ending of the novel is joyfully, sensationally indebted to tragicomedy, Shakespeare’s most hybrid genre. For example, Peregrine and Tiffany both return from the dead, the former carrying twin babies in his pockets so that the seventy-five-year-old Nora can finally become a mother; Tiffany is still pregnant with Tristram’s child. The suspicion of extreme emotion which has characterized Dora’s narrative is overcome when the solipsism of grief is tempered with life-affirming, difference-dissolving rapture: “We were all tears and laughter” (210); and, in a deliberate echo of *The Winter’s Tale*,

“wreathed in smiles of foolish fondness for that which had been lost was found and so on” (218). In its introduction, Ali Smith is surely right to describe this book, “whose celebration of the life-force is so very forceful,” as “a designed kindness” (2006: xvii). It is a kindness strongly identified with the replacement of patriarchal by matriarchal power, bringing us to one of the most striking challenges that the novel has offered to Shakespeare.

REWRITING SHAKESPEAREAN HISTORY

I felt that I had not given in to Mr. Shakespeare’s alleged universality, but had, in fact, cut him down to size a little bit. I was happy to have made my case about what it means to be a father, what it means to be a daughter, about the asymmetry of power in patriarchal capitalist Western European society, and the attempt to possess other persons as objects and to call that love.

(Smiley 1999: 173)

The sudden proliferation of Shakespeare novels by women at the end of the twentieth century shows a remarkable coherence around the figures of King Lear and Prospero. A brief list might include Margaret Atwood’s *Cat’s Eye* (1988), Jane Smiley’s *A Thousand Acres* (1991), Valerie Miner’s *A Walking Fire* (1994), and Lucy Ellman’s *Sweet Desserts* (1998), which all engage with *King Lear*. Sarah Murphy’s *The Measure of Miranda* (1987), Michelle Cliff’s *No Telephone to Heaven* (1987), Constance Beresford-Howe’s *Prospero’s Daughter* (1988), Gloria Naylor’s *Mama Day* (1989), and Marina Warner’s *Indigo* (1992) reimagine *The Tempest*.

One reason for these plays’ appeal may be their meditation on “what it means to be a daughter,” particularly given that Lear and Prospero have no sons. The struggle to fulfil paternal demands while pursuing artistic, political, and/or sexual freedoms identifies the female protagonists with either Cordelia, whose defiance sees her disowned by Lear, or Miranda, whose obedience prevents a paternal breach but renders her almost entirely passive. Further intensifying the father–daughter relationship, and providing another point of access for women writers, is the absence of mothers: not only the mother of Cordelia, Goneril, and Regan, but also Gloucester’s wife; not only Prospero’s wife, but also Caliban’s mother, Sycorax. But perhaps most interesting is the way in which both *King Lear* and *The Tempest* have suggested the imbrication of patriarchal and colonial oppression, particularly for Canadian writers. Coral Anne Howells has argued that:

there are close parallels between the historical situation of women and of Canada as a nation, for women’s experience of the power politics of gender and their problematic relation to patriarchal traditions of authority have affinities with Canada’s attitude to the cultural imperialism of the United States as well as its ambivalence towards its European inheritance.

(Howells 1987: 2)

King Lear and *The Tempest* have both supplied material for this discussion, in the sense that they represent the imperialist force that is “Shakespeare” while also producing resistance to it. For example, Atwood’s *Cat’s Eye* centres on the identity crisis

experienced by the protagonist, Elaine, a product of her Canadian heritage and of the childhood bullying she suffered from a girl called Cordelia. Caroline Cakebread observes how “Atwood draws heavily on images she has used in the past in portraying Canada as a country trying to move away from its identity as a colony. . . . Bullied by outsiders, sandwiched between two great Western cultural super-powers, Canada is, like Elaine, trying to assert some sort of voice” (2005: 101). Similarly, *The Tempest* underpins Margaret Laurence’s *The Diviners* (1974) and Sarah Murphy’s *The Measure of Miranda*, which explore respectively the mixed cultural heritage of the Canadian artist and white English Canada’s guilt at its displacement of Native Americans.

This chapter concludes with two novels which have attempted not only to redeem the absent/passive female characters of *The Tempest*, but also to address one of the crucial tools of colonialism, namely the erasure of native history by colonialist history (Connor 1996: 189). In giving such unusual prominence to the act of narration in act 1, scene 2 of *The Tempest*, Shakespeare focuses attention on the competing versions of history with which Prospero struggles. Prospero’s grand narrative of providential arrival on the island does not entirely inhibit the oppositional versions articulated by Ariel, Caliban, and even Miranda. In this respect, both Gloria Naylor’s *Mama Day* and Marina Warner’s *Indigo* develop questions inherent in the text.

Naylor’s novel opens with the controversy over a recently published history of Willow Springs, an island off the coast of the southern United States, which has resisted both legal appropriation by the states of Georgia and South Carolina, and capitalist seizure by property developers. The historian’s account of what the islanders mean when they use the term “18 and 23” is ridiculed for pursuing its own theory of geographical latitude (1988: 8), and thereby neglecting 1823 as the date when the African slave Sapphira Wade persuaded her master, the white Bascombe Wade, to deed the island to his slaves. The unnamed narrator insists that the son of Reema (a black woman living in Willow Springs) should have listened to the rich oral history of the island, as narrated by Sapphira’s descendants, Abigail and Miranda (Mama) Day, which would also have included the romantic history of Ophelia (Cocoa) Day (8–9). Yet there was never any possibility of getting the story straight. There are too many competing versions of what happened in 1823 to allow settling on one: “Sapphira Wade . . . satin black, biscuit cream, red as Georgia clay: depending upon which of us takes a mind to her” (3). Moreover, the story of Cocoa and George (her future husband) will be told from their two perspectives, alternating throughout the novel. History is fundamentally polyvocal and contingent.

In terms of the novel’s rewriting of *The Tempest*, perhaps most striking is Naylor’s focus on Miranda, the “conjure woman” (3), who dominates the community through her powers of healing, cursing, and prophecy. Hence, the novel not only eschews the conflict between Prospero and Caliban, which had loomed so large in other fictions, it also “both feminizes and ‘negrifies’ the patriarchal storyline . . . replacing European characters with an entirely African American cast” (Andreas 1999: 106). Mama Day’s magic takes some of the same forms as that of Prospero, in that she uses a charm to bring Cocoa and George together, and she is able to inflict pain and even death on her enemies; but her powers are mainly generative and maternal. Prospero can only produce a masque of Ceres to make his daughter’s marriage fruitful; Mama Day helps Bernice (Cocoa’s best friend) to get pregnant through a considerably more hands-on approach. But just as Prospero differentiates his powers from those of

Sycorax, so Mama Day contrasts herself implicitly with Prospero, specifically his boast that “graves at my command/ Have waked their sleepers” (5.1.48–49). In the most tragic part of the novel, the characters bear witness to the inexorable progress of Bernice as she carries the body of her dead son to Mama Day in the belief that she will bring him back to life. As Miranda reflects afterwards:

You play with people’s lives and it backfires on you. . . . More crushing, just a bit more crushing than that baby’s death, is the belief that his mama came to her with. There’ll be no redemption for that. She ain’t gotta worry about going on to hell. Hell was right now.

(Naylor 1988: 261)

In one of the novel’s few direct quotations from *The Tempest*, George watches the approach of Bernice and observes: “this was the stuff of dreams” (258). The phrase relates to death and the limitations of the magus’s power, but in *Mama Day* it also indicts Shakespearean romance for the fantasies of reconciliation and deliverance it encourages.

Both Cocoa and George seem ambivalent about Shakespeare’s relevance to their lives. When Cocoa quotes *Romeo and Juliet* in her surprise that George wants a second date, she rebukes herself: “If [Shakespeare] had been in touch with our culture, he would have written somewhere, ‘Nigger, are you out of your mind?’” (Naylor 1988: 64). Later, the discussion of *King Lear* is a pretext for their sexually charged meeting, with George admitting: “So there we were with *King Lear* on our laps, and no, I didn’t want to unravel the symbolism in Act Three, I wanted to jump your bones” (105). This denial of Shakespeare’s relevance recurs on a larger scale in Naylor’s insistence that her novel is not a conscious reworking of *The Tempest*, a distancing that Virginia Mason Vaughan attributes to the wish to “separate her work from . . . the text the British taught in colonial schools and used as an instrument of empire” (2009: 167).

Marina Warner’s *Indigo* writes back to the empire through *The Tempest*. Its Prospero is the English colonizer Christopher (Kit) Everard, who seizes the Caribbean island of Liamuiga on behalf of the English, placing him in violent opposition to the “natives”: Sycorax and her adopted children Ariel, an Arawak Indian girl, and Dulé, the son of a black African slave. Framing the account of this act of English imperialism is the story of Kit’s twentieth-century descendant Miranda, who deals with her conflicted feelings towards her father, and her own racial and post-colonial identity.

The novel is clearly directed towards atonement, both for the damage done to the reputations of Sycorax and Caliban by Shakespeare’s play and for the Warner family’s role in the bloody appropriation of the Caribbean island of St Kitts (Cakebread 1999a: 220–22). Like Mama Day’s, Sycorax’s magic is largely a question of love-potions, herbal remedies, and midwifery; and the notion that she is a “damned witch” (1.2.264) is challenged on various grounds. For example, Prospero defends his enslavement of Ariel by insisting that he rescued her from the “cloven pine” (1.2.278) in which Sycorax had imprisoned her. But Warner’s protagonist offers maternal care to the abandoned girl by taking her into her tree-house. Dulé may define this care as a form of captivity: “You should stop her holding you prisoner in her tree, up there

with her on guard over you” (1992: 116), but he has his own sexual motives for wishing Ariel to lead a more independent life. Sycorax’s deep maternal affection for Ariel is displayed not only in the pain that she suffers from this misrepresentation of their past life together (120), but also in the fact that she dies trying to ensure Ariel’s freedom. Furthermore, where Prospero finds Sycorax’s moral deformity expressed in her physical shape – “The foul witch . . . who with age and envy/ Was grown into a hoop” (1.2.259–60) – *Indigo* describes her as being “bent like a hoop” (164) after the terrible injuries she suffers at the hands of Kit’s men. His disgust for “that dark withered thing” (137) is obviously related to guilt at her condition.

When it comes to Caliban, Warner makes some even more radical changes. Rather than have Sycorax give birth to him, he is the son of an African slave whose body washes up on the shore. Sycorax cuts him out of his mother’s dead (and partially buried) body, and gives “him the name Dulé, meaning grief, after his birth as an orphan from the sea” (85). He is thereby identified with protagonists of Shakespearean romance such as Marina in *Pericles*, who was also born at sea, and whose mother supposedly died in childbirth and was cast overboard. At the same time, Warner has made Dulé much more honourable than Shakespeare’s Caliban, who proposes killing Prospero in his sleep:

It did not come to his mind to murder any of them. . . . If someone had suggested he should have killed them then, where they lay, and avert all the trouble that was to come, Dulé would have been astonished that such a cowardly procedure could be proposed, let alone seriously entertained.

(Warner 1992: 55)

Such reinterpretation of individual characters is part of Warner’s larger deconstruction of the colonialist narrative, as demonstrated by Kit’s triumphant version of how he suppressed the rebellion and showed “mercy” to Dulé by crippling and enslaving him (1992: 200–201). But Warner also invents an act of rebellion on the part of Ariel so that she can trace its misrepresentation. In the narrative, Ariel hears of the planned uprising and tries to poison Kit, inadvertently filling him with suspicion so that he is prepared for the rebels’ attack. This sequence is later rewritten as a deliberate act to preserve the colonizers from harm. Warner inserts an account of the encounter with 100-year-old Ariel into Père Labat’s *Nouveau Voyage aux Isles de l’Amerique* (1724), thereby “blurring the boundary lines of ‘fact’ even further” (Sanders 2001: 139):

“Mme Verard,” he wrote . . . “had heard among her people that they planned to fall upon the settlers and massacre them in their beds one moonlit night. And hearing this, out of the great love she bore the founder of the island, Sir Christopher Everard, and on behalf of the lovechild she had borne him, she raised the alarm.”

(Warner 1992: 225–26)

Miranda’s nurse, Serafine, learns a version of this history while still living on the island, and she retells it as a bedtime story to the Everard descendants, including Miranda: “How the first Kit Everard won the love of an islander and how she saved him and his brave band of pioneers” (Warner 1992: 224).

Shakespeare can be blamed for creating the fictitious roles of Sycorax, Caliban, and others that Kit unconsciously imposes upon the natives, and for providing a self-justificatory rhetoric which Kit liberally borrows. Yet *Indigo* exonerates *The Tempest* from the charge of misrepresenting events as they happened on Liamuiga: Kit's arrival is explicitly dated after the play had been written. In the twentieth-century section of the novel, explicit reference to *The Tempest* is hedged with anxiety, but this is in turn largely allayed. When Miranda intrudes upon a rehearsal of the play (the crucial 1.2), her first reaction as she watches her namesake mockingly flirt with Caliban is one of desire and shame. She recognizes the sexual fantasy of "the thing you've lost touch with – the longed-for, missing Primitive," and condemns herself for being "such a fucking racist" (389). Her desire is redeemed, however, when it becomes part of a deeper, romantic relationship with Shaka, the actor playing Caliban, blessed first by Warner's deploying a chess analogy from the courtship of Miranda and Ferdinand (395) and then by the birth of a daughter, Serafine. The fact that Shaka does not have any moral objection to the part of Caliban (390) helps alleviate some of Miranda's guilt, and offers the larger hope that reinterpretation of the role can help heal the wounds of the past, just as Warner's novel has appropriated *The Tempest* for its own redemptive purposes.

In the end, this chapter has traced a trajectory from the ostentatious use of Shakespeare quotations as characterological shorthand in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century novel to the engagement with whole Shakespeare plots as a means of challenging patriarchal and imperialist histories in the late twentieth century. It may be that, after more than 300 years, the novel is finally starting to exhaust Shakespeare's potential. Peter Erickson concludes:

By countering Shakespeare, Naylor demonstrates the degree to which Shakespeare does not author us, the extent to which that role has irreversibly passed to others. New problems indeed arise, but they are not Shakespeare's problems nor does his work contain the materials for exploring all the possible options . . . while still significant [he] is no longer the all-defining center of things.

(Erickson 1991: 144–45)

As the canon of literature written in English continues to branch out into competing traditions, each with its own landmark authors and seminal texts, the role of Shakespeare seems likely to diminish further. But this possibility does not deny the extraordinary resource that the Shakespearean canon has offered to narrative fiction. Nor should we underestimate the importance of the agon between Shakespeare and the novel in the latter's development as an innovative, politically engaged, and culturally inclusive literary form.

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CHAPTER SIXTEEN

SHAKESPEARE AND NON-FICTION

In search of the biography



Katherine Scheil

Beginning with Nicholas Rowe's inaugural biography in 1709, this chapter explores the long history of Shakespeare's life story through the many biographies written about the poet in the last 300 years or so. The quest to separate the facts from the fictions associated with Shakespeare has been a long-standing goal of scholars and critics alike. While biographies are ostensibly works of non-fiction, there is a great deal of fiction required to knit together the scraps of Shakespeare's life. The famous Ireland forgeries at the end of the eighteenth century speak to the desire to fill in gaps in Shakespeare's story. While biographers are not necessarily forgers, they are encumbered with the task of producing readable narratives that connect the details we know about Shakespeare while suggesting something about the "personal story" (to use first biographer Rowe's phrase) of the individual who was able to write the poetic works. The ways that biographers have connected Shakespeare's life events, filled in gaps, and constructed a readable story often reveal more about the biographers themselves than about their subject. As Terence Hawkes points out, "Facts do not speak for themselves . . . unless and until they are inserted into and perceived as part of specific discourses which impose their own shaping requirements and agendas" (2002: 3). One biographer, Graham Holderness, has even exploited the line between fiction and non-fiction, overtly calling into question the premise that Shakespearean biography is objective and factual. *Nine Lives of William Shakespeare* (2011) rewrites Shakespeare's life story from nine different angles, including a fictional component at the end of each chapter.

One of the central challenges for those crafting a version of Shakespeare's life story is the status of his fictional works. As Scheil and Holderness point out, "the relationship between the literary works and the life is perhaps the central structural question for biographers to determine in crafting a life of Shakespeare" (2009: 5). Although we know more about Shakespeare than about most dramatists of his day, he left no writings about himself: no personal letters, diaries, journals, or other first-hand accounts that would reveal his own thoughts. Thus, biographers have frequently looked to his creative output for possible details about his intellectual interests; about the relationship between his personal life and his professional writing; and for his thoughts about topics such as religion, colonialism, the political order, and marriage.

For Samuel Johnson, the life of Shakespeare was unwritable, and Shakespeare is notably absent from the fifty-two *Lives of the Poets* that Johnson undertook. Other biographers have taken the opposite approach, seeking to chronicle even the most tangential minutiae remotely connected to Shakespeare. The questions that each generation asks about Shakespeare's life have in many ways conditioned the biographies produced for those audiences. As William Hazlitt remarked in "On Shakespeare and Milton" (1818: 92), Shakespeare "was nothing in himself; but he was all that others were, or that they could become." This chapter looks at some of the trends in Shakespearean biography, or what Shakespeare has "become," from interest in religion to family life, from Shakespeare the Londoner to Shakespeare the Warwickshire Lad, organized around the individuals who have sought to create his story. The history of Shakespearean biography is not necessarily a narrative of progress, beginning with a small set of facts to which more are added, eventually culminating in a definitive account of the poet's life. Rather, the trajectory of Shakespearean biography involves gathering factual information, supplementing it with material from other contexts, and reshaping it to form various narratives that tell the story of the man from Stratford who also authored nearly forty plays and numerous poems. As Holderness puts it:

there are as many lives [of Shakespeare] as there are biographers, since each act of biographical definition mediates fact and tradition through the labyrinthine web of speculation, and produces a new Shakespeare in every new iteration.

(Holderness 2011: 21)

Rather than telling the story of a quest for a definitive and perfect life of Shakespeare over the last 300 years, this chapter surveys the ways Shakespeare's life story has been presented. Park Honan has described the act of writing literary biography as presenting a "'story,' a coherent and clear narrative line, and on this linear string I can attach facts that are known about my author for given times" (1990: 15). The shape of this linear string has morphed and altered according to the desires and interests of audiences and biographers.

BEGINNINGS OF A LIFE: THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Although the first full biography of Shakespeare did not appear until Nicholas Rowe's "Account," attached to his 1709 edition of Shakespeare, factual details about Shakespeare as a playwright and actor existed in print during his lifetime. The first reference to Shakespeare occurs in 1592, attributed to Robert Greene and Henry Chettle, in *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit Bought with a Million of Repentance*, where Shakespeare is referred to as an "upstart Crow" and a "Player" (Wells 2013: 73). Six years later, Francis Meres described Shakespeare as the "mellifluous and honey-tongued" author of "sugared sonnets" and esteemed writer of plays (Wells 2013: 75). The authors of the *Parnassus* plays (1598–1602) likewise described Shakespeare as a "poet and as a theatrical celebrity" (Wells 2013: 77). After Shakespeare's death, the many tributes printed in the First Folio of 1623 praise Shakespeare as a writer from Stratford, establishing the locale of his birthplace and hometown as well as his occupation.

The first recorded visitor to Stratford in search of factual details of Shakespeare's life was William Dugdale, whose engraving in *Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1656) depicts the Shakespeare monument in Holy Trinity Church in Stratford (which he had initially sketched in 1634), along with verses from the monument and gravestone. Throughout the seventeenth century, other visitors came to Stratford to witness the burial place of the famous poet in Holy Trinity Church (Kathman 2013: 131). Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Holy Trinity Church was the top destination for tourists in Stratford. Both John Dowdall in 1693 and William Hall in 1694 copied Shakespeare's epitaph and remark on Shakespeare's monument, and a Lieutenant Hammond in 1634 writes about visiting Holy Trinity Church to see "a neat Monument of that famous English Poet, M^r. William Shakespeere; who was borne heere" (Chambers 1930: 2.242–43).

When Rowe began his biography, the bare bones of Shakespeare's life and death in Stratford had already been established. The research methods behind Rowe's "Account" were unusual, to say the least. Rowe employed retired actor Thomas Betterton to seek out facts about Shakespeare. Betterton apparently travelled to Stratford, went to Holy Trinity Church, and looked at the parish records, just a few years before his own death in 1710. Yet, there are no parish records that survive for several of Betterton's details. For instance, although Rowe is the first biographer to include details about Shakespeare's wife, Anne Hathaway, there is no parish record of Anne Hathaway's parentage, birth, or marriage. In fact, the only parish record is of her burial. According to her gravestone, she was born before parish records began in Stratford, and her marriage is absent from any Stratford record. Perhaps Betterton's information came from oral tradition rather than parish records, unless he was privy to parish documents that no longer survive. Even this earliest of biographies relied on factual details that were less than ironclad. Rowe's biography was reprinted almost verbatim in every eighteenth-century edition of Shakespeare's plays, and served as the primary source about Shakespeare's life for most of the century, enshrining a long-lived combination of facts and legends.

Rowe's work remained the dominant biography until the end of the eighteenth century, when Irish scholar Edmond Malone embarked on a biography of Shakespeare, collecting copious amounts of material, including loans of parish records from Stratford. Even after twenty years, Malone never completed his biography, writing that a biography of Shakespeare was "a formidable work, but if I can but live to finish it, I shall think nothing of the labour" (quoted in Schoenbaum 1970: 240). Before he died in 1812, Malone asked James Boswell to complete his edition, which appeared in 1821, with a partial biography of Shakespeare (only up to his appearance in London) composing the second volume. Even so, Malone corrected earlier errors in the number of siblings Shakespeare had, in Shakespeare's father's occupation as a glover, and in doubting the deer-poaching and horse-holding stories. Malone also suggested that Shakespeare may have got his start as a player through a travelling company in Stratford.

The early history of Shakespeare biography is not necessarily a clear trajectory of correcting errors: Malone made some corrections, but also introduced erroneous information about Anne Hathaway as not from the Hathaway family of Shottery but instead from Luddington. In spite of his efforts to improve on his predecessor's work, Malone may have done irreparable damage to some of the evidence that survived

about Shakespeare. In the course of his research, Malone had the Stratford parish register sent to him by Birmingham coach for use in completing his biography. He returned the register almost two months later after having it bound; but Malone was notorious for his careless habits, losing manuscripts and even cutting out pages for his own use, so it is possible that he was responsible for the loss of some of Betterton's sources in his relentless quest to hoard documents related to Shakespeare (Martin 1995: 125–30).

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Later biographers were equally as obsessive about accumulating facts and stories related to Shakespeare. James Orchard Halliwell-Phillipps undertook a fifty-year search for facts about Shakespeare's life, publishing nearly 600 articles in his lifetime. A book collector since the age of fifteen, he married into the family of Sir Thomas Phillipps, who had discovered two important factual documents in the mid-nineteenth century: Shakespeare's marriage licence bond (in 1836) and the will of Hathaway family shepherd Thomas Whittington (in 1837). Halliwell-Phillipps was known for being factual and thorough, and "burrowed in every cobwebbed corner that might yield its crumb about the dramatist." His intense enthusiasm was partly rooted in a fear that his materials might become scattered if, like his predecessor, Edmond Malone, he did not live to see their publication (Schoenbaum 1970: 406). Over the course of his life, Halliwell-Phillipps earned his place as the most accomplished Shakespearean biographer of his century. He published his first biography of Shakespeare in 1848 at the age of twenty-eight, drawing on local Warwickshire archives, collections of wills, and parish registers – all examined in their original formats where possible, and used to correct mistakes from earlier biographers. The subtitle to his *Life of William Shakespeare* trumpeted the fact that it included *Many Particulars Respecting the Poet and His Family Never before Published*.

Halliwell-Phillipps made major scholarly contributions to the factual records of Shakespeare and his circle, particularly related to Stratford, including the will of Shakespeare's father-in-law, Richard Hathaway, and the family history of his father, John Shakespeare. His initial intent was to publish factual discoveries in their fullest forms for their own merit, but his publisher would present them only if they were in a biographical form (Schoenbaum 1970: 407). Halliwell-Phillipps was responsible for cataloguing and preserving a major cache of Shakespeare documents; for helping to set up the library of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust; and for supporting the preservation of New Place in Stratford. In 1881 he published the *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, which he continued to augment six times until 1887, when it reached nearly four times the length of the original version. This final collection of Halliwell-Phillipps has been called "the most important documentary account of Shakespeare between Malone's preface to Shakespeare's *Works* (1790) and E.K. Chambers's definitive studies of 1926–30" (Freeman and Freeman 2004).

Scottish scholar Charlotte Carmichael Stopes followed in the footsteps of Halliwell-Phillipps in appreciating factual details. Educated at Edinburgh University, and the first woman to earn a Certificate of Arts in Scotland, she married architect and amateur palaeontologist Henry Stopes, with whom she had two daughters. She held meetings

in her London home on topics related to literary study and to women's emancipation, and conducted research at the British Museum and at the Public Record Office. To dig herself out of the debt left by her late husband, she worked as a journalist while raising her two daughters, eventually publishing her work as *Shakespeare's Warwickshire Contemporaries* (1897; revised in 1907). Stopes focused on Shakespeare's circle in Stratford, including relatives and acquaintances, and eschewing traditions in favour of factual evidence. Her second work, *Shakespeare's Family* (1901), was compiled from her articles in the *Genealogical Magazine*, and expands her treatment of Shakespeare's Warwickshire relatives. In 1889, she took on the anti-Stratfordians in *Bacon-Shakespeare Answered*, but her true calling was Shakespeare's Warwickshire.

In the quest for factual knowledge about Shakespeare, American Charles William Wallace and his wife, Hulda, from Nebraska, worked alongside Charlotte Carmichael Stopes in the Public Record Office, often in competition with her. Wallace and his wife perused over five million records (Schoenbaum 1970: 648), but they never published a full-length biography. Their findings included the document for the Blackfriars Gatehouse that Shakespeare bought in 1613, as well as documents related to other players (including children's companies) and to Shakespeare's financial role in the Globe and Blackfriars theatres, and Shakespeare's signed deposition in the Belott–Mountjoy case, the last major archival discovery related to Shakespeare. The Wallaces' work formed the basis for Charles Nicholl's *The Lodger Shakespeare: His Life on Silver Street* (2008), discussed later in this chapter.

Combining Shakespeare's life and works was the cornerstone of Edward Dowden's efforts. Dowden, the son of an Irish linen merchant, graduated from Trinity College, Dublin, and taught there his whole life. He published *Shakspere: A Critical Study of His Mind and Art* in 1875, the first study of Shakespeare's development as an artist through the chronology of his plays and his life experience, organized into four stages: "In the workshop" (on play-writing); "In the world" (history and politics); "Out of the depths" (on evil and suffering); and "On the heights" (on repentance and forgiveness). Dowden's work drew on his Saturday Lectures at Trinity College, and it went through fifteen editions during his lifetime. Dowden's biography remained a standard source for Shakespeare's life for nearly a hundred years; was translated into German, Italian, French, and Russian; and was "the first complete work of Western Shakespeare scholarship to be translated into Japanese," in the 1890s (Gallimore 2012: 485).

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

"Biography [had been] carried to a wasteful and ridiculous excess" (v), wrote James Orchard Halliwell-Phillipps in 1881, but he would have been shocked to discover the explosion of Shakespeare biographies in the coming century. In spite of the absence of any new archival discoveries, the twentieth century produced an unprecedented and still ongoing progression of biographies, beginning with Sir Sidney Lee's entry on Shakespeare for the *Dictionary of National Biography* (DNB). Lee's entry was the longest among the nearly 900 entries that he wrote for the DNB, of which he became editor in 1891. (Similarly, the new *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*/ODNB entry for Shakespeare by Peter Holland is notably long.) In 1885 Lee

published a history of Stratford-upon-Avon (where he had his own ashes buried), and he expanded his initial biographical work into *A Life of William Shakespeare* in 1898, which saw four editions in the first two months. Lee's goal was to present "a plain and practical narrative of the great dramatist's personal history." Lee put great emphasis on the Sonnets, to which he devotes more space than he gives to Shakespeare's other works, and "four times as much as to *Hamlet*" (Holland 2006: 144). His combination of the factual components of Shakespeare's life and the poetic works resulted in one of the most popular biographies of Shakespeare ever written. Lee's biography was a lifetime project, and he continued to revise and correct it, with the final version coming out in 1925, the year before his death. Lee's biography of Shakespeare continued its influence in the first half of the twentieth century; and during the First World War, an abridged version was even presented to soldiers who had been injured at the front (Calvo 2010: 201).

In the early twentieth century, one of the first biographers to see the sensational potential in Shakespeare's life story was Frank Harris (1856–1931), described by fellow Irishman George Bernard Shaw as "simply the most impossible ruffian on the face of the earth" (quoted in Tobin and Gertz 1931: 188). Harris wrote *The Man Shakespeare and His Tragic Life-Story* in 1909 (published in Britain and in the US, and translated into German), based on the premise of Shakespeare escaping an unhappy marriage and moving to London, where he indulges in a passionate affair with Mary Fitton, the Dark Lady. For Harris, Shakespeare was a man of "excessive sensuality" and "mad passion" (391). His follow-up to *The Man Shakespeare*, entitled *The Women of Shakespeare* (1911), focused on the lives and influence of four women in Shakespeare's life: his mother, wife, daughter Judith, and supposed mistress Mary Fitton. Harris would not be the last biographer to capitalize on the possible salacious opportunities in Shakespeare's story.

On the other side of the Atlantic, Joseph Quincy Adams (1881–1946) – an American scholar who had edited *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, 1623–1673* and *Shakespearean Playhouses: A History of English Theatres from the Beginnings to the Restoration* – was the first director of the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, DC. His biography, *The Life of William Shakespeare* (1923), was the first major American biography, popular among undergraduate students in particular. Less sympathetic to Shakespeare's Stratford life, Adams instead focused on Shakespeare as a man of the theatre, and he contributed extensive material on playhouse manuscripts and on printing practices.

Shakespeare's Warwickshire background occupied several biographers throughout the twentieth century. Among the earliest writers in this vein was Edgar Innes Fripp (1861–1931), a Unitarian minister and one of the trustees of Shakespeare's birthplace. Fripp edited (with Richard Savage) the *Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon and Other Records, 1553–1620* (1921–29), an essential work for Shakespeare's Stratford life, as well as individually authored volumes with significant emphasis on Warwickshire, including *Master Richard Quyny* (1924); *Shakespeare's Stratford* (1928); *Shakespeare's Haunts Near Stratford* (1929); and *Shakespeare: Man and Artist* (1938), a two-volume study published after his death. Fripp's commitment to Shakespeare's Stratford life is evident in his work on the Hathaway family, on the neighbouring Quiney family, and on other relatives of Shakespeare.

The theory of collaborative authorship also emerged in the early twentieth century, particularly in the work of Member of Parliament J.M. Robertson (1856–1933). Largely self-educated, Robertson advanced his ideas in works such as *The Genuine in Shakespeare: A Conspectus* (1930). One of the major Shakespeare scholars of the early twentieth century, E.K. Chambers (1866–1954), took issue with Robertson’s work and refuted his idea (now widely accepted) of Shakespeare as a joint author. Chambers, a founder of the Malone Society, worked full time as a civil servant in the education department, and he chipped away at his Shakespeare research on the side. He spent twenty years writing the four-volume *The Elizabethan Stage*, printed in 1923 (after writing the two-volume *The Medieval Stage*, 1903) and still considered one of the standard works on Shakespeare’s theatrical world. His major contribution to Shakespearean biography, *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems* (1930), is a two-volume collection of records and traditions related to Shakespeare, with very little narrative attached. Chambers was determined to establish the chronology of Shakespeare’s canon so that the dramatist’s life events could correspond to his creative output.

One of Chambers’s co-workers at the Board of Education was John Dover Wilson (1881–1969), who wrote the influential work *The Essential Shakespeare* (1932), subtitled *A Biographical Adventure*. Rather than pursue factual details as his ultimate goal, Wilson instead strove to create “the kind of man I believe Shakespeare to have been” (1932: viii). Wilson’s Shakespeare is an adventurer who circulated among Elizabethan noblemen, including particularly the Earl of Essex. Turning more fully to the plays and poems as sources for biography, Carolyn Spurgeon, in *Shakespeare’s Imagery* (1935), sought to reveal Shakespeare through the choices of images in his literary output, using internal evidence from the plays to find “Shakespeare the Man,” as one chapter title reveals.

Throughout the twentieth century, interest in Shakespeare’s life grew outside of academia, and biographies of Shakespeare began to reach a wider audience through works such as Marchette Chute’s *Shakespeare of London*, which seeks to “bring a very great man into the light of common day” (1949: ix). Also geared to a popular audience, Ivor Brown’s *How Shakespeare Spent the Day* (1963) looks at the practical realities of Shakespeare’s life as an author, and *Shakespeare and His World* (1965) was designed for a young adult audience. Biographies of Shakespeare aimed at a popular readership multiplied in the latter decades of the twentieth century. Having written biographies of Princess Diana and Prince Charles, Anthony Holden turned to Shakespeare in 2000, crafting a biography, *William Shakespeare: The Man Behind the Genius*, designed for a broad readership. Likewise, prolific biographer Peter Ackroyd, a “compulsive writer of lives” (Maltby 2009: 162), turned his attention to Shakespeare in *Shakespeare: The Biography* (2005), which relies heavily on the plays as evidence for the personality and life of the writer, claiming that Shakespeare put “a particle of himself in all of his characters” (261). Best-selling American author Bill Bryson’s *Shakespeare: The World as Stage* (2007), part of the Eminent Lives series, offers a brief popular account of Shakespeare’s life in a series promoted as “short biographies perfect for an age short on time.”

In the second half of the twentieth century, biographies of Shakespeare multiplied at an astonishing rate, written largely by academics. With no new major archival discoveries, biographies instead explored different emphases, angles, and often authorial

obsessions. Popular Cornish author and prolific historian A.L. Rowse (1903–97) was the son of barely literate parents, yet graduated from Oxford on a scholarship and authored nearly 100 books. A specialist in Elizabethan history, Rowse was particularly popular in America, and wrote two biographies of Shakespeare – *William Shakespeare: A Biography* in 1963 and *Shakespeare the Man* in 1973. His particular obsession was with identifying the Dark Lady of the Sonnets, who he conjectured was Emilia Bassano-Lanier.

Biographers have sought new or specialized angles in hopes of presenting Shakespeare in a fresh light. Shakespeare's Warwickshire background has continued to serve as a focal point. Jonathan Bate's *Soul of the Age* (2009), a "biography of the mind of William Shakespeare," includes particular emphasis on Shakespeare's Warwickshire life. Bate's work is in line with that of earlier biographers emphasizing Stratford, from J.W. Gray's *Shakespeare's Marriage, His Departure from Stratford* (1905) to Charlotte Stopes's *Shakespeare's Warwickshire Contemporaries* (1907). Mark Eccles's *Shakespeare in Warwickshire* (1961) concentrates on factual information about Shakespeare's extended family, his neighbours, and other aspects of his Stratford life, with heavy emphasis on factual details and minimal narrative about Shakespeare's life. Shakespeare's London life has also received attention by biographers. Charles Nicholl's *The Lodger Shakespeare: His Life on Silver Street* (2008) – part biography, part mystery – was inspired by Shakespeare's life as a lodger in Christopher Mountjoy's house (earlier discovered by the Wallaces), and brings to life the neighbourhood in London where Shakespeare lived.

Other contemporary biographers have looked to parallel histories in hopes of elucidating Shakespeare's life story. Park Honan's *Shakespeare: A Life* (1998) integrates Shakespeare's life with typical Elizabethan and Jacobean life: an "endeavor to clothe the bare documentary fact in the flesh of an authentic Elizabethan milieu" (Maltby 2009: 150). Using historical records from early modern women, Germaine Greer's *Shakespeare's Wife* seeks to fill "the wife-shaped void in the biography" of Shakespeare (2008: 4). Greer's goal is to draw on archival research about women from Hathaway's day in order to suggest "other, more fruitful interpretations" instead of vilifying Anne, as do the many biographers Greer takes to task (2008: 9).

A number of works have narrowed their focus to smaller periods of Shakespeare's life, rather than surveying the full span from cradle to grave. James Shapiro's *A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare: 1599* (2005), while not a fully fledged biography, nevertheless considers the events in Shakespeare's life and career during this one year, which included the death of Edmund Spenser; the building of the Globe Theatre; the Essex campaign in Ireland; and *As You Like It*, *Henry V*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Hamlet*. Musicologist Eric Sams's *The Real Shakespeare* (1995) focuses on the early years of Shakespeare's life, from 1564 to 1594, and a sequel was published posthumously as an e-book in 2008. Similarly, E.A.J. Honigmann's *Shakespeare: The "Lost" Years* (1985) covers 1585 to 1592, arguing for an early start to Shakespeare's writing career and for his hard-headed business acumen, as well as for possible connections between Shakespeare and "William Shakeshafte," who is mentioned in the will of wealthy Lancashire Catholic Alexander Houghton.

Rather than focusing on a specific time period, Katherine Duncan-Jones's *Ungentle Shakespeare: Scenes from His Life* organizes key moments in Shakespeare's life around issues of "social class, sex and money" (2001: xi). Duncan-Jones uses this

thematic approach to construct a Shakespeare who is a social climber and womanizer, a much coarser and less romanticized view of Shakespeare than those of many previous biographers – although she has remarked that the title was the choice of her publishers, and she disliked its suggestion of a “determined hostility” to Shakespeare that she did not intend (Maltby 2009: 226).

Another profitable angle for looking at Shakespeare’s life is to explore his relationship with his contemporaries. Works which employ this angle include Duncan-Jones’s *Shakespeare: Upstart Crow to Sweet Swan, 1592–1623* (2011), Honigmann’s *Shakespeare’s Impact on His Contemporaries* (1982), and Stanley Wells’s *Shakespeare & Co.* (2006). In addition, Shakespeare’s intellectual development has been the focus of several biographers. A.D. Nuttall’s *Shakespeare the Thinker* (2007) addresses Shakespeare’s work to trace the development of his ideas, and Bate uses the subtitle *A Biography of the Mind of William Shakespeare* for his 2009 *Soul of the Age*. Lois Potter looks at Shakespeare’s “imaginative life” and brings in other collaborators, both for linguistic influence and for actual co-authorship, in *The Life of William Shakespeare: A Critical Biography* (2012).

A most prolific Shakespeare scholar of the twentieth century through the millennium, Stanley Wells has tackled Shakespeare’s life story several times from a number of different angles. *Shakespeare: A Dramatic Life* (1994; republished as *Shakespeare: A Life in Drama* in 1995) highlights the role Shakespeare’s dramatic texts played in the history of English drama, and *Shakespeare for All Time* (2002) offers an illustrated account of his life and afterlife. In *Shakespeare & Co.* (2006), Wells broadens his consideration of Shakespeare’s life to include Shakespeare’s contemporaries. Wells’s *Shakespeare, Sex, and Love* (2010) examines Shakespeare’s attitude to sex in his life and works.

One of the best-selling biographies of Shakespeare ever written is Stephen Greenblatt’s *Will in the World: How Shakespeare Became Shakespeare* (2004), for which the author reportedly received a million-dollar advance (Taylor 2004). While Greenblatt admits that any biography of Shakespeare is an “exercise in speculation” (2004: 18), he manages to build “an amazing success story” (12) out of Shakespeare’s life without adding any new documentary discoveries or fresh pieces of evidence. Often praised for its readability, *Will in the World* “tells a better story” than other Shakespeare biographies, although “what matters is not the true story, but a good story” (Taylor 2004). In Greenblatt’s account, Shakespeare experienced a rags-to-riches rise to fame, leaving behind his miserable marriage in Stratford for the life of theatre in London, returning only at the end of his life to spend more time with his granddaughter Elizabeth. Although a common criticism of biographies is the presence of the biographer’s own life lurking barely underneath the surface, Greenblatt’s biography has attracted unusually pointed criticism: in the words of one reviewer, “Greenblatt has mined his own life to supply the emotional raw materials that energise this book” (Taylor 2004).

In the second half of the twentieth century, the question of Shakespeare’s religion became a particular point of debate for biographers. Several works have focused on this issue in depth, including Heinrich Mutschmann and Karl P. Wentersdorf’s *Shakespeare and Catholicism* (1952); Peter Milward’s *Shakespeare’s Religious Background* (1973); and Richard Wilson’s *Secret Shakespeare: Studies in Theatre, Religion, and Resistance* (2004). Clare Asquith’s *Shadowplay: The Hidden Beliefs and*

Coded Politics of William Shakespeare (2005) similarly argues that Shakespeare used a system of codes in his plays to communicate with other Catholics. Even biographers such as Greenblatt have endorsed the idea that Shakespeare was sympathetic to Catholicism and may have even been a closet Catholic. Television historian Michael Wood's work *In Search of Shakespeare*, a four-part DVD documentary for the BBC, was released in 2003 with a book version the same year. Designed for a popular audience, Wood's work explores the Elizabethan and Jacobean context of Shakespeare's life, and makes a case for Shakespeare as a Catholic. René Weis's *Shakespeare Revealed: A Biography* (2007), published in the United States as *Shakespeare Unbound: Decoding a Hidden Life*, returns to the idea of Shakespeare's Catholicism, with an emphasis on his Warwickshire life.

As well as standard biographies of Shakespeare, the twentieth century also produced several collections of factual documents related to Shakespeare, such as Chambers's two-volume *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems* (1930) and B. Roland Lewis's two-volume collection *The Shakespeare Documents* (1940). Samuel Schoenbaum's *William Shakespeare: A Documentary Life* (1975; also in a concise version in 1977) is largely a collection of primary material (including reproductions of the originals), as is *William Shakespeare: Records and Images* (1981). Schoenbaum never lived to write the major biography of Shakespeare that he had planned, but his surviving work stands as a major contribution to factual information about Shakespeare. Robert Bearman's *Shakespeare in the Stratford Records* (1994) highlights Schoenbaum's contributions as the pre-eminent historian of Stratford and of Shakespeare's life there.

Shakespeare biography itself became a fruitful subject of analysis in the later twentieth century. The works about Shakespearean biography include Schoenbaum's *Shakespeare's Lives* (1970; revised 1991), which chronicles biographers of Shakespeare from the beginning to the later twentieth century; David Bevington's *Shakespeare and Biography* (2010); and Arthur Maltby's *Shakespeare as a Challenge for Literary Biography* (2009). David Ellis's *That Man Shakespeare: Icon of Modern Culture* analyses "what kinds of methods have to be used by those who, with no new information available, feel constrained to produce new biographies" (2005: 4). Ellis has identified six strategies at work in Shakespearean biography:

- "argument from absence," where absence implies secrecy, as in Shakespeare's supposed Catholicism;
- "minding your language," where "weasel words" such as "if" and "probably" allow a biographer to extend speculation;
- reliance on the plays as evidence of the life;
- reliance on the Sonnets as evidence of the life;
- reliance on aspects of contemporary history as evidence of the life; and
- reliance on Shakespeare's contemporaries as evidence.

Interest not only in Shakespeare's life, but also in his afterlife and cultural history, has increased in the last half century. From Gary Taylor's *Reinventing Shakespeare* (1989) to Bate's *The Genius of Shakespeare* (1998), the lives and works that Shakespeare has inspired have also been chronicled. For example, more than half of Peter Holland's entry on Shakespeare for the ODNB focuses on the afterlife (Holland

2006: 140). Holland's entry is the longest one in this dictionary, at roughly 33,000 words – half the length of Lee's entry in the *DNB* (Holland 2006: 140)-but here surpassing entries for both Winston Churchill and Elizabeth I.

Deliberately departing from an ostensibly factual approach, Graham Holderness's *Nine Lives of William Shakespeare* retells Shakespeare's life story in nine different ways, each accompanied by a "metabiographical" (2011: 19) piece exploring the life story through an imaginative work to "embrace freely the imaginative and fictional processes that are always at work" in biographies (17). Holderness exploits the space between fact and fiction, covering most of the popular topics of the twentieth century – including Shakespeare's religion, his relationship with his wife, his sexuality, his life as a player, and his appearance.

The factual details about Shakespeare's life continue to be both challenged and defended. Anti-Stratfordians question the factual details about Shakespeare's life in works such as Diana Price's *Shakespeare's Unorthodox Biography: New Evidence of an Authorship Problem* (2001), whereas the collection *Shakespeare Beyond Doubt: Evidence, Argument, Controversy* (2013), edited by Paul Edmondson and Wells, sets out to establish the factual information about William Shakespeare of Stratford as the author of the plays by William Shakespeare. Shapiro's *Contested Will: Who Wrote Shakespeare?* (2010) takes the history of the authorship controversy as a central topic, including forgeries, ciphers, and codes; and it explores what is at stake in these persistent queries about the identity of Shakespeare.

GLOBAL SHAKESPEARE BIOGRAPHY

So far, this chapter has focused on biographies of Shakespeare written and circulated in Anglophone countries, but many of these works have also been translated and circulated internationally. In the second half of the twentieth century, Anglophone biographies appeared in an unprecedented number of translations, which increased their influence and their dominance of the Shakespeare biography market worldwide. For example, Rowse's *William Shakespeare: A Biography* (1963) was translated into French by Henri Nolz and P. Tirruon in 1964. F.E. Halliday's *Shakespeare: A Pictorial Biography* (1956) had a significant presence in Germany and Scandinavia; it was translated into German by Carl Brinitzer as *Shakespeare: Eine Bildbiographie* (1961); into Norwegian by Amund Myhre as *Shakespeare, en Billedbiografi* (1964); and into Swedish by Gunnar Sjögren as *Shakespeare, en Bildbiografi*. Halliday's work was reprinted as *Shakespeare and His World* (1979), which was then translated into Chinese as *Shashibiya, Tso chia yu tso pin 2* (1999) and by Liu Yunfang as *Shashibiya* (2001); into Spanish by Rafael Vazquez Zamora as *Shakespeare, Biblioteca Salvat de grandes biografías* (1984); and into Russian by V. Kharitonov and N. Oskolkova as *Shekspir i ego mir* (1986). Samuel Schoenbaum's *William Shakespeare: A Documentary Life* (1975) – in its enlarged version (*William Shakespeare: Records and Images*) – was translated into German by Friedrich Polakovics as *William Shakespeare: Eine Dokumentation seines Lebens* (1981) and into Japanese by Jiro Ozu as *Shakespeare no syogai: Kiroku o chushin to suru* (1982). These examples illustrate the wide-ranging reach and influence of Anglophone biographies.

Stephen Greenblatt's *Will in the World* has the largest global dominance of any biography to date. It was excerpted as "Shakespeare's Leap" in the *New York Times*

Magazine in 2004; reprinted in Hebrew the same year; and appeared as “The Grotesque Titan” in 2010 and “A Message from Purgatory” in 2011 in *Around the Globe: The Magazine of Shakespeare's Globe. Will in the World* was translated into Dutch by Marijke Koch and Albert Witteveen as *William en de wereld: Hoe Shakespeare Shakespeare werd* (2004); into German by Martin Pfeiffer as *Will in der Welt: Wie Shakespeare zu Shakespeare wurde* (2004); into Japanese by Shoichiro Kawai as *Sheikusupia no kyoï no seiko monogatari* (2006); into Polish by Barbara Kopeć-Umiastowska as *Shakespeare: Stwarzanie swiata* (2007); and into Portuguese by Donaldson M. Garschagen and Renata Guerra as *Como Shakespeare se tornou Shakespeare* (2011).

Second in global popularity to Greenblatt's biography, Ackroyd's *Shakespeare: The Biography* (2006) was translated into Dutch by Erik Bindervoet and Robbert-Jan Henkes as *Shakespeare: De biografie* (2006); into French by Bernard Turle as *Shakespeare: La biographie* (2006); into German by Michael Muller and Otto Lucian as *Shakespeare: Die Biographie* (2008); into Spanish by Margarite Cavandoli as *Shakespeare: La biografia* (2008); into Japanese by Shoichiro Kawai and Moe Sakai as *Sheikusupia den* (2008); into Russian by O. Kel'bert as *Shespir: Biografiya* (2009); and into Italian by Chiara Gabutti as *Shakespeare: Una biografia* (2011).

Even with this plethora of Anglophone biographies circulating globally, many countries produced their own biographies of Shakespeare, which were at times translated into yet other languages. In Spain, for instance, interest in the connections between Shakespeare the man and Shakespeare the author resulted in several works of primarily non-fiction, beginning in the early nineteenth century. As Keith Gregor points out, in Spain, “Shakespeare” was “not so much a body of works as a memorable character who also happened to be an author” (2010: 162). The Shakespeare tercentenary in 1916 occasioned a “sudden interest in Shakespeare and Shakespearean biography,” inspired also by the anniversary of the death of Cervantes (Calvo 2002: 58). Versions of Shakespeare's life were circulated not only in book-length biographies but also in lectures and in magazine and newspaper articles. Alvaro Alcalá Galiano delivered a lecture entitled “Shakespeare: el hombre y el artista” (Shakespeare: the man and the artist) to an audience of “proto-feminist liberal women” in 1916 (Calvo 2002: 59). Galiano's biography is organized around a reading of the Sonnets, emphasizing Shakespeare's literary career as a mode of structure. Biographical pieces were also written by Luis Astrana Marín, Alfonso Par, and Eduardo Juliá Martínez. Par's lectures became the first book-length biography published in Spain, entitled *Vida de Guillem Shakespeare* (1916), later revised in Spanish in 1930. Par's biography drew on Sidney Lee's *A Life of William Shakespeare* (1898), and it eulogized Stratford as “la vella Anglaterra” (Old England) (Calvo 2002: 64). Astrana's biographical contributions were in the form of brief articles in *El Liberal* in 1916 as a preamble to his full-length biography later published in 1941 (*Vida immortal de William Shakespeare*). Astrana translated Shakespeare's works, and a version of his biography appears as part of this edition. Clara Calvo points out that Astrana's biography is “one of the first sources for Shakespearean biography the learned Spanish reader is likely to use” (2002: 65). Juliá Martínez's biography, *Shakespeare y su tiempo: Historia y Fantasia* (*Shakespeare and His Time: History and Fancy*), blends fact and fiction in a “hagiographic account” of Shakespeare, designed to present him as “a Catholic saint” (Calvo 2002: 67). These biographies share similar concerns with Shakespeare's religious leanings, his marriage to Anne Hathaway, his cause of death, and his personal habits.

Danish critic Georg Brandes (1842–1927) combined study of Shakespeare’s life with his works in *William Shakespeare: A Critical Study*, published in 1895 in Denmark, shortly after a translation of Shakespeare’s works was available. Brandes’s biography was circulated internationally outside the English-speaking world (printed in America and in England) and remained influential for European biographers, praised in *The Saturday Review* as “the most mature expression of biographical criticism” throughout the continent of Europe (Hansen 2002: 164). Edmund Gosse praised it as “the best popular or general portrait of Shakespeare yet given to a Continental audience, certainly, and perhaps even to an English one” (Hansen 2002: 165). Brandes’s biography was translated into English and reprinted in England and in the United States; and it was attached to *The Garrick Shakespeare*, a twelve-volume edition (Hansen 2002: 166). James Joyce was among the many admirers of Brandes’s work.

Other parts of the world have originated their own biographies. In addition to the many translations of English biographies into German, German scholar Karl Elze (1821–89) published *William Shakespeare: A Literary Biography* in German in 1876, translated into English in 1888. In Russia, Mikhail Morozov’s 1947 biography of Shakespeare was part of the series “Lives of Eminent Men,” followed by a second edition of 50,000 copies in 1956. Other Russian biographies of Shakespeare include Alexander Smirnov’s short account for his editions of Shakespeare; Ivan Aksenov’s biography for the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* (first edition); and I. Wertsman and Alexander Anikst’s for the second edition (Anikst 1961: 100). Eizaburo Saito’s *Sheikusupia no Sekai (The World of Shakespeare)* is an introductory work to Shakespeare in Japanese, including a chapter on biography.

The Arab world has also produced biographical works about Shakespeare. As early as 1930, Gharib al Amin published *Riwayat Shakisbir* in Beirut, including commentary on Shakespeare’s life. In 1944, Muhammad Farid Abu Hadid published *Shakisbir* in Cairo, an introduction to Shakespeare’s life and works. In 1950, Jerius al Qosus’s *Ma’a Shakisbir (With Shakespeare)* introduced Shakespeare’s life to the general reader. In 1958, al-Aqqad and Abbas Mahmud published *al-Ta’arif bi Shakisbir (An Introduction to Shakespeare)*, in Cairo, which includes material on Shakespeare’s life. In 1970, schoolchildren had access to *Shakisbir Sha’ir al-Insaniyah (Shakespeare, Poet of Humanity)*, published in Beirut. Sayf al-Din al-Khatib’s *Shakisbur*, published in Lebanon in 1981, contains a section on Shakespeare’s life (Alshetawi 2002). In Arabic, full-length biographies of Shakespeare include *Poet of the Universe William Shakespeare*, published in Cairo in 1944; and Arabic editions of the Sonnets often have short biographies of Shakespeare.

As late as 2007, Barbara Everett proclaimed that “modern biography has reached a point of spontaneous combustion” (13). Even so, biographies of Shakespeare continue to be produced, translated, and voraciously consumed around the world. The various “Shakespeares” constructed by biographers reveal changing tastes of audience and consumers for information about Shakespeare’s religion, his collaborators, his family life, and the relation between his works and the details of his life. The ever-expanding list of Shakespeare biographies suggests that the definitive life of Shakespeare can never be written; and that the enduring questions about this powerful, prolific, and in many ways mysterious writer will continue to haunt audiences and critics for generations to come. The central question of what “Shakespeare”

is further complicates the quest for a definitive biography: is the entity we call "Shakespeare" the man, his works, his time, or a combination of all three; and, if a combination, in what proportions do the elements coalesce? Each biographer must wrestle with this formula, taking into account the desires of contemporary audiences for speculation and supposition about current topics of interest. In spite of what might seem a market flooded with biographies, Shakespeare has remained a marketable commercial entity, and readers show no signs of losing interest in the mystery of the man who is, in the words of Jorge Luis Borges (1961), "everything and nothing."

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CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

INTERPRETING SHAKESPEARE THROUGH THE VISUAL ARTS



Jim Davis

Shakespeare has inspired a vast number of paintings, illustrations, prints, caricatures, cartoons, comics, and sculptures, and has had an enormous impact on visual culture. Since the eighteenth century, many editions of the plays have been illustrated by contemporary artists: sometimes imagining scenes from the plays themselves; sometimes imagining events occurring off stage; sometimes providing illustrations that annotate places and objects mentioned in the text; and sometimes depicting actors in roles or scenes representing actual or supposed theatrical productions. From Nicholas Rowe's Shakespeare in the early eighteenth century to the Royal Shakespeare Company's (RSC's) recent edition of Shakespeare's plays, many editions provide testimony to the ongoing demand for texts to provide visual referents to the plays. Artists have created memorable paintings of Shakespearean scenes. In particular the Boydell Gallery in London, despite its eventual failure, was a serious attempt in the late eighteenth century to capitalize commercially on the contemporary interest in Shakespeare, while also developing a British school of history painting based on representations of scenes from the plays. Alongside these developments, artists began to portray actors in Shakespearean roles as illustrations to edited volumes, in oils for major exhibitions, and in engravings for the burgeoning print market. In time the focus for representing stage performances shifted to photography, which in itself created new approaches to recording scenes from the plays.

In theatrical terms, productions of Shakespeare also contributed to innovations in scenography from the eighteenth century on, and they continue to do so. There is a rich history of Shakespearean stage design, a history that is further enhanced by poster and programme art. Even radio productions of Shakespeare have spawned illustrations, such as those created by Robin Jacques for the *Radio Times*. Publications inspired by Shakespeare, such as Charles and Mary Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare* or Mary Cowden Clarke's *The Girlhood of Shakespeare's Heroines*, have appeared in illustrated editions, while many cartoons and caricatures, theatrical or otherwise, have been based on Shakespearean sources. More recently, graphic novels and comics have been used to promote Shakespeare to wider audiences. In this chapter I shall draw on these and other sources not only to chart the ongoing history of visualizing Shakespeare, but also to consider visual art as a form of critique and commentary, never merely

descriptive, but almost invariably implying a perspective or point of view; often establishing critical and/or imaginative frameworks through which to anticipate, judge, and even recall individual plays and productions. This approach applies to works of art or illustrations representing theatrical performances, and also to those engaging directly with the text. The issue raised by Jonathan Bate around the temporal nature of drama and the limitations of the frozen moment conveyed by visual art, potentially losing the sense of before and after, will also inform the discussion (Bate 2000: 33).

FROM HOGARTH TO BOYDELL

Throughout the eighteenth century the plays of Shakespeare and theatrical realizations of the plays provided subject-matter for the visual arts. Artists demonstrated both critical interpretation and imaginative engagement in their depictions of plays and performances. Specific moments in the text were often chosen by artists for imaginative reconstruction, while scenes from theatrical productions and portraits of individual actors in character were mediated through contemporary artistic conventions.

William Hogarth provides one useful starting-point for consideration of the relationship of Shakespeare to visual culture. His *David Garrick in the character of Richard III* (1745) may depict Garrick as he appeared in role, but it is open to variable interpretations: is this Garrick the actor; or Garrick totally immersed in the role of Richard; or, given the compositional influence of Charles Le Brun's *Family of Darius before Alexander the Great* (often referred to as *The Tent of Darius*), a history painting in which Garrick sits as the model for Richard III? Perhaps it is a mixture of all three. Garrick's pose is very histrionic, almost a textbook indication of the appropriate use of expression and gesture to convey emotional response at this moment in act 5 scene 5 when Richard has just awoken from his dream, peopled by the apparitions of those he has slaughtered, immediately prior to the Battle of Bosworth (Figure 17.1). Yet, as a frozen moment, it is also appropriate and convincing, blending theatrical and artistic conventions for the expression of emotion. Earlier in his career Hogarth had used scenes from Shakespeare for quite different reasons, as in *Falstaff Examining His Recruits* (1730) and his engraving of *Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn* (1728), probably inspired by the recent success of Colley Cibber's staging of *Henry VIII* at Drury Lane. In the first, he parodied the self-serving prime minister, Sir Robert Walpole, in his cupidity; in the second, he satirized the over-reliance of George II on Walpole through an implied comparison between Walpole and Cardinal Wolsey (Uglow 1997: 130–32).

From Hogarth on, pictorial representations, both of Shakespeare on stage and of imagined scenes from his plays, served multiple purposes. Garrick certainly saw portraiture – whether executed by Hogarth, Johan(n) Zoffany, Nathaniel Dance, Francis Hayman, or Benjamin West – as a form of self-promotion. His association with Shakespeare is recorded not only in portraits of him in character, but also in such studies as Zoffany's of Garrick looking out over the Thames beside the temple he had built in honour of Shakespeare at Hampton, *Mr and Mrs Garrick by the Shakespeare Temple in Hampton* (1762), or Thomas Gainsborough's depiction of *Garrick with the bust of Shakespeare* (1769). When artists depicted a group of actors in a play, they often placed the figures within a seemingly realistic (rather than stage) setting, as Francis



Figure 17.1 Engraving; full-length portrait of David Garrick in the character of Richard III, by William Hogarth.

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Wheatley does in depicting the duel scene from *Twelfth Night* (*Scene from "Twelfth Night," Act III, 1771–72*). The tendency to place theatrical characters in natural rather than theatrical settings is quite usual at this time and can be discerned in many of Zoffany's theatrical pictures. As Stuart Sillars indicates, landscape is an important aspect of Shakespearean painting and of the association of Shakespeare with nature (2006: 61–63). But theatrical portraits placed in natural settings may also be working on another level, that of educating spectators to use their imaginations as theatre-goers to envisage the performance itself in extra-theatrical terms.

Throughout the eighteenth century the growth in the market for portraiture and for engravings, including representations of the more celebrated performers, led to an increase in theatrical portraiture. However, representing performers in roles and scenes from Shakespeare was only one development. There was also a burgeoning interest in paintings and prints depicting scenes from Shakespeare more directly, where the artist was sole interpreter rather than the transmitter of a theatrical performance or performer, an interest capitalized upon by John Boydell. The Boydell Gallery, which was first opened in 1789, exhibited paintings of subjects taken from Shakespeare by British artists, emphasizing Shakespeare as a source for high art (alongside scenes

from the Bible and from classical mythology) rather than for the representation of theatrical performances and performers. Both large and small engravings of the paintings were to be made available to subscribers, together with a new edition of Shakespeare's plays. Leading artists who contributed to the Gallery included Joshua Reynolds, James Barry, Henry Fuseli, John Opie, and Benjamin West. Although the Gallery eventually failed, it certainly indicated one way in which the Shakespearean imaginary would flourish. But the Gallery did more than provide such signs, in Stuart Sillars's opinion, for, read as a series of engravings, it provided the onlooker with "a range of critical engagements with the play that offers an early equivalent of reading three critical analyses of the text produced from different ideological standpoints" (Sillars 2006: 295). It demonstrated that the relationship between Shakespeare and visual culture could also be a discursive one.

CREATING THE SHAKESPEAREAN IMAGINARY: NINETEENTH-CENTURY ARTISTS AND SHAKESPEARE

Each age arguably creates a Shakespearean imaginary through visual and theatrical cultures that reinterpret the plays in response to the contemporary *Zeitgeist*. Not only paintings but also illustrations to texts of plays in editions such as Bell's Shakespeare, the many Victorian illustrated editions of the plays, twentieth-century anthologies, and even ancillary works such as the Lambs' *Tales from Shakespeare* have contributed to re-evaluations and re-imaginings. All created ways of seeing Shakespeare's plays at different points historically, and obviously impacted on the ways contemporaries perceived and understood the plays. They therefore became part of the discourse through which Shakespeare has been mediated historically.

The Boydell Gallery both represents and reflects a tendency towards a more inspirational and creative use of Shakespeare by artists working during and after the late eighteenth century. James Barry is one of the artists initially credited with moving the focus from theatrical to imaginative representation of Shakespearean scenes, while Henry Fuseli arguably staked the largest claim to a "sublime" rendition of Shakespearean subjects, partly influenced by German Romanticism and also by the time he spent in Rome. He returned to Shakespeare throughout his lifetime, in oil paintings and drawings, many of which were also disseminated as engravings. Beginning work on Shakespearean subjects in the 1770s, he exhibited a series of paintings based on Shakespeare's plays in the 1780s at the Royal Academy; and in the 1790s he contributed both to the Boydell and the Dublin Shakespeare galleries. His images provide a unique and often disturbing way of seeing the plays of Shakespeare, whether he is depicting scenes from the comedies (such as *Titania Embracing Bottom*, 1792–93; *Titania's Awakening*, 1803) or the tragedies (*Gertrude, Hamlet and the Ghost of Hamlet's Father*, 1793).

Fuseli's interest in the Gothic suffuses many of his works and arguably surfaces in many of his Shakespearean depictions. *The Weird Sisters* (1783) provides a powerful image of the Witches in *Macbeth*: it achieved wide circulation after John Raphael Smith engraved it as a mezzotint in 1785 (Figure 17.2); and it even provided the model for one of James Gillray's most effective political caricatures, *Weird Sisters: Ministers of Darkness: Minions of the Moon* (1791), of the then prime minister (William Pitt the Younger), Home Secretary (Lord Dundas), and Lord Chancellor (Lord Thurlow).



Figure 17.2 *The Weird Sisters*, by Henry Fuseli. England, late eighteenth century.
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Fuseli's fantastical approach to Shakespearean subjects is echoed in the work of William Blake and Richard Dadd. Blake's *Brutus and Caesar's Ghost* (c. 1806), *Richard III and the Ghosts* (c. 1806), *Oberon, Titania and Puck with Fairies Dancing* (c. 1786), and *The Vision of Queen Katherine* (c. 1790–93) reflect his highly idiosyncratic vision. Both Fuseli and Blake represent an extreme and somewhat daring response to Shakespeare, leading Peter Whitfield to comment:

No other artists have given such a subjective, emotional, other-worldly response to Shakespeare as Fuseli did continuously and Blake did occasionally, but both were so exceptional in the freedom of their interpretations that they had no real influence and no heirs.

(Whitfield 2013: 47)

One might argue that John Martin's *Macbeth, Banquo and the Three Witches* (1820), Eugène Delacroix's series of Shakespearean paintings and lithographs, and some of the images in contemporary comic-book and manga Shakespeares follow from or provide modern equivalencies to the idiosyncratic work of Blake and Fuseli.

Delacroix's series of *Hamlet* lithographs and oil paintings provided a highly individualistic response to Shakespeare's play, a response influenced, after 1827, by the impact of the performances given in Paris by Charles Kemble and Harriet Smithson of *Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet*. Peter Holland describes Delacroix's work on *Hamlet* as a "prolonged meditation on the play" (2003: 58). Other French artists such as Gustave Moreau also demonstrated a distinctive and original approach to Shakespearean subject-matter.

Meanwhile, English representations of the supernatural in Shakespeare, particularly in such plays as *The Tempest* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, succumbed to the Victorian vogue for fairy-tales and fairy-paintings. Dadd's *Titania Sleeping* (1841), *Come unto These Yellow Sands* (1842), and *Contradiction: Oberon and Titania* (1854–58) provide an eccentric, whimsical, and arguably influential model for Shakespearean painting, which still emerges perhaps later in the century, under changed aesthetic conditions, in the work of Edmund Dulac, Walter Crane, and even Arthur Rackham. Many Victorian artists depicted Shakespearean subjects. Of the Pre-Raphaelites, both John Everett Millais and Holman Hunt contributed paintings of scenes from or contingent to the plays. One of the most famous Victorian paintings is Millais's *Ophelia* (1851–52), which vividly portrays the drowned Ophelia with an almost photographic realism, usurping the potential for the reader's or spectator's imaginative engagement with the lines in the play describing this event. However, Hunt's meticulously staged and depicted *Valentine Rescuing Silvia* (1851) from *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* takes a scene from the play itself. The painting may imply a moment of reconciliation, but this is undermined by a sense of unease (even reluctance) in the two kneeling figures and in the detached figure of Julia (in male disguise), slumped against a tree and gazing away from Silvia, Proteus, and Valentine. In contrast to the descriptive realism of the painting by Millais, Hunt offers interpretation, just as he does in *Claudio and Isabella* (1850–53), another picture which carries a strong sense of subtext.

ILLUSTRATED SHAKESPEARE

Another development, which combined the desire for imaginary representations with portraits of actors in role, can be discerned in illustrated editions of Shakespeare. Stuart Sillars argues that the illustrated edition was "increasingly the initial encounter with the plays for many, if not most, readers" in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (2009: 162). Thus, in order to understand the impact of these editions, we also have to understand something of the art of the period and the attitudes that informed it. Sillars emphasizes the need to investigate "the system of relations that each image has with contemporary theatre, artistic style and reading practice" (2009: 165). We also need to understand why certain moments from the text are selected for illustration, to what sort of reader they are addressed, and what has determined their positioning in relation to the text. Further, we may wish to know whether "the images reflect prevalent stances or generate them" (Sillars 2009: 166).

Nicholas Rowe was the first to publish an illustrated edition of Shakespeare, in 1709, although by the late eighteenth century John Bell's editions of the plays, sold separately and in collections, were the most popular and prolific editions available. Bell's "Acting" Shakespeare, based on Covent Garden and Drury Lane prompt-copies,

commenced publication for subscribers in 1773. Originally published with twenty-four engravings of scenes from the plays, it was not until the third edition in 1775 that thirty-six engravings of prominent players began to appear. In 1785 Bell started to publish new editions of Shakespeare's plays, eventually brought together in twenty quarto volumes in 1788 under the title *Dramatick Writings of Will. Shakespere, printed complete from the best editions of Sam. Johnson and Geo. Ste[e]vens*. These editions attracted 1,800 subscribers, including members of the royal family and notable actors such as Sarah Siddons. They included vignette scenes and what Bell now called "Character Prints," showing prominent performers in action.

Thus, in volume II of the quartos we are provided with a portrait of William Lewis as Prince Hal in 1 *Henry IV* and a vignette of Falstaff in act 5 scene 4 declaring "Yea, & I'll swear I killed him." The latter is not presented as a character portrait, but nevertheless bears a strong resemblance to Johann Heinrich R(h)amberg's depiction of John Henderson as Falstaff for *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (Vol. IV). A fold-out illustration of morris dancing is also included at the end of the text and annotations. Normally editions of individual plays carried one vignette and one character portrait, although occasionally the actor or actress is not known to have played the role in which they are depicted, at least in London. Thus Frances Abington as Rosalind disguised as Ganymede in *As You Like it* (Vol. IV) represents a role she may never have played. This volume also includes a third illustration entitled "Examples of ANCIENT BILLS [halberds/weapons] as mentioned in *Much ado about Nothing*." *The Merry Wives of Windsor* includes a third illustration, "*Specimens of Fan from the Drawings of Titian and Cesare Vecelli as referred to in the Notes on The Merry Wives of Windsor*." This anticipates a tendency in some Victorian editions of Shakespeare to provide informative visual and historically appropriate annotations in support of textual references. Among the many actors represented in character in Bell's Shakespeare are Charles Macklin as Shylock, Siddons as Lady Macbeth (Figure 17.3), and John Philip Kemble as Hamlet. Some of the best portraits, such as those by Rhamberg, for example, provide a very strong sense of the performer in motion.

During the nineteenth century illustrated editions of Shakespeare proliferated. Charles Knight's *The Pictorial Edition of the Works of Shakespeare* was initially published in monthly parts from 1838 to 1841, then issued in seven volumes. A strong emphasis was placed on topographical illustrations and other referential images, providing a pedantic and literal representation not only of a play's settings but also of objects and places mentioned in the text, reflecting or anticipating a tendency to rely on antiquarian approaches in Shakespearean production during this period. Peter Holland argues for a direct link between Knight's edition and the actor Charles Kean's emphasis on historical accuracy in mid-Victorian theatre:

Knight's pictures of the scenic locations of the plays can often be exactly matched by the sets of Kean or, earlier, Macready, and one can trace the direct interconnections and correlation again and again between these two areas of image, illustrations to the edition and illustration on stage in much nineteenth-century theatre.
(Holland 2003: 56)

Many illustrated editions followed Knight through to *The Henry Irving Shakespeare* (1888–90) and beyond. Meanwhile, in 1856 the first purely French illustrated edition



Figure 17.3 J. Rhamberg, *Mrs Siddons as Lady Macbeth*, printed for John Bell, 1784.
Author's collection

of Shakespeare was published, featuring woodcuts by Louis Deghouy based on designs by Feliz Barrias. In Germany, despite a market for illustrated “gallery” editions of critical essays on Shakespeare, the first major illustrated edition of Shakespeare’s plays did not appear until 1873.

Two representative Victorian editions of the plays are *The Library Shakespeare* (1873–75) published by William Mackenzie and featuring illustrations by Sir John Gilbert (one of the most popular Victorian illustrators of Shakespeare), George Cruikshank, and Robert Dudley; and J.O. Halliwell’s *The Complete Works of Shakespeare Revised from the Original Editions* (The London Printing and Publishing Company, 1850). *The Library Shakespeare* consists of three volumes devoted to the Tragedies, Comedies, and Histories. Each play is normally preceded by an engraved title-page and usually contains one or more colour plates, while further illustrations are liberally placed throughout the text. Sillars comments on the effective integration between word and image in these volumes, but suggests that the illustrations (as in the contemporary illustrated novel) often serve to control the reading experience (2009: 178). The volumes are attractively produced, but the quality of illustration is variable, perhaps the liveliest of the plates being those delegated to Cruikshank, who seems largely used to depict scenes in which Falstaff appears. Arguably, he also

provides a way of seeing Falstaff's world, to those familiar with his other book illustrations, as akin to the worlds of Charles Dickens, Pierce Egan the Younger, and all those other nineteenth-century novelists whose work he had illustrated (Figure 17.4). Halliwell's edition returns to the principle followed by Bell's Shakespeare, by using plates of actors combined with plates illustrating scenes from the plays. Through wood engravings made from daguerreotypes of the actors portrayed, Halliwell's volumes provide portraits of many of the leading actors of the day in some of their principal roles, whether Ira Aldridge as Aaron the Moor, William Macready as Macbeth, or G.V. Brooke as Richard III. In the illustrated editions, the images are usually interpretative, although sometimes they are merely visual annotations; but the assumption behind them is that the plays cannot be carried by or communicated through language alone.

The mediation of Shakespeare to the public also transpires in Mary Cowden Clarke's work and in the Lambs' *Tales from Shakespeare*, designed for juvenile readers, first published in 1807 and still in print. The narratives provided by the Lambs are problematic in that often they omit subplots and characters, but their influence continues. Charles Lamb was said to be unhappy with the original illustrations to the *Tales from Shakespeare*, since they were based on the plays rather than on the tales themselves. Yet the many illustrated editions of the *Tales from Shakespeare* imply the need to provide visual stimulus to readers so that their imaginative engagement

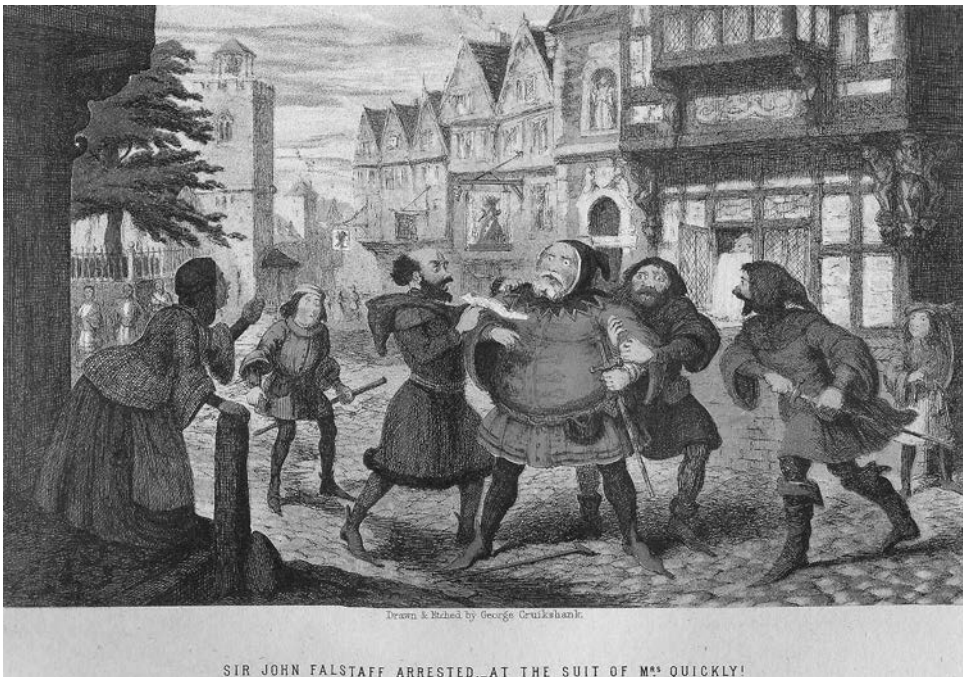


Figure 17.4 George Cruikshank, *John Falstaff arrested at the suit of Mrs Quickly!* from *The Library Shakespeare Vol. I Comedies*, 1873.
Author's collection

with the text, whether the Lambs' or Shakespeare's, is already predetermined. In the Lambs' version of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the "rude mechanicals" are exorcized, and Bottom is referred to merely as a "Clown" who has lost his way in the forest. His encounter with Titania is very chastely described, although it is made more vivid in Arthur Rackham's famous illustration for a 1909 edition, which captures the moment (in Lamb as well as in Shakespeare) when Bottom asks for Cobweb as Peaseblossom is scratching his head (Figure 17.5). Yet Rackham's illustration is light-years away from Fuseli's far more disturbing, erotic, even nightmarish oil painting *Titania embracing Bottom* (1792–93), based on the same moment, raising interesting questions about the role bowdlerization plays in the illustration of Shakespeare's texts.

Clarke's *The Girlhood of Shakespeare's Heroines* (1850–52), originally published without illustrations, aimed "to trace the probable antecedents in the history of some of Shakespeare's women" (Clarke 1850: iii). Her book was later condensed into a new edition by her sister, Sabilla Novello, and published by Bickers and Son "with nine illustrations in permanent photography, from pictures by T.F. Dicksee and W.S. Herrick." In some of the chapters – such as those devoted to Olivia, Ophelia, Rosalind, and Viola – the practice that so irritated Lamb occurs, for the illustrations clearly represent scenes from the plays rather than from Clarke's narrative. Olivia, for instance,



Figure 17.5 Arthur Rackham, "Where is Cobweb?" (*A Midsummer Night's Dream*), illustration to Charles and Mary Lamb, *Tales from Shakespeare*, 1909.



Figure 17.6 *Olivia*, photograph from a painting by T.F. Dicksee, Mary Cowden Clarke, *The Girlhood of Shakespeare's Heroines, Condensed by Sabilla Novello*, 1893.
Author's collection

has just lifted her veil coquettishly, while both Viola and Rosalind are in male attire (Figure 17.6). Ophelia is depicted bedecked with garlands immediately prior to her suicide. All of these illustrations privilege Shakespeare's text over Clarke's.

FROM PAINTING TO PHOTOGRAPHY

Portraits of actors in role and in group scenes were popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Theatrical artists such as George Clint and Samuel De Wilde exhibited regularly at the Royal Academy; actors and patrons commissioned theatrical portraits; and these portraits often formed the basis for mezzotints, engravings, and, especially from the 1820s, lithographs. From Garrick onwards leading performers could see the value of theatrical portraiture in establishing and maintaining their celebrity and, in the case of Sarah Siddons, their respectability. Actresses were as likely to be portrayed in non-Shakespearean roles, as allegorical figures (such as Siddons representing the tragic muse in Joshua Reynolds's well-known painting) or as themselves. In portraying actors and actresses in role, often the painter was complicit with the actor in revealing the performer's persona intermingled with the role assumed; portraiture thus became a joint act of creation. Thomas Lawrence's portraits of John Philip Kemble as Hamlet (1801) and as Coriolanus (1811) imply the nobility and dignity not only of the two characters but also of the actor who represents them. In

fact, Kemble seems less to represent and more to embody the qualities of leadership and authority which also underpin his position in British theatre during the period. George Henry Harlow's paintings of Siddons in the role of Lady Macbeth (1815) also convey a sense of *gravitas* and dignity, although this slightly undermines any sense of passion that Siddons brought to the role.

Whereas discussions of theatrical portraiture often focus on the depiction of leading actors and actresses in tragic roles, portraits of actors in comic Shakespearean roles also exist, such as Johan Zoffany's portrait of Thomas King as Touchstone (1780), John Hoppner's of Dorothy Jordan as Viola (1796), or Samuel De Wilde's of John Liston as Pompey in *Measure for Measure* (c. 1811). Nevertheless, Shakespeare's tragic protagonists are among those most favoured by actors throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century. One of the most memorable portraits from the late nineteenth century is John Singer Sargent's portrait of Ellen Terry as Lady Macbeth (1889) in the green "beetle-wing" dress designed for her by Alice Comyns Carr to wear in the first act. Although the moment depicted – Lady Macbeth raising a crown above her head – does not occur in the play, Ellen Terry was highly satisfied with the result, as the following diary entries record:

The picture of me is nearly finished, and I think magnificent. The green and blue of the dress is splendid, and the expression as Lady Macbeth holds the crown over her head is quite wonderful.

[. . .]

Sargent's picture is talked about everywhere and quarrelled about as much as my way of playing the part.

[. . .]

The picture is the sensation of the year. Of course opinions differ about it, but there are dense crowds round it every day.

(Terry 1982: 196)

For Terry, the portrait conveyed exactly what she too had been trying to communicate in her performance of Lady Macbeth.

For those who wanted to purchase souvenirs of Shakespearean performances by specific actors or actresses, the print market provided multiple opportunities. From expensive mezzotints, such as Clint's engraving of George Henry Harlow's *The Trial of Queen Katharine* (through which Clint achieved recognition and future commissions as a theatrical artist in his own right), to penny-plain, twopence coloured prints, these depictions provided mementoes of favourite actors in their outstanding roles. Any discussion of theatrical prints, however, needs to recognize that Shakespeare is just one of the many dramatists in whose plays popular actors were memorialized. Just as Shakespearean subjects provided only one of many items from which artists could select, so theatrical portraits and prints allowed for a wide range of performers and performances. In this context the representation of Shakespearean subjects and performances is occasional and needs to be analysed more broadly in relation to other non-Shakespearean images. In William Oxberry's *Dramatic Biography and Histrionic Anecdotes* (1825–27), for example, accompanying portraits of actors only occasionally show them in a Shakespearean role. Cumberland's British Theatre published a range of plays in the 1820s, sometimes including one or more Shakespearean

texts in individual volumes. Now and then a volume included an engraved portrait of an actor in a Shakespearean role, while each play was prefixed by a woodcut by Robert Cruikshank, often crudely sketching in likenesses of contemporary actors in role in a particular scene. Although volumes devoted entirely to Shakespeare are often singled out for special treatment by scholars, illustrations of Shakespearean actors and performance are also an integrated part of a wider visual and print culture that does not always distinguish Shakespeare's plays from the broader theatrical context in which they were being performed.

Later in the nineteenth century photography supplemented and eventually replaced engraving and lithography as a means of recording theatrical performance. Generally, early photographs of individual performers and group portraits re-create moments from a play in studio conditions, the actor or actors holding a pose in costume against a studio backdrop. Thus, early photography once again provides an image of the frozen moment, but is no more reliable than a painting or print as a record of an actual moment in performance. Nevertheless, the photograph became the primary medium for recording performance in the twentieth century, and it developed new techniques for providing dynamic and interpretative records of key moments in performance – not that these qualities were always missing from early photography. Adolphe Beau's photographic portrait (c. 1856) of a very young Ellen Terry dressed as Puck and sitting cross-legged on a giant toadstool (Figure 17.7) seems to confirm



MISS ELLEN TERRY AS PUCK.

Photo by Adolphe Beau.

Figure 17.7 Adolphe Beau, *Ellen Terry as Puck*, photograph, c. 1856, reprinted in Walter Calvert, *Sir Henry Irving and Miss Ellen Terry*, London: Henry J. Drane, 1897.
Author's collection

Terry's own words that she "revelled in the impish unreason of the sprite" (Calvert 1897: 6), although she also comments that she grew gawky and ugly while playing Puck. A commentary on the photograph states:

It is interesting to see a picture of the elfin being (eight years old) in the part. Young as the figure is, there is a curious old look in the face, as if the immemorial malice of the goblin lived in the form of the child. The sly cunning of a Puck demands a grey head on green shoulders; and probably Miss Ellen Terry has seldom looked so old since.

(Calvert 1897: 6)

By the early twentieth century there were theatre periodicals whose sales were totally dependent on photography. Even if the stage setting was now shown, however, the photographs themselves can still appear remarkably posed. *The Play Pictorial* no. 30 (1904), for example, is devoted to Oscar Asche's production of *The Taming of the Shrew*, in which he played Petruccio and Christopher Sly and Lily Brayton played Katherine. The issue contains forty-one photographs, including portraits of individual characters and carefully staged episodes from the production with captions and/or quotations from the play. Almost totally lacking from this record of the production is any sense of its energy or dynamism.

Jumping forward fifty years, theatrical photography improved considerably, especially as exemplified in the work of Angus McBean. Photographs of performances at the Old Vic and at Stratford in the 1950s are now less posed; and, even if they still capture a frozen moment, there is a sense of motion and of a before and after. Although paintings and sketches of actors in Shakespearean roles continue, photography has become one of the chief means within visual culture for recording specific moments in performance. More recently the *RSC Complete Works* has included twenty-eight photographs taken from some of the most iconic productions presented at Stratford since the 1960s. The photographs are not integrated into the text but presented in a section of their own, paired two at a time and provided with brief commentary on each pair, the format highlighting contrasts in interpretation and design. One of the commentaries warns us, however, that "theatrical photography with its close-ups and freezing of individual moments, can artfully suggest the mood of a production but not the ebb and flow of feelings, relationships and ideas that are the essence of Shakespeare" (Bate and Ramussen 2007). Thus, the photographs serve to remind us of the interpretative possibilities offered by Shakespeare in the performances they record rather than to influence the way in which we read individual plays.

CARICATURE

Caricature as satire, parody, or critique often draws on Shakespeare whether as an appropriate point of reference for political or social comment, as a critique of Shakespearean performers, or as a way of satirizing matters pertaining to Shakespeare. I have already mentioned James Gillray's satiric use of Fuseli's depiction of the three Witches in *Macbeth* for political satire. In the same period the possible mercenary motives behind the Boydell Gallery were also satirized in several prints. Gillray's *Shakespeare Sacrificed; or, the Offering to Avarice* (1789) is extraordinary in that

it not only implies that Shakespeare's text itself is being sacrificed for gain, but also lampoons Boydell in a travesty of Robert Edge Pine's painting of Garrick reciting the Jubilee Ode (1780) and satirizes many of the artists displayed in the Gallery, strongly implying the derivative nature of their indebtedness to older models.

In 1864 *Punch* published the cartoon *Shakespeare and the Pigmies* (Figure 17.8), which was subsequently reproduced in *Mr. Punch's History of Modern England* (1921). After commenting that "*Punch* throughout his career has drawn more freely from [Shakespeare's] plays than from any other source," the writer adds:

It was partly no doubt true to *Punch's* distrust of the national capacity to organise and carry out picturesque demonstrations that led him to treat the Shakespeare Tercentenary Celebrations in 1864 with scant respect. . . . There were wide divergences of opinion and considerable friction among the members of the National Memorial Committee. . . . The festival at Stratford was a *fiasco*, and grandiose schemes of the promoters came to little practical result.

(Graves 1921: 267–68)

In the early nineteenth century, Edmund Kean as Richard III was famously used by George Cruikshank (parodying a likeness by J.J. Hall) to demonstrate Drury Lane's financial dependency on the actor in *The Theatrical Atlas* (1814). Richard III stands



Figure 17.8 *Shakespeare and the Pigmies*, *Punch* 30 January 1864. Reproduced in Charles L. Graves, *Mr. Punch's History of Modern England* Vol. II 1857–74 (London: Cassell & Company, Ltd, 1921).
Author's collection

upon a volume of Shakespeare's plays, leaning on his sword and supporting Drury Lane Theatre, which is perched on his hump. The brewer Samuel Whitbread, chairman of the Drury Lane Committee, expresses his delight from a beer barrel in which he is encased just in front of the theatre. Sometimes, as in comic periodicals such as *Punch* or *Judy*, the comic impact is dependent upon word-play or the caption, relying on the interplay of text and image. One *Punch* cartoon, for instance, shows an old lady regarding a rather uncouth figure carrying a sandwich-board on which is inscribed "Irving as Hamlet." The caption below states:

Very Unsophisticated Old Lady (from the extremely remote country). "Dear me! He's a very different-looking person from what I had always imagined!"

The cartoon is entitled "A Disenchantment."

Shakespearean actors were sometimes made to look ridiculous in caricatures, a fate suffered, for example, by both Charles Kean and Henry Irving. Caricature both reflects and shapes opinion; it can offer the most damning critique yet also



Figure 17.9 Robert Dighton, *HAMLET in SCOTLAND. A LARGE manager in a GREAT CHARACTER*, 1794.
Author's collection

signify affection for the subject of the caricature. In the case of Irving, attention is usually drawn to his strange figure and physiognomy, and the intention seems to be to ridicule him – whether he is playing Richard III, Hamlet, or King Lear. Almost a century earlier, in Robert Dighton's portrait of Stephen Kemble, *HAMLET in SCOTLAND. A LARGE manager in a GREAT CHARACTER* (1794), the object is presumably to mock the 18-stone Kemble, who had just taken over management of the Edinburgh Theatre. Able to play Falstaff without padding, he is dressed here for the role of Hamlet in contemporary court dress, wearing the Danish Order of the Elephant, with one stocking "down-gyved." The caption beneath the print's title quotes from Hamlet's speech to the players: "I have thought some of nature's journeymen had made men, and not made them well; they imitated humanity so abominably" (Figure 17.9). Caricature itself thus becomes another means through which critical discourse on Shakespearean performers and performances can be mediated.

VISUALIZING SHAKESPEARE FOR THE STAGE

As the nineteenth century progressed, Shakespeare productions became increasingly pictorial and spectacular. While it is impossible to locate a specific starting-point for this tendency, William Charles Macready's productions of *The Tempest* (1838) and *Henry V* (1839), with three specially commissioned panoramas by Clarkson Stanfield, indicate the growing taste for spectacle and underline Macready's commitment to "fidelity of illustration" (Booth 1981: 39). The Shakespearean productions of Charles Kean, Henry Irving, and Herbert Beerbohm Tree further accentuated this tendency. Even G.H. Lewes, reviewing Kean's 1852 *King John*, stated that "Scenery, dresses, groupings, archaeological research, and pictorial splendour, can replace for moderns the poetic and historic interest which our forefathers felt in these plays" (Lewes 1896: 178–79). Contemporary justifications for this phenomenon, which often resulted in the staging of heavily cut and rearranged texts, included the educational value of the productions and the assumption that, if Shakespeare had had the resources of the Victorian stage at his command, he would gladly have used them. Michael R. Booth also attributes the growth in spectacular staging to the impact of painting and book illustrations on public expectations, and to an ever-increasing emphasis on visual culture (1981: 30). Settings and costumes were carefully researched, but not always to everyone's satisfaction. Clement Scott complained of *The Merchant of Venice* at the Prince of Wales Theatre (1875) that, although nothing could be more "life-like and admirable" than the depiction of Venice, "[t]he finest passages in the play occur and fall dead upon the audience. We have not come to see a play tonight, but to see the lanes of Venice" (quoted in Booth 1981: 41).

Many popular and contemporary dramas created spectacular moments or tableaux through their attempts to realize paintings and illustrations on stage, effects which also occur in Shakespearean productions. George Henry Harlow's *The Court for Trial of Queen Katharine* (1817) seems to have influenced the staging of that scene from *Henry VIII* throughout the nineteenth century, whereas Irving's *King Lear* (1892) was heavily influenced by Ford Madox Brown's *Cordelia's Portion* (1866) and an earlier series of pen-and-ink drawings by Brown.

In 1859 Kean's biographer, J.W. Cole, justified his subject's elaborate staging of Shakespeare:

He had long felt that, even by his most eminent predecessors, Shakespeare in many respects had been imperfectly illustrated. . . . The time had at length arrived when a total purification of Shakespeare, with every accompaniment that refined knowledge, diligent research, and chronological accuracy could supply, was suited to the taste and temper of the age, which had become eminently pictorial and exacting beyond all former precedent. The days had long passed when audiences could believe themselves transported from Italy to Athens by the power of poetical enchantment without the aid of scenic appliances.

(Cole 1859: 2.206)

Thirty years later, William Telbin Jr defended pictorial scenery provided it was not too distracting. He acknowledged that sometimes the text may be sufficient, stating that "[a] series of pictures in the form of a vision, illustrating Clarence's dream . . . would be a very injudicious introduction"; but he generally believed that "in the illustration of Shakespeare too much cannot be done if done with a true feeling of admiration and veneration for his work" (94). The illusion, says Telbin, should be as complete as possible, so that, "*Summa ars est celare artem* should be as much with the scene-painter as with the actor the end to be attained" (Telbin 1889: 95). Not everyone agreed. Back in 1858 W.B. Donne, the Examiner of Plays, declared:

The visions which our ancestors saw with the mind's eye, must be embodied for us in palpable forms. . . . all must be made palpable to sight, no less than to feeling; and this lack of imagination in the spectators affects equally both those who enact and those who construct the scene.

(Donne 1858: 206)

Perhaps in response to Kean's relentless antiquarianism, Donne pleaded for a less literal approach to Shakespearean production:

The passion, the poetry, the plot of "King John" and "Macbeth" will not now fill pit or boxes, unless the manager lavishes a fortune on pictures of high Dunsinane, or on coats of mail and kilts such as were actually worn by the Earls and Thanes of the English and Scottish Courts. . . . We do not attach much importance to scenes representing the real localities of the dramatic action. . . . The object of pictorial illustrations on the stage, is not so much the historical as the poetical element of the drama.

(Donne 1858: 76–78)

As Donne complains later in his *Essays*, "the essential is sacrificed to the accessory" (1858: 204). His lament is echoed many years later by William Poel, whose return to a simpler mode of staging, based on Elizabethan practice, was one of the factors that enabled the revisualizing of the staging of Shakespeare in the twentieth century.

The relationship of Shakespeare to visual culture is a temporal one, strongly enmeshed with current tendencies and values. It is as if Shakespeare's cultural value and relevance must be reinforced, at any given period, by visual correlatives – whether they are paintings, illustrations, stage scenery, or posters. It was therefore inevitable

that the staging and promotion of Shakespeare in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries would reflect new trends and new aesthetic and social values. Twentieth-century productions of Shakespeare were strongly influenced by the ideas of innovative thinkers such as Edward Gordon Craig and Adolphe Appia, although Craig's work on Shakespeare – *Much Ado about Nothing* and the Moscow Art Theatre's *Hamlet* apart – was largely theoretical. Craig himself felt that Shakespeare could not be easily adapted to the theatre, although his imaginative designs for *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* provided new ways of seeing these plays visually. Appia's ideas about staging and lighting, although stimulated by Wagnerian opera, also encouraged new approaches to Shakespeare, especially through lighting design and an insistence on the actor's primary relationship to the stage floor. Appia himself created designs for *Hamlet* and *King Lear* in the 1920s.

Leopold Jessner introduced two striking visual effects in his 1920 Berlin production of *Richard III*: the projection of a gigantic shadow of Richard (an original effect at the time); and the use of his trade-mark steps (*Jessner Treppen*), spanning the entire stage, as a setting in the second half of the production. In the latter part of the twentieth century, Shakespearean design ranged from the ornate settings of the Motley design team for the Stratford Memorial Theatre and of Loudon Sainthill for the Old Vic in the 1950s to far more minimalist, innovative, and abstract settings – such as Sally Jacobs's white box set for Peter Brook's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* or John Bury's plated-steel set of textured metal for the *Wars of the Roses* sequence (both 1960s). Film and television versions of Shakespeare have also increasingly contributed to our revisualization of the plays.

VISUAL SHAKESPEARE AND THE POPULAR IMAGINATION

Material objects, prints, postcards, souvenir editions, posters, and comic-book versions of Shakespeare's plays and their performances have all contributed to the visual culture generated by Shakespearean plays and productions. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this visual interest in Shakespeare manifested itself in many ways. Sculptures and busts were popular, and there was a market (which had existed from the mid-eighteenth century) for ceramics depicting characters from the plays or actors in Shakespearean roles, the latter often derived from popular prints. The practice of modelling actors as Shakespearean figures continued into the twentieth century. Porcelain busts and figures of Shakespeare were also popular. Toy-theatre adaptations of several of Shakespeare's plays were available for purchase by the juvenile market during the nineteenth century, the most popular being *Richard III* with at least nine versions. Shakespeare also provided subject-matter for magic-lantern shows in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Judith Buchanan claims that the magic lantern “collaborated with a series of other media in consolidating an implicitly agreed truncated form in which Shakespeare could circulate intelligibly and accessibly” (2009: 209).

The illustrated poster and programme are particularly significant contributors to Shakespearean visual culture. Illustrated posters both advertise and prepare an audience for a production: sometimes they indicate what the production will look like; sometimes they educate potential audiences thematically, grooming them to respond in a

particular way to a production. One recent example of this effect is the RSC's poster for the David Tennant *Hamlet* (2008), clearly based on the German Romantic artist Caspar David Friedrich's *Wanderer above the Sea of Fog* (1818). Hamlet is gazing towards us, however, unlike Friedrich's Wanderer, who gazes into the mist. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, touring companies often used generic stock posters, merely adding details of place and time of performance to a pre-designed representation of the play. Stafford and Co. produced a poster of *Othello* in the early 1900s showing Othello, dagger in hand, drawing back curtains to gaze on a sleeping Desdemona; the image, vivid and theatrical, was available to any company that wanted to purchase it.

With the advent of modernism, theatre posters began to reflect new trends in the art world, by implication suggesting the modernity of the production being advertised. Herbert Beerbohm Tree employed both Charles Buchel and Edmund Dulac to create posters for his Shakespearean productions in the early 1900s (Figure 17.10):

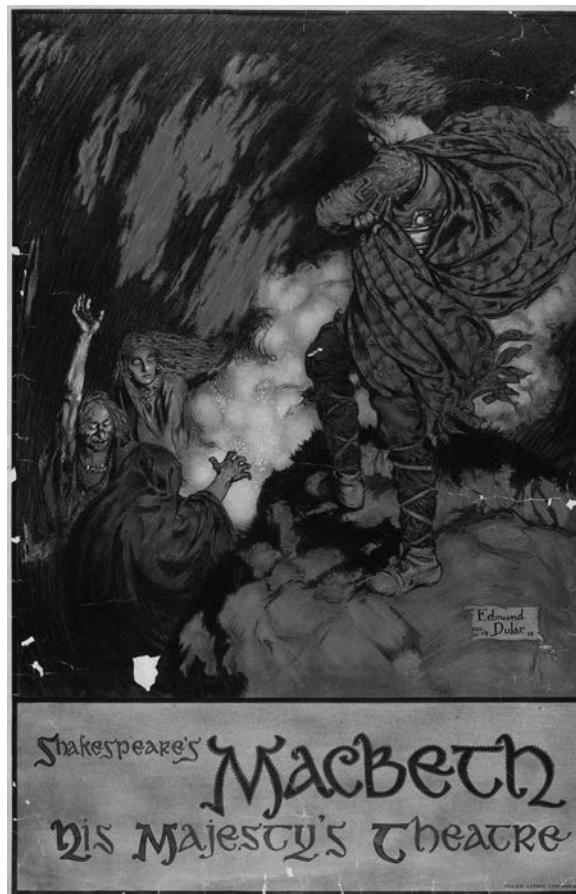


Figure 17.10 Poster for *Macbeth* at His Majesty's Theatre, London, by Edmund Dulac, dated 1911.

© Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Courtesy of the Estate of Edmund Dulac

Buchel's posters of Tree productions at Her Majesty's were, says Hesketh Pearson, "the most striking in London" (1956: 188). Buchel was also responsible for the illustrations in the souvenir text of Beerbohm Tree's production of *The Tempest*, which includes an illustration of the final scene in which a solitary and despondent Caliban watches the departure of Prospero's ship (1904).

In more recent times the souvenir programme has become another way of memorializing performance, often containing production and rehearsal photographs and illustrated stage histories of the play, and sometimes reproducing the poster advertising the production as the programme cover. Images of Shakespeare and Shakespearean performance are also to be found in actors' cartes-de-visite, postcards, and cigarette cards. Actors and actresses often embellished their cartes-de-visite with a photograph of themselves in a character role: for instance, Ellen Terry selected Lady Macbeth for this purpose. From the late nineteenth century, postcards of scenes from plays and actors in role (Henry Irving as Shylock being an example) were popular, and they continue to be one of the means by which we memorialize Shakespeare productions and performers. In 1903 Ogden's issued a set of fifty cigarette cards of actors in Shakespearean plays; Players' 1917 Shakespeare series of twenty-five cards included locations in Stratford and imaginary scenes such as "Shakespeare and Ann Hathaway," "Shakespeare before Sir Thomas Lucy," and "Infancy of the Poet." Typhoo Tea also produced a Shakespeare series in 1935. It is possible only to reference a few examples here, but all reveal ways in which Shakespeare continues to be located in the popular imagination.

BBC radio productions of Shakespeare generated illustrations in the *Radio Times*, which from 1923 had been commissioning artists to provide illustrations to accompany the programme schedules. Thus, the edition for 10 March 1933 provides a full-page cover illustration by C. Walter Hodges, showing Macbeth and Banquo meeting the Witches, to advertise a forthcoming Sunday afternoon broadcast of the play. During the 1950s Robin Jacques provided illustrations for *The Tempest* (1952, 1953, 1956), *Julius Caesar* (1955), and *As You Like it* (1953). In an interview Jacques commented:

Of all Shakespeare's plays it [*The Tempest*] has always been my favourite, it's so full of opportunities for an illustrator. The dominant figure is Prospero, and to some extent he's always a gift, although one never quite knows how to draw him. Should he be a slim, aesthetic intellectual, as he is described in the play itself or should he be a more robust father figure? I rather settled for this second version, although I sometimes think I was wrong.

(Driver 1981: 112)

Jacques's illustrations for *The Tempest* (Figure 17.11) probably help to determine the listener's imaginative response to the play. In 1951 Ronald Searle provided an illustration to accompany the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre Company's production of *Richard II* (with Michael Redgrave in the title-role); and in 1964 Edward Ardizzone, an unlikely illustrator for Shakespearean tragedy, illustrated the cast list for a production of *King Lear* (with John Gielgud in the title-role). In 1964 Eric Fraser, a noted book and *Radio Times* illustrator (his experience of illustrating Shakespeare included his contribution to the Tudor Shakespeare published by Collins), was commissioned to



WEDNESDAY EVENING IN THE HOME SERVICE WORLD THEATRE PRESENTS
Shakespeare's 'THE TEMPEST'

Figure 17.11 Robin Jacques, *The Tempest*, *Radio Times*, 22 February 1952.
Illustration taken from *The Art of the Radio Times: The First Sixty Years*, compiled
by David Driver, BBC Publications and European Illustration, 1981. © BBC

provide illustrations for the “Shakespeare’s 400th Birthday” edition of the *Radio Times*. Artists often had to face the challenge of integrating word (particularly titles) and image in the *Radio Times*, a task to which Jacques alludes in reference to his illustrations for *Julius Caesar*: in one of these he placed the prone figure of the murdered Caesar immediately below the play’s title (Driver 1981: 112).

A more recent development is the emergence of Shakespeare’s plays as comic-books and graphic novels in the latter part of the twentieth century. Several Shakespeare plays were included in Albert Kantner’s Classics illustrated comic series in the 1950s, and other comic-book versions of Shakespeare followed from this. The 1990s saw the rise of the Shakespeare graphic novel: many manga-style editions of Shakespeare are now available, such as the SelfMadeHero series, a Western appropriation of the Japanese manga tradition, sometimes drawing on Japanese settings, which provides innovative interpretations of the plays for educational purposes. The illustrations from the series reproduced here show a futurist *Hamlet*, set in a world devastated by climate change, and *Twelfth Night*, given a steampunk setting (Figure 17.12).

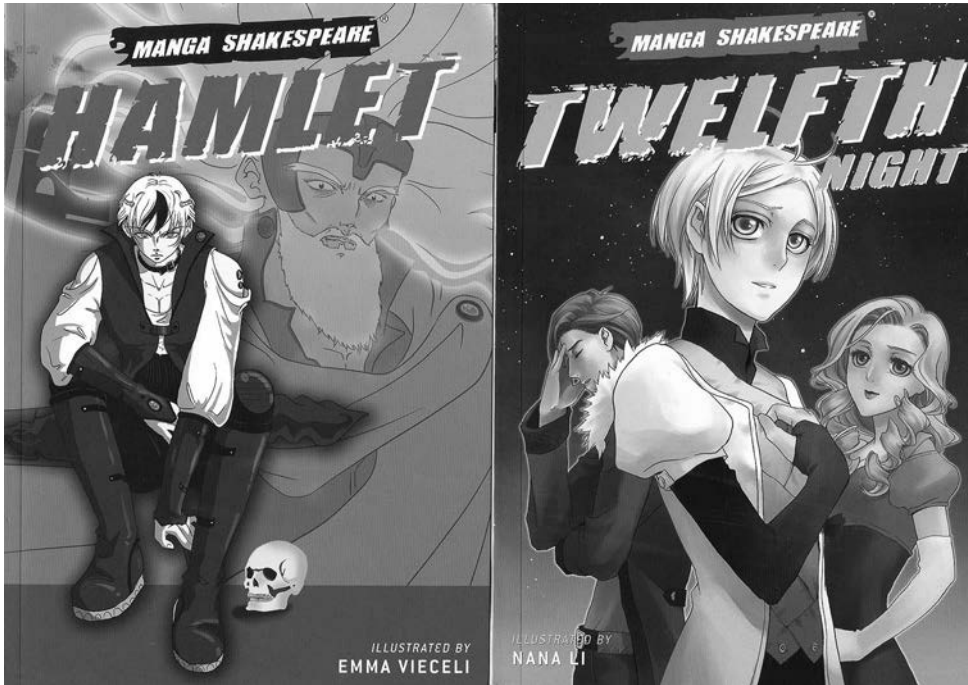


Figure 17.12 Cover illustrations for *Hamlet* (2007) and *Twelfth Night* (2009)
Manga Shakespeare.

Republished by SelfMadeHero, 2014. © Metromedia Ltd

The origins of manga are sometimes attributed to the influence of Charles Wirgman's *Japan Punch*, which commenced publication in Japan in the late nineteenth century, although manga as we know it today has its origins in the post-Second World War period. There are several Japanese series of Shakespeare manga comics, and manga versions of Shakespeare have been created by many artists, ranging from adaptations by Tezuka Osamu (*The Merchant of Venice*, 1951) and Morikawa Kumi (*Twelfth Night*, 1978) to Igarashi Yumik (*Romeo and Juliet*, 1995). Japanese manga comics sometimes represent the perspective of a specific character, such as Desdemona in *Othello*, or focus on gender change, as in *Twelfth Night* or *As You Like it*. A potential manga influence has been detected in the Shakespearean adaptations of the Japanese director Inoue Hidenori (Yukari 2010: 142). Manga Shakespeare provides bold, dynamic visualizations of the plays, energizing and reinterpreting them for contemporary readers.

Douglas Lanier believes the Shakespeare graphic novel often recontextualizes the plays in relation to popular film culture. In his view the Shakespeare graphic novels not only

continue the process of converting Shakespeare to visual form, [but] at the same time they represent a curious retextualization of Shakespeare. No doubt as a result of the needs of the educational market, many of the Shakespeare series

feature full or lightly edited texts. Thus the Shakespearean text is re-introduced, but now not in terms of traditional scholarly protocols but rather in terms of popular visual media and their modes of reception.

(Lanier 2010: 111)

While Lanier is concerned to place contemporary graphic realizations of Shakespeare in a relationship with contemporary film culture, they also represent late twentieth- and twenty-first-century manifestations of the visual correlatives that the Victorians and their predecessors found in their illustrated editions of Shakespeare, especially in terms of their interpretative potential. Thus contemporary visual culture, despite the problematic of the “frozen moment,” continues to impact on critical discourse around Shakespearean plays and performances. Rarely mere descriptive records, visual materials provide useful means of critical analysis and interpretation, while also creating for each new generation imaginative ways of engaging with, understanding, and critiquing the plays as texts and as theatre.

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CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

THE SHAKESPEAREAN WORLD OF MUSIC



Christy Desmet and David M. Schiller

The Shakespearean world of music addresses a global audience without borders. Within this world, various contested binaries emerge: between text and performance; between live and recorded performance; and between vision and sound. In some cases, multiple genres intersect to create a hybrid, intermedial art that the phrase “Shakespeare and music” cannot fully encompass.

Our chapter is organized as six sections, each grouped around a single play or poem and discussing music from different times and places. The Shakespearean texts were selected first: *A Midsummer Night's Dream*; *Twelfth Night*; *Romeo and Juliet*; *Hamlet*; *Othello*; and *Venus and Adonis*. When it came to the choice of musical works, the binary between text and performance proved particularly problematic. Musical scores make unreliable texts; a whole discipline, performance practice, exists around this issue. Ultimately, we agreed that every work we discussed had to have a recorded performance extant and accessible, one that could serve as a common referent for authors and readers alike. Thus, when we talk about musical works, we are always talking about at least two texts – a composition and a recorded performance – and sometimes we refer to more than one performance.

A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM

Shakespeare's green world has inspired an abundant world of music in places ranging from nineteenth-century Berlin to contemporary Hong Kong. Here, we consider the Cantonese opera *A Dream in Fantasia* (Hong Kong 2012); Alfred Deller's performance as Oberon in Benjamin Britten's opera *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (UK 1960); and Felix Mendelssohn's incidental music for *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Germany 1843).

A Dream in Fantasia, written by Keith Lai and directed by Lee Lung, was *premiered* by the Hong Kong Young Talent Cantonese Opera Troupe (2012). The troupe was organized around 2008 to preserve the heritage and build the audience of Cantonese opera. According to Lai, using *A Midsummer Night's Dream* as a source made sense because it is “suitable for young people to play outside” and “compulsory for those who read literature.” The new work met the company's artistic goals, and also

satisfied its constraints in terms of performance opportunities and audience building. At the same time, it flipped the post-colonial playing-field by appropriating Shakespeare to further the revival of a distinctly Cantonese art form. (The English title is slightly misleading; the Chinese title, “A Dream of Nanke,” alludes to a ninth-century Chinese tale in which an official falls asleep and dreams of an alternate reality; see Yeung 2014; see also “Young Cantonese Opera Troupe to Perform” 2012.)

In *A Dream in Fantasia* (Figure 18.1), visual spectacle and acrobatics defamiliarize Shakespeare’s stage, while the music translates the music of Shakespeare into a new idiom. Reviewing the opera, Loretta Ling Yeung focuses on the scene where the mechanicals rehearse their play – not “Pyramus and Thisbe” but a Cantonese ritual play, *Baat sin hor sau* (*A Birthday Greeting from the Eight Immortals*). (A video is available in Yeung 2014.) Three characters in this scene are cross-gendered: “Peter Quince” is a woman played by a female singer; “Bottom” remains male but is played by a female singer; and “Titania” remains female but is played by a male singer. Bottom, translated, becomes an adorable stuffed animal:

Titania’s helpless attraction to Bottom thus becomes a scene in which a large man, cross-dressed as a woman, falls madly in love with a petite woman wearing a donkey head and cross-dressed as a man.

(Yeung 2014)



Figure 18.1 *A Dream in Fantasia*.

© Hong Kong Young Talent Cantonese Opera Troupe Company Ltd

Yeung discusses the techniques of Cantonese operatic vocality, an embodied aesthetic that is best understood in light of Roland Barthes's definition of the grain of the voice: "the 'grain' is the body in the voice as it sings" (1977: 188). She explains: "Cantonese opera teachers tell students to sing with good poise. They are not supposed to show the teeth." Because the singer tightens the lower abdomen when expelling air but does not expand the rib-cage when inhaling, "a very bright sound" is produced, while diphthongs in the Cantonese language introduce a "nasal" effect (Yeung 2010: 47–48).

Imagining the *première* of Britten's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is just as challenging as imagining the Cantonese version. Benjamin Britten composed the role of Oberon for the voice and body of Alfred Deller. As far as we know, there is no video footage of Deller's performance. Indeed, by the time Britten's opera concluded its first performances at the Aldeburgh Festival and had its official international *première* at Covent Garden, Deller had been replaced by Russell Oberlin. Deller's presence in the opera endures, however, in a photograph on the cover of the published score and in the original cast recording conducted by Britten.

The photograph depicts Deller wearing a dark robe, gloves, and spiked crown. The extravagance of his costume may not quite reach the standards of Cantonese opera, but his voice was, in its time, just as exotic as Cantonese voices may seem to Western ears. The audience that heard Deller as Oberon experienced the operatic debut of "a new musical species" (Ravens 2014: 1): "a long-lost voice type intimately associated with the golden age of English music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries" (Hardwick and Hardwick 1968: ix). The grain of Deller's voice seems to embody something essentially Elizabethan.

Following the structure of Shakespeare's play, Britten delineated three "orders of being" that "remain on musically independent planes." The fairies' music is "glittering or eerily enchanting"; the four lovers "share in the fretful development of a single leading theme"; and the mechanicals "employ an earthy parlando against cryptic orchestral commentary" (Evans 1980: 304). The fairies' world uses exclusively high voices. Deller, as Oberon, belonged to this world, and to it he brought the then unique timbre of his counter-tenor voice. For the performances at Aldeburgh, British soprano Jennifer Vyvyan (1925–74) sang Tytania, but for the 1966 recording, Elizabeth Harwood (1938–90) sang the role. In the opening scene of the opera (act 2 in Shakespeare), the first voices we hear are those of the fairy chorus – choirboys from the Downside School, Purley (which no longer exists), together with boys from Emanuel School, Wandsworth (where this historical connection to Britten remains a point of pride).

The boys' voices contrast with both Deller's "Elizabethan" counter-tenor and Harwood's operatic soprano, reinforcing a hierarchy of king, queen, and subjects. Britten's setting of "Ye spotted snakes" (2.2.9–19) is skilfully composed for four boy-soprano soloists (Cobweb, Peaseblossom, Mustardseed, and Moth) who sing their parts in unison, and a unison choir comprising the rest of the fairies (Britten 1960: 91–96). When the soloists sing of spotted snakes, thorny hedgehogs, and weaving spiders, Britten's music is syncopated and melodically angular. By contrast, when the chorus sings "lullaby," Britten gives them a simple stepwise melody, up the scale and down again. The net effect is playful virtuosity balanced by innocence and simplicity.

Mendelssohn's music for *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, commissioned by Frederick William IV of Prussia, *premiered* on 14 October 1843 in honour of the King's birthday. Friedrich Schlegel's translation, *Ein Sommernachtstraum* (1797), was already a classic. Ludwig Tieck, who published Shakespeare's complete dramatic works in 1826 (a continuation and completion of Schlegel's translation), directed the performance. Thanks to Schlegel and Tieck, Mendelssohn was not, strictly speaking, an appropriator of Shakespeare, but rather an artist who had already assimilated Shakespeare. His sister Fanny wrote:

We were mentioning yesterday what an important part the "Midsummer-night's Dream" has always played in our house, and how we had all at different ages gone through the whole of the parts from Peasblossom to Hermia and Helena . . . [W]e really were brought up on the "Midsummer-night's Dream."

(Hensel 1968 [1882]: 2.218)

Mendelssohn's setting of "You Spotted Snakes" (*Bunte Schlangen*), scored for two sopranos and women's chorus, is identified in the score as an art song (*Lied mit Chor*). In the 1996 recording by the Berlin Philharmonic, conducted by Claudio Abbado (1933–2014), Kenneth Branagh reads Shakespeare's lines; the sopranos are the American Sylvia McNair and the Austrian mezzo Angelika Kirchschlager. Their roles are designated as First and Second Elf, but there is no doubt that these are mature women's voices. Introduced by Branagh's ingenuous reading of Titania's lines – "and some keep back/ The clamorous owl, that nightly hoots" (2.2.5–6) – Mendelssohn's setting reminds us that these elves are protecting Titania not only from snakes and hedgehogs, but also from Oberon.

TWELFTH NIGHT (FESTE'S SONG)

From first to last, *Twelfth Night* is structured around music. In this section, we focus on Feste's song (5.1.385–404) – "When that I was and a little tiny boy" – which has a long performance history and vigorous afterlife. We consider such topics as "original" music, period music, and early modern (or Renaissance) music. The many uses of Feste's song illustrate how musical practice allows musicians to appropriate all of these categories in performance and in the creation of new music. We consider four versions of the song: the "traditional" tune (probably eighteenth century); the "original" tune (late sixteenth or early seventeenth century); Irish composer Shaun Davey's setting for Trevor Nunn's film *Twelfth Night, or What You Will* (1996); and Elvis Costello's performance of jazz composer John Harle's setting on *Terror and Magnificence* (1997).

The "traditional theatrical tune" is almost certainly an eighteenth-century composition (Seng 1967: 129n.), but by virtue of Shakespeare's words it became a mainstay of the twentieth-century early music revival. Alfred Deller recorded it in 1955, and it was released the following year on an LP entitled *The Three Ravens: Songs of Folk and Minstrelsy out of Elizabethan England*. Ever since, this song has appeared in numerous "folk," "Elizabethan," and "Shakespearean" anthologies.

Deller never played Feste in a stage production of *Twelfth Night*, yet his version of Feste's song is so memorable that Daniel Albright casts him in an imaginary

performance: “I hear this song in my inner ear, its famous melody . . . sung by Alfred Deller with an expressionless grave grace” (2007: 3). There was, in the 1960s, a veritable cult of Deller fans, a fact attributable to both his musicianship and his avant-garde sound: “listening to Deller is to tune in directly to those golden times of Dowland, Campion, and then Purcell, whose perfection is instantly recognizable and is especially acceptable to a younger generation who do not care to wallow in sticky romanticism” (Hardwick and Hardwick 1968: ix). Deller’s sound was at once early music and modern.

But what kind of tune would Robert Armin, who probably created the role of Feste, have sung? While “it was customary for a jig to end the performances of plays in the public theatres” of Shakespeare’s time, the traditional tune “does not fit that category” (Seng 1967: 129–30). In *Shakespeare’s Songbook* (2004), Ross W. Duffin has studied early modern sources in which tunes are identified by name. For Feste’s song, the most promising source is *Laugh and Lie Dovvne* (1605). The narrator visits a house where foolish men are given an opportunity for penance and rehabilitation. He meets one man who was accustomed to have “a pot of strong Ale, which was often at his nose” that “made him with a hemming sigh, ilfauourdy singe the Ballad of *Whilom I was*, To the tune of *Tom Tinker*” (Tourney 1605: C1r). Making the leap from “whilom I was” to “when that I was,” Duffin cites an early print of the music for “Tom Tinker” in John Playford’s *English Dancing Master* (1651). “Tom Tinker” is a danceable jig, with a melodic range and style appropriate to the pipe and tabor for outdoor performance (or to less shrill instruments for indoor use). While the traditional tune’s minor mode “encourages a performance of insistent melancholy,” “Tom Tinker” creates a different effect, “laughing at rather than oppressed by the human folly it catalogues” (Lindley 2006: 216–17).

Merry or sad? It depends on the tune. The song that Ben Kingsley sings as Feste in Nunn’s *Twelfth Night* is all about this question. The film opens with a new addition to Feste’s song, which Kingsley sings over the opening credits:

I’ll tell thee a tale; list to me,
For the heigh, ho, the wind and the rain.
But merry or sad, which shall it be?
For the rain, it raineth every day.

This quatrain, which lasts only thirty seconds, is accompanied by acoustic guitar and wind-and-rain sound effects. It sounds more sad than merry, but its scale notes and harmonies are major. The CD soundtrack version of Feste’s song (1996) tends to the other extreme. It features composer Shaun Davey’s signature Irish sound, with uilleann pipes and bodhrán prominent at first, and swells to a richly orchestrated finale.

The question of whether *Twelfth Night* is merry or sad still hangs in the balance in the film’s last five minutes. The turning-point has already occurred: identities, genders, and erotic attractions have been sorted out, and Malvolio reduced to a state of abject humiliation. Malvolio ascends a flight of stairs and stumbles; his fellow servants help him to his feet. As he recovers his balance, Feste’s song begins softly in the background. Moments later, we find Feste outdoors. As he sings the first verse, Sir Andrew Aguecheek (“a foolish thing”) exits (5.1.387). As Feste sings the second verse, Antonio makes his exit (“men shut their gate” [391]). When he sings “when

I came at last to wive” (393), Sir Toby and Maria depart in Toby’s carriage. In a moment of high tension, as Feste begins the next verse, we see Malvolio, suitcase packed and umbrella at the ready. As he walks away, he hears Feste in the distance, singing of “tossspots” and “drunken heads” (399), but Malvolio seems to have business elsewhere and continues on his way. Inside, as the closing credits begin, we see the festive ensemble piece that David Lindley proposed as a possible ending. The reel that Davey composed is now danced in earnest. As the two couples kiss, Feste begins the last verse: “A great while ago, the world began” (401). Then it is back outside where Feste, overlooking the sea, concludes his song. In Nunn’s *Twelfth Night*, Feste’s song becomes a fully developed musical work, encompassing both the festive and problematic dimensions of this comedy.

Elvis Costello, like Alfred Deller, never performed the role of Feste on stage; but he, too, has recorded an evocative version of Feste’s song. In 1994–95, Costello began working with composer John Harle on music for a Nottingham Playhouse production of *Twelfth Night*; he subsequently recorded three of Harle’s songs as a song cycle, *Mistress Mine*, on *Terror and Magnificence*. Harle’s setting of “When that I was” retains some melodic material from the traditional tune, as sung by Deller, but makes subtle changes. The traditional tune is in the melodic minor scale, with a narrow range of a major 6th. Harle’s tune is in the natural minor, and its range is a semitone wider, a minor 7th. While Costello sings the melody with a precision and restraint that bear comparison to Deller’s, Harle provides an instrumental context that makes this rendition very different. The shape of the basic tune allows Harle to develop it using techniques that draw on both blues and modal jazz, so that Harle’s soprano saxophone becomes a second voice in the song.

ROMEO AND JULIET

Romeo and Juliet has been the basis for musical offshoots in many genres, many of them now standards in the musical repertoire. This section considers three canonical works from the Western music tradition – Hector Berlioz’s dramatic choral symphony *Roméo et Juliette* (1839), Sergei Prokofiev’s ballet score (Russia 1935), and Leonard Bernstein’s musical *West Side Story* (1957) – concentrating on issues of influence, collaboration, and interpretation.

Berlioz (1803–69) was five years older than Felix Mendelssohn, but both fell in love with Shakespeare around the same time. Mendelssohn’s love found early and inspired expression in the overture to *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* (1826), written when the composer was seventeen. Berlioz fell madly in love with Shakespeare in 1827, after seeing Harriet Smithson play both Juliet and Ophelia at the Odéon Theatre in Paris. Two symphonies gave expression to his passion: the *Symphonie fantastique* (1830), with its autobiographical programme based on Berlioz’s love for Smithson, and *Roméo et Juliette*.

Roméo et Juliette is challenging for both performers and audiences. Berlioz recognized that many listeners would be confused by its genre, which he considered a choral symphony, like Beethoven’s Ninth. The last movement, an expanded reconciliation scene between the Montagues and the Capulets, is preceded by “Romeo au Tombeau des Capulets.” Berlioz was so sure that this penultimate scene would be misunderstood that he wrote the following note in the manuscript score:

I believe that [this movement] ought always to be suppressed, except when the symphony is performed before an elite group of listeners who are extremely familiar with the fifth act of Shakespeare's tragedy in the highly poetic version by [David] Garrick.

(quoted in Bloom 1998: 101)

The scene we focus on is, naturally, the one that Berlioz wanted to keep suppressed from all but the élite. This scene became the sixth of seven movements. Scored for orchestra alone, without chorus or vocal soloists, it carries the programmatic title "Invocation – Juliet's Awakening: Delirious joy, despair, final agony and death of the two lovers." What made Shakespeare's scene unacceptable to Garrick, and to Berlioz, was the abruptness of the lovers' deaths and their isolation from each other. To remedy the defect, Garrick created a mostly new scene that served as Berlioz's source for his sixth movement.

At 5.4.56 of Garrick's scene, Romeo addresses Juliet. He drinks the poison (69), and Juliet awakens. Because "her senses are unsettl'd" (89), she mistakes Romeo for Paris. Juliet then recognizes Romeo, only to realize that he is dying (108). He dies, and she proclaims, "Fate marries us in death, / And we are one; no power shall part us" (137–38). She faints on his body, reawakens, and, after the Friar's entrance, kisses Romeo (167) and kills herself (170) (Garrick 1981: 141–45).

To understand the programmatic aspects of *Roméo et Juliette*, one must take into account not only Garrick's adaptation but also the further adaptations and cuts made for the Odéon performance that Berlioz saw. This survey is what Ian Kemp (1992) undertook in a careful reading of the play-text and musical evidence. While live performances of *Roméo et Juliette* are relatively infrequent, the work has benefited from its accessibility in new media. A performance conducted by Colin Davis at the Kulturzentrum Gasteig in Munich was released on DVD in 2006. More recently, the Dutch public-broadcasting organization AVROTROS published a live performance conducted by James Gaffigan in Utrecht. The listening guide to the sixth movement offered here (Table 18.1) is based largely on Kemp's work and cued to the timings of the Colin Davis DVD. (We are responsible for any errors.) Although this is not the only way to listen to Berlioz's music, the programmatic reading demonstrates the astonishing attention to detail that it can sustain.

Turning our attention to Prokofiev (1891–1953), we begin by recognizing the influence of Shakespearean drama on music and the other performing arts of the Soviet Union. In 1934, the prominent Soviet director Sergey Radlov (1892–1958) approached Prokofiev with the idea of collaborating on a new *Romeo and Juliet* ballet that would be wholeheartedly in the spirit of Socialist Realism (Ostrovsky 2006). Tragedy was foreign to the spirit of Socialist Realism, unless it was "optimistic tragedy" in which the lovers would triumph over death and the bourgeois oppression of their families. Later, Prokofiev laughed off the idea of a happy ending: "The reason for taking such a barbarous liberty with Shakespeare's play was purely choreographic; live people can dance, but the dying can hardly be expected to dance in bed" (quoted in Bennett 2003: 312–13). The version that eventually entered the standard repertoire was choreographed by Leonid Lavrovsky (1905–67) and *premiered* at the Kirov Ballet in 1940. Lavrovsky's choreography was still being danced there when Rudolf Nureyev joined the company as a soloist in 1958; but although he became an

Table 18.1 Listening guide for *Roméo et Juliette*, Part 6, “Roméo au Tombeau des Capulets”

<i>Bar</i>	<i>Action</i>	<i>Musical Cue</i>	<i>Timing Cue</i>
1–14	R at the tomb	Allegro agitato e disperato	1:15:05
15–17	R opens the tomb	Sforzando chords	1:15:18
18–33	R fights and kills Paris	Crescendos, descending line, rest	1:15:21
34–47	Within the tomb, J’s body	Solemn chords	1:15:38
48–67	R’s invocation to J	Largo	1:16:50
68–69	R drinks the poison	Rest with fermata	1:19:02
70–73	R kisses J	Rest at start of measure	1:19:16
74–89	J awakens	Solo clarinet, very soft	1:19:45
90–148	Joy	Allegro vivace	1:21:08
149–92	Despair, R’s death	Halting rhythms	1:22:01
193–227	J’s decision and death	Descending line, violins	1:22:47
End of movement			1:23:35

instant star, Nureyev did not dance as Romeo until after his defection to the West. When Nureyev *premiered* the role of Romeo, opposite Margot Fonteyn’s Juliet to Kenneth MacMillan’s choreography for the Royal Ballet, Prokofiev’s music was also reborn.

The *première* took place in 1965, and Paul Czinner filmed the production the following year. Like Berlioz’s dramatic symphony, Prokofiev’s ballet score revises Shakespeare’s ending. But where Berlioz expanded the family reconciliation scene, Prokofiev and MacMillan suppressed it entirely. In MacMillan’s tomb scene, Juliet is lying in repose on a stone platform, with Paris kneeling at her side. Romeo and Paris meet with drawn daggers, and Paris is mortally wounded. With Paris still suffering his death throes, Romeo climbs onto Juliet’s stone bed and tries to embrace her. It seems that he will be thwarted by gravity: the dead cannot dance – or can they? The ensuing *pas de deux* between Nureyev and Fonteyn is a sublime love-duet that situates Juliet in a liminal state – not fully alive, but equally not dead weight in Romeo’s arms. As the music reaches a cadence, he returns her gently to the stone platform and drinks the poison. Just seconds before Juliet starts to regain consciousness, their love theme returns. Seconds later, she reaches out and touches Romeo’s lips with her hand. As in Garrick, they are united in death.

For American audiences at least, *West Side Story* is the best-known musical appropriation of *Romeo and Juliet*. Irene Dash writes: “Attempts to adopt Shakespeare’s ending stymied the adaptors, just as they had adaptors of earlier centuries. In Shakespeare’s play, Romeo never again meets Juliet, even for a moment” (2010: 119). In the golden age of American musical theatre, this ending was unacceptable. The significance of Maria’s survival at the musical’s conclusion is often misunderstood. Jerome Robbins, the show’s choreographer, concluded that “[Maria] is dead already, after all this happens to her” (quoted in Dash 2010: 121). But musically and dramatically, Maria is very much alive. In fact, her movements are still choreographed. As Tony lies dying,

[s]he sings on, a phrase or two more, then stops, his body quiet in her arms. A moment, and then, as she gently rests Tony on the floor, the orchestra finishes the last bars of the song [“Somewhere”]. Lightly, she brushes Tony’s lips with her fingers.

(*Romeo and Juliet* [and] *West Side Story* 1965: 223)

Although we cannot be sure whether this is *West Side Story* influencing MacMillan’s choreography or Prokofiev’s ballet influencing *West Side Story*, we recognize a family resemblance.

Maria’s role at the end of *West Side Story* is part Prince (“See what a scourge is laid upon your hate” [*Romeo and Juliet*, 5.3.291]) and part widow (“So came I a widow, / And never shall have length of life enough / To rain upon remembrance with mine eyes” [2 *Henry IV*, 2.3.57–59]). The speaker of the latter quotation is Lady Percy, Hotspur’s widow. As Dorothea Kehler writes: “she defies the rules of deference. She confronts the patriarch with the full implications of his having instigated war” (2009: 108). Similarly, when Tony dies, “Maria becomes a force to be reckoned with; Tony’s gang members try to approach the body, but she holds them off. The fact that her wishes become more important than those of his male friends shows how much power Maria has” (Schulbank-Smith 2013: 36).

West Side Story ends wordlessly, with a funeral procession. The music starts as two Jets and two Sharks lift Tony’s body. Another Jet retrieves Maria’s shawl and places it over her head: “At last, she gets up and, despite the tears on her face, lifts her head proudly, and triumphantly turns to follow the others” (*Romeo and Juliet* [and] *West Side Story* 1965: 224). The ending is concise, just over a minute of stage time and fourteen measures of music. Bernstein overlaps and combines three motifs, beginning with “I have a love” in the flute part and “Somewhere” in the trumpet part. The orchestra then comes together around the motif “There’s a place for us,” and the musical ends with three final statements of the “Somewhere” motif, again by the trumpet.

HAMLET

Hamlet has attracted composers interested in the hero’s psychology and Ophelia’s role in the love-tragedy. This section considers two examples in different musical genres: Franz Liszt’s symphonic poem *Hamlet* (1858) and Dmitri Shostakovich’s film score for Grigori Kozintsev’s *Hamlet* (1964), focusing on the characterization of Hamlet and Ophelia.

Liszt (1811–86) coined the term “symphonic poem” (*sinfonische Dichtung*), and he composed thirteen published works in this genre. He was inspired by the interpretation of actor Bogumil Dawison (1818–72), who portrayed Hamlet as a man of action determined to avenge his father’s death and take his own rightful place on the throne. In this scenario, Ophelia was correspondingly passive. Liszt wrote:

[Ophelia] is crushed beneath the weight of her role through her inability to love Hamlet as he needs to be loved, and her madness is nothing more than the decrescendo of a feeling whose vaporousness does not allow her to remain in Hamlet’s sphere.

(Pocknell 2000: 82)

As Joanne Deere shows, however, Liszt’s musical characterization of Ophelia is at odds with his prose: “Structurally, the Ophelia section functions as the keystone of an arch form” (2009: 56), making her central to the musical structure.

Arch form generally refers to a musical structure that employs mirror symmetry, typically an “ABCBA” form in which the returns of B and A are similar, but not necessarily identical, to their first presentations. In Liszt’s *Hamlet*, the first A section portrays Hamlet as epitomized by his “To be, or not to be” soliloquy. The musical phrase clearly fits the rhythm of the words, and Liszt’s first biographer, Lina Ramann, wrote that Liszt confirmed the association (Deere 2009: 50). Another vivid passage in the opening section depicts the striking of midnight as Hamlet, with Horatio and Marcellus, awaits the Ghost in 1.4. The B section depicts Hamlet with music characterized as passionate and agitated. The central C section portrays Ophelia, with a “sweet and expressive” melody in the high woodwinds, but also Hamlet’s rejection of her, with a rhythmically abrupt motif marked “ironic” in the score. The second B section includes a passage of loud stabbing chords that may represent the killing of Polonius (Deere 2009: 59). The final A section begins with a reprise of the “To be, or not to be” motif, and the piece concludes with explicitly “funereal” music to mark Hamlet’s death. The ending of the tone-poem, two iterations of a very soft unison note by the kettledrum and pizzicato cellos and basses, is grimly absolute in its finality.

Getting a perspective on Shostakovich’s music for Kozintsev’s *Hamlet* requires some juggling. There are four primary sources: the film, available on DVD; the sound recording of the published film score, available on CD; the published music for the *Suite* taken from the film score; and the score for episodes of music *not* included in the *Suite*. In the soundscape of *Hamlet*, other sounds – tolling bells, the sea, the pounding of horses’ hoofs, shouts and groans, and the click of heels on stone – are in counterpoint with Shostakovich’s orchestral score. We start out and end at the sea’s edge; the beginning and final movements are framed by a shot of the clock, whose mechanical repetitions are felt in the music throughout; the castle gate that had opened to admit Hamlet at the beginning closes behind the procession of his corpse. The film has a circular form.

Woven within this repetitive structure are three musical themes associated with the Ghost, Hamlet, and Ophelia. They enter and recede in different instrumental combinations, sometimes in ironic counterpoint to the dramatic action. The music of the Ghost dominates three episodes: first, when Horatio tells Hamlet about the

Ghost; then, when Hamlet encounters the Ghost on the ramparts; and, finally, when the Ghost appears to Hamlet, but not to Gertrude, in the Queen's chambers. Initially, we hear his music softly, under Horatio's lines. It is scored in a hollow, widely spaced orchestration: muted trills in the high strings; sustained octaves in the horns and tuba (without the brighter trumpet and trombone timbres); and ominous beats in the low strings, harp, and piano. When the Ghost appears to Hamlet on the battlements, his music is powerful, foreboding, and thickly scored for full orchestra, driving home his demand: "Remember me."

Kozintsev (like Liszt) thought of Hamlet as an active, Elizabethan revenger; but Shostakovich's music sometimes contradicts this characterization. Two of Hamlet's soliloquies – "O, what a rogue and peasant slave" and "To be, or not to be" – have specially composed music. In the first, the theme is given to the clarinet and bassoon, while (in the film) Hamlet distractedly beats time on a tabor. In the second, which takes place at the sea's edge, the monologue music is expanded into a long-breathed clarinet melody that fades away at the end of the scene.

Ophelia's place in the tragedy is also complicated by her music. In her first appearance, she dances with graceful but mechanical arm gestures while her instructor plucks an on-screen instrument, perhaps a lute or mandolin. In the sound-track the music is performed by a harpsichord. While she may move like a marionette, however, Kozintsev's Ophelia also has a singing voice, performing two full stanzas of "How should I your true love know" to its "traditional" tune. As was true of Feste's song, Ophelia's song has, besides its traditional tune, a likely "original" tune: "Walsingham," acknowledged as such by Seng (1967) and published in full by Duffin (2004). Yet again, as with Feste's song, it was the traditional tune that was sung and recorded by Alfred Deller and that carries all the dramatic *gravitas* associated with this moment in the play. Moreover, in Shostakovich's *Suite*, where Ophelia gets an entire movement to herself, her music begins with the traditional tune played by a muted solo violin. Kozintsev includes most of Shostakovich's expressive andante movement on the death of Ophelia in the film as Ophelia's elegy. Neither the film nor the score supports an unambiguous interpretation of Ophelia as either a bourgeois impediment to Hamlet or an unfortunate victim of collateral damage.

In Kozintsev's *Hamlet*, the score not only illuminates character but also plays a crucial role at key moments in the action. In Shakespeare's play, the duel between Hamlet and Laertes, Hamlet's death, and the entry of Fortinbras represent three separate dramatic moments. Kozintsev, by contrast, uses Shostakovich's music to unify the ending and to mark the precise moment when the end-game, in all its finality, begins. This moment comes after Gertrude drinks from the poisoned cup (5.2.244). From this moment, the final movement of Shostakovich's *Hamlet* suite, "The Duel and Death of Hamlet," is heard virtually complete. During the remainder of the duel, the strings play a whirling triplet figure, while winds play a slow and resolute version of Hamlet's theme. When the King is slain, the full orchestra plays the Ghost's theme: Hamlet has kept his promise. For the Prince's death, an expressive statement of Hamlet's theme by the cellos and bassoons is heard, and then falls silent. The music pauses for Fortinbras's entrance, and the finale resumes with a restatement of the main theme from the Overture. The music that had summoned Hamlet to Elsinore returns as a summons to the audience at the end of the film.

OTHELLO

Musical appropriations of *Othello* are notable for confounding generic expectations and for crossing the line between highbrow and lowbrow culture. Our section on *Othello* focuses on three musico-dramatic appropriations drawn from both ends of the highbrow/lowbrow spectrum: Giuseppe Verdi's opera *Otello* (1887), libretto by Arrigo Boito; Rice's minstrel play *Otello, A Burlesque Opera* (1844); and the rock musical *Catch My Soul* (various productions and recordings, 1968 to 1974). We consider how music responds to the love-tragedy and participates in the play's racial discourse.

Popular song is an important dramatic element in this play (Lindley 2006: 150, 152). Othello himself is characterized by musical imagery: in the first two acts, he is "in tune" with Desdemona and associated with martial music; but, as the tragedy plays out, he loses his music and voice, along with his identity. Musical appropriations, by contrast, give Othello his own singing voice, and in so doing they inevitably modify his character and relationship to the other characters. Music also has its own racial codes, and its presence further complicates the racial discourse that circulates in and around Othello.

In the Verdi/Boito *Otello*, language and music work together to support the audience's identification with Otello. Recitatives and arias are not sharply differentiated; the music flows continuously; and simple declamatory melodies create an illusion of natural but heightened speech. In the great love-duet that concludes act 1, *Già nella notte densa s'estingue ogni clamor* (Now in the dark night all noise is silenced), the music builds to a kiss motif that becomes the leading motif of the entire opera. Once the kiss theme is established, it remains available as a potent signifier of Otello's love for Desdemona. In a letter to Verdi, Boito explains that by means of music, "[a]n atmosphere that has been destroyed can be created all over again. Eight bars are enough to restore a sentiment to life" (Conati and Medici 1994: 6–8). Through music, Verdi and Boito endow their Otello with a sustained dignity that is utterly different from his disintegration over the course of Shakespeare's play. When Otello kisses Desdemona before murdering her, the kiss theme allows the audience to experience Desdemona's innocence and the power of their love as a counter to Otello's jealousy and rage. When the theme returns at the end of the opera, the effect will be quite different: it now "reminds the audience how far the two have fallen from the celestial joy they once shared" (André 2012: 16).

Comparisons of *Othello* and *Otello*, which are numerous in the Verdi and Shakespeare literature, encompass every aspect of both works, including the stage convention of black-face make-up. Plácido Domingo is the most recognizable Otello of late twentieth-century opera. Having performed the role for many years with different directors, he has appeared in a variety of skin tones. Domingo himself has written: "I could say that my portrayal of Otello is based largely on [Franco] Zeffirelli's ideas which had in turn been influenced by Lord Olivier's monumental, yet controversial 'African' rather than 'Moorish' interpretation" (Domingo 2000: 195–96).

Unlike the Ira Aldridge–Paul Robeson lineage in *Othello* performance, there has been, until quite recently, no strong tradition of tenors of colour in the role of Otello. For much of the twentieth century, most opera singers shared the ideal of integration into a "colour-blind" world of Western art music. For tenors of colour who

held this belief, *Otello* was not necessarily an aspirational role. The distinguished African-American tenor George Shirley (b. 1934), for instance, recounts how he had to resist being type-cast as *Otello* because the role was unsuitable for his lyric tenor voice (Shirley 2012: 266). Earlier, however, another African-American tenor, Charles Holland (1909–87), did perform *Otello* in a televised production for the BBC in London in the early 1950s. Recently, British tenor Ronald Samm has been hailed (incorrectly) as the “first” black *Otello* on the British opera stage. A database of operatic roles lists 163 productions of *Otello* between spring 2008 and spring 2015 (“The Opera Critic” n.d.). Alongside Samm, only two tenors of colour – African-American singers Ray M. Wade, Jr and Michael Austin – are listed among the sixty-two tenors who performed the role. While the tradition of representing Verdi’s *Otello* in black-face make-up is being questioned, it is not about to vanish.

Othello in black-face has a further, complex history in the nineteenth-century tradition of *Othello* burlesques and minstrel shows. The first performance of Rice’s minstrel play *Otello, A Burlesque Opera* took place in Philadelphia in 1844. Rice performed it regularly on both sides of the Atlantic until 1854, when the popularity of Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* eclipsed that of “Jim Crow.” Thanks to the research of Walter T. Lhamon, Jr, the importance of Rice’s Jim Crow – the fact that this character was doing real, progressive cultural work – is now widely understood. For good reason, however, Rice’s *Otello* is not likely to be revived in performance, so we have taken a “do-it-yourself” approach to the music of *Otello*, citing external sources for the music to which Rice’s words can be sung.

The crux of Rice’s appropriation is the reunion of *Otello*, his wife, and their child in Cyprus:

Otello

Oh, my fair warrioress, I embrace thee thus!
Welcome, Honey, to the town of Cyprus.

Desdemona

Behold this pledge – your image here is seen.
Not this side love, the other side I mean [points to the child’s face].
Otello takes the boy and kisses him.

(Lhamon 2003: 362)

As Lhamon explains, “These lines indicate that the child actor was blacked up on only one side of his face; the other side favoured Desdemona” (445n.). In this pivotal scene Rice, as *Otello*, sings two songs. First, to the tune of “The Girl I Left Behind Me,” he sings:

If after tempest comes such calm,
De winds may blow and find me,
I don’t care damn – when in these arms
De gal I left behind me.

(Lhamon 2003: 362–63; two more stanzas follow)

“The Girl I Left Behind Me” is not a minstrel song, but a British or Irish folk-song that probably was introduced to America via an English version, “Brighton Camp.”

Rice's lyrics can be fit to the tune quite easily. Much as in Shakespeare, Iago undercuts the song with an aside: "You're well tuned now. I'll give you such a kick / I will bring you down a peg and stop your music" (Lhamon 2003: 363). Othello's second song is sung to the tune of "Nix My Dolly":

Oh, de wars and de scrapes / And de spreeds am done.
De foe am beat. De Turks am drowned.
All safe and sound / to our wives we come
Wid de sprigs of laurel / In battle we won.
Den drink, my boys, / Dar's notin' to pay.
Drink deep, drink deep, 'tis a holiday.

(Lhamon 2003: 363)

This song does not fit its tune quite so easily, but it underscores the serious ambition with which Rice approached the minstrel-play genre. "Nix My Dolly" is a theatrical song, composed by George Herbert Rodwell (1800–1852). More, it was the most popular song of the most successful show on the London popular stage in 1839: *Jack Sheppard*. Boldly, Rice appropriates the song's cultural capital for his minstrel show. The sheet music for "Nix My Dolly" is extant in various archives, but the only recording we could locate is a mechanical rendition on an antique music box. In conjunction with Rice's words and the published sheet music, the music box provides a surprisingly satisfying realization of the song.

Since *Othello* had already been appropriated in the nineteenth century as both a serious opera and a minstrel-show burlesque, it should not surprise us that it was reappropriated as both a jazz-themed film and a rock musical in the twentieth century. More surprising, perhaps, is the fact that Patrick McGoohan (1928–2009) was central to both adaptations: he played the Iago character in *All Night Long* (1962; see Lanier 2005), and he directed the film version of *Catch My Soul* (1974). The person who is most central to *Catch My Soul*, however, is the English-born music producer Jack Good (b. 1931).

Catch My Soul had three lives, each distinct from the others. First, it was a legendary rock musical. Produced at the Ahmanson Theatre in Los Angeles (March–April 1968), it starred Jerry Lee Lewis as Iago and William Marshall (1924–2003) as Othello. Lewis may need no introduction, but, as an African-American actor who could perform both Shakespeare's Othello and the iconic blaxploitation role of Blacula, both with a powerful sense of conviction, Marshall was equally significant. (Sadly, no recordings of his singing in *Catch My Soul* have been located.) The second life of *Catch My Soul* was as a London musical (1970), starring Good himself in black-face make-up as Othello and Lance LeGault as Iago. An original cast recording for this production was released and remains available as a vintage LP. The third incarnation of *Catch My Soul* was a 1974 film, produced by Good and directed by McGoohan. LeGault again played Iago, and Richie Havens (1941–2013) played Othello. The film faded into obscurity, but several rare copies survived, including one at the Folger Shakespeare Library. An effort to restore it was undertaken (Mayer 2014), and it was finally re-released on DVD in 2015 (*Catch My Soul* 1974). The LP of the film sound-track also remains available (*Catch My Soul* 1973).

Thanks to the two LPs and some isolated audio recordings of Lewis singing songs from the show, musical traces of all three productions remain accessible. Particularly valuable from the perspective of rock-music history are Lewis's performances of "Lust of the Blood" and "Let Me the Cannikan Clink" (Bals 2008). From the perspective of Shakespearean appropriation, Havens's performance of the poignant and self-reflective song "Why" illuminates his sensitive portrayal of Othello as an itinerant preacher in the film of *Catch My Soul*. By attending to this one "Othello" song that carried all the way through from L.A. to the film, we can at least imagine Marshall singing it.

VENUS AND ADONIS

In an examination of Shakespeare in music, where the past frequently proves prologue to new and different appropriations, it is fitting to end with Shakespeare's first published work. *Venus and Adonis* has inspired a select group of appropriations that take us from Caroline England to Cape Town, South Africa, in the twenty-first century. John Blow's masque *Venus and Adonis* was probably first performed in 1683 as an entertainment for Charles II. James Winn (2007: 69) argues that the anonymous libretto is by Anne Finch (née Kingsmill), a maid of honour to the second Duchess of York and later a well-known poet. The masque's lovers differ strikingly from Shakespeare's: Finch's Adonis is eager to make love to Venus; she urges him on to the hunt. The first scene, following the Overture, begins with Adonis singing Venus's name as he searches for her in the woods. Act 3 begins with Venus calling out Adonis's name as she now searches for him after the disastrous hunt. Wounded, he returns to Venus's bosom to die, repeating with a tragic difference their loving embrace in act 1.

Venus and Adonis had been popular into the mid-seventeenth century, going through some seventeen editions by 1641, and had been reprinted as late as 1675 (Roe 2006: 297). A fading classic, the poem would have been readily available for appropriation. Another link to Shakespeare lies in the masque's first performance, in which Venus was played by Mary Davies, who had been the mistress of Charles II and who also played Ariel in the Dryden-Davenant *Tempest* (first performance 1667). Her daughter by Charles II, Lady Mary Tudor, played Cupid (Blow 2008: xi).

The complete work can be heard on a Harmonia Mundi CD, with the London Baroque under the direction of Charles Medlam. In 2013, a video recording of the complete opera from the Théâtre de Caen became available in an all-regions DVD. Featuring Céline Scheen as Venus, Marc Mauillon as Adonis, and the young but remarkably poised Grégoire Augustin as Cupid, the production has a distinctly French accent. Yet the dancing, singing, and instrumental performances seem utterly convincing in re-creating the ambience of a late seventeenth-century English court masque. The production, which fully realizes the work's dramatic and musical potential, also stands on its own, independent of the milieu for which it was composed.

The Isango Ensemble's *Venas No Adonisi* opened the 2012 Globe to Globe Festival. Directed by Mark Dornford-May with a score by Mandisi Dyantyis, it featured a virtuoso performance from Pauline Malefani as Venus. Shakespeare's poem relies equally on extended argumentation and an almost compulsive rhetorical play with the English language. Isango's performance includes portions of his text, but much

of it is sung and spoken in six of the nine major languages of South Africa (Cocks 2013: 31). For the most part, Shakespeare's poetry is translated into a combination of drama, opera, and dance.

Shakespeare's poem aims for the Renaissance ideal of *enargeia*, the power of figurative language to "bring things before the eyes." These exercises in visualization range from the snail pulling in its horns as a simile for Venus's eyes, as they recoil from the sight of Adonis's mangled body, to the narrator's detailed description of the frolic between Adonis's horse and a breeding jennet. In Isango's version, the courtship of Adonis's horse with Venus's equine counterpart is represented by colourful giant puppets. Finally, the production includes the menacing figure of Death, who in Shakespeare exists only through Venus's desperate apostrophe but is here embodied as a painted skeleton in white-face with a lolling red tongue and scythes for hands. His dances are accompanied by marimba and aggressive percussion.

Isango uses spectacle and movement to convey action, but music is the vehicle for emotion. Besides the resources of the operatic female voice, *Venas No Adonisi* relies on male and female choruses to convey the masculine and feminine worlds of its protagonists. Gordon (2013) likens the production's scoring to the practice of African choruses, with their strict gender separation and reliance on call and response. There is also a steady accompaniment of percussion produced via marimbas, drums, beat-boxes, whistles, and other improvised instruments (Cocks 2013: 31).

Venas No Adonisi notably gestures towards both European and township art traditions. The women's costumes, for instance, match "Elizabethan" gowns with stippled Xhosa face paint (Gordon 2013: 39), placing them comfortably within the Globe Theatre's neo-historicist ambiance while also referencing the company's geographic and political origins. In a similar way, the Isango Ensemble's musicianship integrates global and local, as well as literate and oral traditions.

The pairing of Blow's *Venus and Adonis* with *Venas No Adonisi* foregrounds two points raised generally by this chapter. First, the line between local and global Shakespeares is tenuous and shifting. Second, the translation of Shakespeare's poems and plays into different national or cultural idioms, languages, musical genres, and historical aesthetics challenges the distinction between what is and is not Shakespeare. When viewed side by side, the two dramatic-operatic versions of the Venus and Adonis story show a remarkable structural similarity that invites more specific comparison. They belong to a loose constellation of events and artefacts that collectively makes up the domain we identify as Shakespeare and music.

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PART IV

SHAKESPEARE IN
EVERYDAY LIFE





CHAPTER NINETEEN

SHAKESPEARE AND EDUCATION

The making of an unlikely marriage



Kate Flaherty

Between 1751 and 1759 William Hawkins, Professor of Latin at Oxford, gave the first ever series of lectures on Shakespeare at an English university. Published as *Praelectiones Poeticae*, the lectures translated quotations from the plays into Latin with the original provided in the footnotes (Dobson 1992: 205). This act of reverent mutilation, consistent with Hawkins's and many other contemporary adaptations of Shakespeare, provides an excellent preface for what this chapter explores as the unlikely marriage of Shakespeare and education. Here, as in so many subsequent instances, Shakespeare's fitness for educational purposes was improvised at the expense of his works' identity as drama.

When Shakespeare's dramas were first played there was little to adumbrate their future status as educational material. In the twenty-first century, however, Shakespeare is near ubiquitous on humanities curricula throughout the world. A recent survey by the Royal Shakespeare Company (RSC, 2010) found that 65 per cent of countries have Shakespeare as a named author on their curriculum and that a staggering 50 per cent of the world's schoolchildren study Shakespeare. The proliferation of educational Shakespeare programmes – from those run by Shakespeare's Globe, the Folger Shakespeare Library, and the RSC, to school and university curricula across the world, to projects in mental-health facilities and high-security prisons – deters a totalizing survey. Analytical scholarship of Shakespeare and education is likewise prolific but can be classified in three main categories: collections and manuals which offer approaches to teaching Shakespeare; polemics which valorize or condemn the inclusion of his works on curricula; and accounts of Shakespeare education embedded within broader national or literary histories. While each of these categories enriches the domain of Shakespeare studies in a distinctive way, all are alike in taking the bond between Shakespeare and education as a given. None attempts a cultural history of its origins.

In this chapter I ask what the terms of the bargain were when it was first struck; and, by implication, what is at stake each time Shakespeare and education meet again. I explore the evolution of the discourse of Shakespeare's *fitness* as educational material and the struggle for control of ideas that has constituted the application of his works as such in key national and temporal contexts. Against this background

I historicize the proliferation of modern-day teaching approaches by identifying the two main streams of literary-studies discourse from which they stem: the practical or moral philosophical stream; and the élite scholarly linguistic stream. What emerges is the narrative of an unlikely marriage formed on the margins of the formal English educational establishment.

In his book *The Making of the National Poet*, Michael Dobson illuminates a paradoxical pattern whereby “[t]he more exalted Shakespeare’s authority becomes, the more thoroughly it is diffused, and the less visibly it is connected with his actual achievements as a playwright” (1992: 214). Dobson is describing the eighteenth-century cultivation of Shakespeare as a national icon as it attained its zenith in Garrick’s 1769 Stratford Jubilee. In this chapter I suggest that the pattern also holds for a diachronic analysis of the relationship between Shakespeare and education. The present-day bond between Shakespeare and education is both a cause and consequence of education’s role as *authority* in the realm of ideas. As a result, Shakespeare education is caught up in a continuous drama of defending an ever-expanding territory of cultural authority, while sporadically attempting to recuperate the theatrical energies – the space of play – central to Shakespeare’s “actual achievements as a playwright.” The chapter which follows investigates how the paradox first emerged in Scotland, England, India, and the United States. These contexts and the ideological transactions between them provide a picture of the founding of an educational discipline to which Shakespeare is still central. The temporal limits I place on my study reinforce a focus on founding discourses. The mid-eighteenth century through to the beginning of the twentieth is the period that saw the instalment of Shakespeare in educational discourse. I concentrate on this period while gesturing forward to the influences it has contributed to later eras.

SCOTLAND

The use of Shakespeare in university education began in Scotland. As early as the 1750s Adam Smith, Professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy at Glasgow University, offered lectures in Edinburgh and Glasgow on “Rhetoric and Belles Lettres” which treated texts of classical antiquity, Shakespeare and Milton, and vernacular English authors of his own period. Two main features of this inaugural formal educational use of Shakespeare bear scrutiny and guide my examination of other early educational Shakespeares. The first is the extent to which the pedagogical application of Shakespeare – and hence the Shakespeare produced in this educational context – were marked by the socio-political, cultural, and even economic priorities which prompted their invention. The second is the extent to which Smith’s pedagogy preserved the theatrical identities of the plays as dramatic works.

Smith’s “Rhetoric and Belles Lettres” was the earliest formulation of an academic programme taught in and treating vernacular English. Extant student notes on Smith’s lectures reflect evidence of a distinctive approach to Shakespeare. Smith uses passages to exemplify the incorrect application of rhetorical devices. He castigates the mixing of metaphors in Hamlet’s “to take arms against a sea of troubles,” saying, “Here there is plain absurdity, as there is no meaning in one’s putting on armour to stem the sea” (1963, quoted in Lothian 1964: 1). Shakespeare is criticized and, as in other places where Smith condemns the creation of temporal and geographical

“gaps” in literary works, Smith’s obsession with consistency comes to the fore in his project of articulating a system of *useful* rhetoric.

As Ian Duncan implies, Smith was not concerned with making Shakespeare the centre of a specialized national discourse of literary value:

Far from cordoning off “literature” as a closed semiotic system or fetishizing it as a finished object . . . Smith’s “Lectures on Rhetoric” insist on the social, historical, and functional dynamism of literary discourse. They constitute “belles lettres” as a rhetoric, a resource for improvement – less national monument than imperial technology, less a museum of wonderful relics than a store of commodities to trade in.

(Duncan 1998: 42)

Unlike Samuel Johnson’s work, which looked back to define and preserve a past of English literary greatness, Smith’s work deployed Shakespeare within the progressive logic of equipping his Scottish students with the rhetorical tools and aesthetic sensibilities required to achieve a British metropolitan identity (Duncan 1998: 41). Smith’s radical vision for literary study fitted with his wider vision expounded in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) whereby moral judgement was connected with the sympathetic imagination and could be cultivated through the reading of literature. Shakespeare criticism in Smith’s pedagogy sat under the rubric of “moral philosophy.” He believed in the capacity of a liberal education to sculpt the moral values of the leaders of the newly burgeoning industrial classes (Court 1992: 21). His educational emphasis thereby challenged the cultural prerogatives of the aristocratic classes by fortifying a new middle class with what he saw as the linked potential for cultural and moral agency. Challenging existing hierarchies, however, did not abolish hierarchy, and Smith’s critical approach to Shakespeare makes patent the class corollaries of aesthetic discrimination: “The ridiculousness of comedy consists in the ridiculousness of the characters,” he states, and “[we] can laugh heartily at the absurdity of a shoe-maker or a burgess, though we can hardly prevail on ourselves to weep at his misfortunes” (1963, quoted in Lothian 1964: 8). The “we” of Smith’s address – both his Edinburgh public audience to whom the lectures were first addressed (1748–51) and his Glasgow University students (1751–63) – are decisively middle class.

Further probing Smith’s treatment of Shakespeare’s plays reveals that, unlike later educational Shakespeares, it did not require the expunging of their theatrical identity. In fact, Smith famously commends the power of Shakespeare’s dialogic rendering of objects through the “indirect method” of description (1963, quoted in Lothian 1964: 2). Smith points out that the force of the description of the doubly imagined Dover Cliff in *King Lear* inheres in the relation of its effect upon a mediating spectator: “Shakespeare as he wrote in dialogues, had it always in his power to make the persons of the dialogue relate the effects any object had upon them” (1963, quoted in Lothian 1964: 2). For Smith, dialogic representation had a rhetorical edge. Confirming this, Smith’s account amplifies rather than negates the identity of Shakespeare’s drama as drama. His principal template for experience of the plays is the playhouse, not the study, and he draws attention to the renewable performativity of tragedy as a quality which sets it apart from plot-driven romances: “A tragedy can bear to be read again and again. Though the incidents are not new to us, they are new to the

actors, and by this means interest us, as well as by their own importance” (1963, quoted in Lothian 1964: 3). In Smith’s paradigm “reading” involves the “means” of theatre and a space for dialectical renegotiation of moral and aesthetic value. The flip side of this is a lack of emphasis on Shakespeare’s status as monolithic cultural authority. Smith’s belief in English literature’s practical and moral applicability came to characterize one of the two major streams of discourse that compete, collide, and sometimes even converge in the evolution of English literary studies as a discipline.

ENGLAND

If we omit William Hawkins’s peculiar mid-eighteenth-century Latin Shakespeare at Oxford, the uptake of English literary studies – and particularly of Shakespeare – by English universities lagged behind that in Scotland, India, and the United States. In England, in influential criticisms – including those by Ben Jonson, John Dryden, and Thomas Rymer – Shakespeare’s irregularity and popularity had long been lamented as disqualifying his work from the status of literary exemplum. In the mid-eighteenth century Samuel Johnson challenged this convention by negotiating a new status for Shakespeare. In the pattern of the Scottish example, this status was layered with the priorities of Johnson’s own political and cultural project: establishing ideological supremacy of England through that of the English language. Although Johnson was not involved in establishing Shakespeare education in any formal sense, his editorial work facilitated it, and his ideological formulations promoted it. Unsurprisingly, on early literary-studies curricula from London to Calcutta to New Jersey, Johnson was studied alongside Shakespeare.

Johnson brokered permission for Shakespeare to depart from classical models without sacrificing literary prestige. In assessing Shakespeare’s merits in the Preface to his *Plays of William Shakespeare* (1765: 59–113), Johnson acknowledges the superior formal correctness of the Roman Cato but wedges open a space for the peculiar English grandeur of Shakespeare. He describes the work of a correct and regular writer as “a garden accurately formed and diligently planted,” but the composition of Shakespeare as “a forest of oaks and towering pines interspersed with weeds and brambles” (1765: 84). His rationale for the new edition of Shakespeare’s works (which he proposed in 1756 and published in 1765) is unapologetically pedagogical; it attributes to Shakespeare a new qualification as educational resource:

Shakespeare is above all writers, at least above all modern writers, the poet of nature; the poet that holds up to his readers a faithful mirror of manners and of life. . . . His persons act and speak by the influence of the general passions and principles by which all minds are agitated. . . . It is from this wide extension of design that so much instruction is derived.

(Johnson 1765: 62)

Shakespeare understands human nature, foreshadowing the essentialist paradigm which underwrites Shakespeare education to this day. But Johnson’s universal “nature” bore a strong English hue and was, even then, not devoid of alienating temporal difference. By Johnson’s account, Shakespeare’s genius lived up to the timelessness first attributed to him by Ben Jonson; but his faults were to be relegated to

the age in which he lived, during which “[t]he *English* nation . . . was yet struggling to emerge from barbarity” (1765: 81; emphasis original). Here, Johnson tasks Shakespeare with refining the national culture and consolidating its identity. Consequently, the greatness of Shakespeare’s works as literature becomes inseparable from the innate greatness of the language in which he wrote: Shakespeare “first discovered to how much smoothness and harmony the English language could be softened” (1765: 90). Here, of course, Johnson subtly co-opts Shakespeare to his project of mapping the English language through his *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755) in which he “collects examples and authorities from the writers before the Restoration, whose works [he] regard[s] as the wells of English undefiled, as the pure sources of genuine diction,” revealing the politics at play, conserving the “Teutonical” character of English, and resisting the “Gallick” innovations of the contemporary era.

At a time when the French-backed Jacobites had been crushed and the Hanovers ruled Britain, Shakespeare is tactically deployed to defend the Germanic purity of the English language against French corruption. In Johnson’s work we see the head of the other major stream compelling Shakespeare’s participation in education, that of linguistic inquiry. Johnson both reflects the educational methods applied to Latin and Greek in the classical education and prefigures the ethnological science of philology with its inherent preoccupation with cultural origins and racial pedigree. In contrast to Smith, Johnson sets the scene for specialized literary knowledge mediated by the expert scholar. Ironically, his work was also directly implicated in greater access to and more hybrid applications of both Shakespeare and English than he could ever have imagined.

The elevation of Shakespeare as an educational model entailed the instalment of a new primary medium. This is suggested in Johnson’s comment that:

A dramattick exhibition is a book recited with concomitants that encrease or diminish its effect. Familiar comedy is often more powerful in the theatre, than on the page; imperial tragedy is always less.

(Johnson 1765: 78)

Underwriting his own endeavour, Johnson establishes the authority of Shakespeare as inhering not just in the text but in the edition, the book. This reimagining of Shakespeare as a refined literary object had, as we shall see, massive ramifications for both the informal and formal Shakespeare learning which followed. Yet, despite his determining influence on what became Shakespeare education, Johnson’s approach reveals a radical democratization of the interpretation process. He explains the sparseness of his critical commentary in his edition of the plays in the following way:

The reader is . . . seldom pleased to find his opinion anticipated; it is natural to delight more in what we find or make, than in what we receive. Judgement . . . is improved by practice, and its advancement is hindered by submission to dictatorial decisions.

(Johnson 1765: 104)

Johnson urges direct exposure – that uninitiated readers, in order to “feel” the highest pleasure that drama can give, read every play without recourse to notes

(1765: 111). This principle of direct exposure, later reified in New Criticism, reveals its lineage in Johnson's theories of reading and the new print technologies which permitted their practice.

As the activity of Shakespeare editing by Johnson and his predecessors such as Nicholas Rowe (1709), Alexander Pope (1725), and William Warburton (1747) exemplified, eighteenth-century elevation of Shakespeare as England's national poet was accompanied by the production of the sacred Shakespeare book. This set the stage, or rather the page, for the emergence of Shakespeare scholarship. However, before this activity found an institutional home in universities, it began an unregulated and exuberant life on the margins of the educational establishment: in the private home, in the public lecture, and in public political discourse. In this process the performativity of the works was at times muted, and at times amplified and recalibrated for new uses. One important dimension of the process involved cleansing to remove what was considered to be indecent, epitomized by Thomas Bowdler's *The Family Shakspeare* (1807). Likewise, in Charles and Mary Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare* (first published 1807), characters and stories were distilled from the less biddable dramatic material to be more fit for domestic consumption. Paradoxically, the domestic turn entailed an expansion of participation in Shakespeare scholarship and education to encompass women. Charlotte Lennox's *Shakespear Illustrated: Or the Novels and Histories, on Which the Plays of Shakespear Are Founded* (1753) was a ground-breaking work of Shakespeare source scholarship to which Johnson himself made recourse (Doody 1987: 296). In the Preface to *Tales*, Mary Lamb projects its use as a specialized teaching resource for the young, with particular emphasis on the education of girls because:

boys being generally permitted the use of their fathers' libraries at a much earlier age than girls are, they frequently have the best scenes of Shakespeare by heart, before their sisters are permitted to look into this manly book.

(Lamb 1831: v)

Everywhere that Shakespeare went, the Lambs' *Tales* were sure to go. Shormishtha Panja explores their prompting of prose adaptations in Bengali (2013: 35), and recent times have seen a myriad of adaptations from manga comics to picture-books intended for education of the young. This development echoes the Lambs' belief that (in a suitably mutilated form) Shakespeare could "teach courtesy, benignity, generosity, humanity" (Lamb 1831: iv).

Increased accessibility to the newly minted educational Shakespeare was also offered by public lectures, the market for which was in turn generated by increasing literacy, new printing technologies, a flood of affordable editions of English poetry, and remediated literary commodities such as *The Family Shakspeare*. Venues such as the Royal Institution in London and its regional counterparts hosted free or affordable lectures for the public. Free-lance lecturers such as Samuel Taylor Coleridge performed the process of knowledge formation before heterogeneous audiences, and Shakespeare was a favourite topic. In the wake of Maurice Morgann's famous vindication of Falstaff as a person (1777), Coleridge reinforced the Romantic emphasis on character formation, for example, Hamlet's "aversion to real action" as an enduring educational crux for the play (1813: 72). In the new virtuosic performativity

of the public lecture, the integrated theatrical entity of the play was superseded by the concept of character, both explained and epitomized by the lecturer. From the middle of his century onwards the kind of work Coleridge undertook as a free-lance scholar moved into the domain of the academic professional, and the tradition of offering extension lectures on Shakespeare persisted into the twentieth century through the work of Professors of English such as F.D. Maurice and Henry Morley of King's College London (Palmer 1965: 36), and Hiram Corson at Cornell (Graff 2007: 48).

Throughout the nineteenth century in England, increased literacy and compulsory, state-funded schooling afforded access to new Shakespeare commodities such as the book and the lecture. Shakespeare accrued a popular readership, comparable to the popular audience who patronized the affordable entertainment of his stage over 200 years earlier, and to the vast fan base generated by films such as Baz Luhrmann's *Romeo + Juliet* (1996) during the Shakespeare film boom. During the Shakespeare book boom, and still ahead of the formal marriage of Shakespeare and education via embracement by university curricula, another educational Shakespeare was conceived: Shakespeare the ally of the working-class cause. In his superb essay "Shakespeare among the Workers" (2005), Andrew Murphy tells the stories of how working-class activists of the nineteenth century used Shakespeare in ways which ranged from autodidactic self-improvement and recreational respite from hard labour, to creating common ground for negotiations with industrialist managers, to staging productions to raise funds for legal defence.

Finally, in 1828 Thomas Dale was appointed the first Professor of English Language and Literature at the newly established University College London. Originating through the vision of Lord Henry Brougham on the Scottish model, University College offered the middle and working classes a curriculum which differed in content and philosophy from the classical curricula offered by Oxford and Cambridge. Feasibly, this was the perfect moment to consummate the bond between Shakespeare and education. Yet Dale expressed reluctance on account of the peculiar dangers of drama:

In the history of our literature, more particularly of the drama, it will be my painful duty to point out . . . too many whose wreath of imperishable laurel is interwoven with bitter and deadly herbs, which, like the envenomed diadem that encircled the brow of the Christian virgin in the days of fiery persecution, insinuate a subtle poison into the veins and convey it even to the heart!

(quoted in Palmer 1965: 20)

In the early decades of university education in English literature we see a wrestle for authority over its purpose and practice; and, as is often the case with Shakespeare, his works are deployed on both sides of the ideological divide. D.J. Palmer posits a distinction between University College's emphasis in English studies upon "the more practical aspects, upon composition and the more 'scientific' study of language" and King's College's emphasis on the reading of English literature for its humanizing or moral power (1965: 18). This division between immersion through reading – whether for pleasure or moral improvement – and more highly structured technical engagement with the language epitomizes the two streams I have identified, and

was to characterize disputes over Shakespeare's place on the college and university curriculum for the next century.

INDIA

In 1822, six years before English literary study was introduced at the London colleges, the *India Gazette* records that students of Hindu College, Calcutta, performed scenes from Shakespeare's plays (Panja 2013: 37). In this earliest known instance of Indian performance, Shakespeare can be seen playing both sides of a polemic binary. On the one hand, the college itself was part of the apparatus of colonial domination, such institutions being explicitly established to produce English-speaking and English-aculturated civil servants (Panja 2013: 37). On the other hand, the fact that Shakespeare education in India first appears as performance holds the promise of a space of play and, in that, resistance to the hegemonic cultural narrative. This promise has been fulfilled in the vast proliferation of Indian Shakespeares that have flourished in its wake.

The bond between Shakespeare and education, encompassing a range of scholarly and performative engagements, was established in India before it was in England; and it befits this study to recognize the almost 200-year history of the elopement. Contemporary critical discourses of post-colonialism, while shedding light on the unique political and cultural complexity of the colonial predicament, have had the unfortunate effect of relegating Indian and other Asian Shakespeares to a distinct compartment within the field of Shakespeare studies: the term "global Shakespeare" often functions as shorthand for those that do not originate from the recognized English-speaking centres of Shakespeare scholarship. Sonia Massai challenges this commonplace by positing "Shakespeare" as a permeable field of production whose shape and possibilities are constantly reorganized through the agency of "new entrants" (2005: 6). While India is by no means a "new entrant" to the field of Shakespeare studies, its constitutive influence on the Shakespeare education matrix directly answers Massai's call for a more dynamic conception of the field of Shakespeare.

Poonam Trivedi points to a very important distinction when she states that, "while the study of Shakespeare was an imperial imposition, the performance of Shakespeare was not" (2005: 18). However, in the Hindu College example above it is impossible to disentangle the performative – the flexible context-responsiveness of the plays – from the more rigid educational ideologies governing the contexts in which they figure. As Shormishtha Panja reveals, Henry Derozio – the young man praised for his performance as Shylock in 1822 – went on to spearhead the patriotic Young Bengal Movement and its progressive agenda for India (2013: 37). His interest in Shakespeare, further expressed as a charismatic teacher at the college in later years, was not at odds with his nationalist vision. As with the other Shakespeare education histories explored above, however, the centralization and conscious deployment of Shakespeare as a force of educational authority did have an effect of diminishing the space of play it offered for articulating resistance and negotiating cultural difference. Once again, this development was implicated in the diminishment of the plays' identity as drama. Crucially, Shakespeare's bond with education in India – its inception, its participation in struggles for political and cultural authority, and the proliferation of

its modern-day offspring – suggests useful questions for the interrogation of Shakespeare education in other non-Anglophone and multilingual contexts.

The institutionalizing of English as British India's language of administration and the consequent mandating of English literary studies have been accused of introducing new tensions to the otherwise ambivalent bond between Shakespeare and education in India (Trivedi 2005; Viswanathan 1998). Shakespeare's formal enshrinement in the Indian curriculum participated in a discourse which demoted vernacular literatures, particularly those written in Sanskrit and Arabic. Thomas Babington Macaulay, president of the Council on Education in India, was instrumental in the reallocation of funds – initially intended for “the revival and promotion of literature” – to the teaching of an exclusively English curriculum. With his “Minute upon Education in India,” Macaulay develops the discourse of Shakespeare's instructive potential begun in Johnson's work. In it the mutual superiorities of the language and literature reinforce each other: “It may safely be said that the literature now extant in [English] is of greater value than all the literature which three hundred years ago was extant in all the languages of the world together” (Macaulay 1835). What constitutes “value” is implicitly connected to a cohesive ideology of national and racial superiority. With English literary studies made compulsory, Macaulay's brother-in-law (and also a colonial official) Charles Trevelyan remarked that:

[The Indians] daily converse with the best and wisest Englishmen through the medium of their works, and form ideas, perhaps higher ideas of our nation than if their intercourse with it were of a more personal kind.

(1838, quoted in Viswanathan 1998: 20)

In this smug comment, however, Trevelyan unwittingly reflects the aspirations and pitfalls of education in English literature beyond England. The serendipitous distance and abstraction that literature offers suggest that it is a façade for something altogether less noble. In this vein, Viswanathan cites Trevelyan's comment as a perfect example of how literary education operated in British India as a “mask of conquest,” deflecting focus from the material rapacity of imperial expansion onto the reflective abstraction of literature (1998: 21). Trevelyan's other oversight in invoking a dialogic paradigm – Indians *converse* with English authors – is the possibility of a reply.

The same forces of secularism and religion that competed to shape literary studies in middle- and working-class education in England were at play in the colonial context. In both England and India the evangelical suspicion of drama exemplified by Thomas Dale conspired with a utilitarian rejection of imaginative literature to keep Shakespeare off the curriculum in certain private institutions. However, in India Shakespeare did have a presence on the public curriculum – as exemplified by Hindu College in Calcutta – and this presence provided a pivotal point for competing views of education. Advocates of explicitly Christian education, such as Alexander Duff, saw direct access to imaginative literatures as fuelling insurrection and as directly implicated in the 1857 Mutiny (Viswanathan 1998: 54). Ironically, in the same context, Shakespeare was seen to be a useful vessel for smuggling Christian values into secular education. Rev. William Keane argued that scripture was layered through all English literature: “Shakespeare, though by no means a good standard, is full of religion; it is full of the common sense principles which none but Christian men can

recognize” (quoted in Viswanathan 1998: 80). Macaulay and Trevelyan supported this view, asserting the “sound Protestant principles of his work” (quoted in Viswanathan 1998: 86).

Nevertheless, Shakespeare’s works in their internal complexity and dramatized ambivalence about issues of sovereignty can open up avenues of resistance to such narrow ideological missions. This effect is evidenced in that equipping Indian people with Shakespeare – for whatever initial purpose – has provoked prolific creative ownership. At its best this ownership is expressed in performance and adaptations which “assimilate Shakespeare not just into the traditional performative but also the philosophic fabric of India” (Trivedi 2005: 18). In terms of publication activity, by 1993 Harish Trivedi was able to document that India boasted over seventy full translations of Shakespeare’s plays into Indian languages and 100 more abridgements (1993: 29); and in 2000 a new Malayalam translation of the complete works sold 5,000 copies in the first three months (Trivedi 2005: 18). Translation as a dual-directional mode of exchange encapsulates the complex dynamics of the drama’s relationship with curricula. It is education that equips the student to formulate a reply; to translate and to critique the educational text to achieve commercial gain and political redress. The frustration entailed in this experience is reflected by Smarajitt Dutt. In his 1921 critical comparison of Shakespeare with the classics of Sanskrit he deplores the predicament in which

we are forced to drink deep at the fountainhead of a foreign literature, while our own is given a curt go by. This cold shouldering it receives is enough to make it virtually a “forbidden fruit.” Thus we come out of the tedious tuition of university on a thoroughly alien basis, like full-fledged parrots, carefully taught to belaud to the sky Shakespeare, Milton, Byron . . . while our Valmiki, Vyasa and Kalidasa roll upon the plain! . . . We are nationally and morally degraded!

(quoted in Trivedi 2005: 19)

The metaphorical flourish and allusive hybridity of Dutt’s polemic suggest that his education provided him with some of the rhetorical and imaginative resources to critique it, if nothing else. This is exactly the kind of agile countermove which characterizes India’s relationship with educational Shakespeare.

In the overworn emblem of post-colonial appropriation, Caliban makes a “profit” on Prospero’s “teaching” of language (*The Tempest*, 1.2.365–67). He sees this ability to curse as a dubious gain; but what is often overlooked in this dramatic encounter is the meshing of the language of trade with that of education. In India a new discourse of Shakespeare’s fitness evolved, one that survived the ejection of imperial power because it translated the educative text into a valuable commodity. This is evident in a commemorative brochure from the West Bengal Shakespeare’s Fourth Birth Centenary Celebration (1964):

The British empire in India crumbled because it had only annexed our territory, but failed to annex our love. . . . Shakespeare on the other hand approached us genially with a regal abundance of gifts and expected nothing from us except that we should accept them from him for our use and enjoyment.

(Phanibhushan Chakravati quoted in Trivedi 2005: 19)

The bond between Shakespeare and education can readily be seen to have received constitutive evolution in the Indian context spurred and transformed, as in Scotland, by the exigencies of the cultural and political context. Two streams of discourse which founded literary studies – the superiority of the English language and the morally instructive valence of literature – were put to the test through Shakespeare and India. Far from accomplishing the domination anticipated by the British authorities, Shakespeare education has made Shakespeare an Indian cultural possession. Moreover, India provided a uniquely contentious and conscientious space for the evolution of the discipline of English through its necessary acknowledgement of cultural difference, translation, and trade.

UNITED STATES

As in Scotland, Shakespeare's presence on educational curricula in North America far preceded the consolidation of an official identity for English literary studies. In 1761 the Scots-Irish Presbyterian minister Samuel Finley became president of the recently established New Jersey College (later to be known as Princeton). One of his innovations was to introduce Shakespeare to the curriculum (Court 1998: 146). In 1768 John Witherspoon, also a Presbyterian minister, succeeded Finley and amplified the emphasis on English literary studies by devising a whole course on the as yet unclassified subject. He included in his classes activities through which students undertook analytical comparison of Shakespeare with classical literature (Court 1998: 147). The shared Scottish identity of the two educators who introduced Shakespeare to the curriculum is no accident, for in the ideals and application of Shakespeare to this context they directly echo the ideals that attended Adam Smith's use of Shakespeare in Scotland. "Moral philosophy" was the base discipline for this educational use of Shakespeare, and it encompassed an ambitious vision for literature's capacity to inculcate civic virtue along with a contextually contingent goal of equipping the new middle-class man for public life and leadership.

One of the most important developments the United States contributed to literary studies – one in which Shakespeare is directly implicated – was an emphasis on oratory. The oratorical tradition, as it has come to be known, encompassed more than public speaking. One of its founding forces, Jonathan Maxcy, the president of Rhode Island College (later, Brown University) from 1792 to 1802, articulated a vision which integrated under the term "criticism" rhetoric, philosophy, public speaking, and literary study (Court 1998: 151). In a liberal-studies curriculum reminiscent of Smith's, succeeding decades saw the emphasis on public speaking flourish and bond with Shakespeare, albeit in places which were subsidiary to the main stream of the increasingly specialized literary-studies curriculum. As English literature was institutionalized and the old colleges became universities, the debate about what activities should constitute a literary-studies education intensified, but Shakespeare remained firmly entrenched on both sides. Despite what he designates the "drudgery carried on in the name of archaic social ideals" (2007: 50) at the colleges, Gerald Graff retains one kind of usefulness for their pedagogy in evolving the literary-studies discipline: "exercises in elocution . . . brought students into close contact with English and American classics for the first time and created a link between technical analysis and appreciation" (2007: 43). The emphasis on oratorical skill, along with what

Graff cites as its augmentation by the debating and speech activities of extra-curricular clubs and societies, constitutes another instance of an unregulated, marginal, and performative genre of learning activity which fostered and enlivened the bond between Shakespeare and education.

As in the Indian example, we see in America the convergence of the two main factions advocating Shakespeare's participation in the curriculum: the classical, specialist linguistic faction and the practical liberal-studies faction. In support of the linguistic emphasis, Shakespeare's play is produced as a philological textbook, *Method of Philological Study of English Language* (1879), in which every two lines of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* are accompanied by a full page of questions on philological matters (Graff 2007: 19), and none on meaning. At the other end of the spectrum is Shakespeare as the example of fine and forceful rhetoric exemplified in the anthology of speeches to be used for exercises in declamation. Graff credits one such textbook, William Enfield's *The Speaker* (1782), with institutionalizing Mark Antony's funeral oration for Caesar as a standard inclusion in educational anthologies as late as World War II (2007: 41).

In England, as we have seen, the stratification of educational contexts was temporal as well as methodological. Oxford and Cambridge, as much older institutions, resisted the innovation of teaching vernacular languages and literatures, while the University of London colleges – established with a view to expanding educational opportunities for the middle and working classes – adopted literary-studies curricula with varying degrees of utilitarian emphasis. In North America the chronology was reversed. The oldest institutions were founded on practical and utilitarian ideals, and forms of prestige had to be retrofitted through alignment with traditional, language-focused methods of teaching. Also, with the increasing establishment of departments of English, alongside those in other modern languages, the professional status of the literary-studies educator became reliant on evidence of specialist, research-grounded expertise. This need was answered by a recodification of the classical, traditional, linguistic emphasis as the new ethnological science of philology. Shakespeare pedagogy became a central test case in the contention between language and literature approaches.

Francis James Child, Professor of English at Harvard from 1876, was a key exponent of the philological approach. Of his programme, which included a “close reading of eight or ten of Shakespeare's plays,” one student recalls, “much thumbing of Schmidt's *Shakespeare Lexicon* for parallel references, useful on examination papers . . . and no mention of the fact that Shakespeare had a personal history or that he wrote for the Elizabethan stage.” According to the same account, Child's “method of conducting the class was to summon to the front row eight students to read and comment on the text, while the rest of the class listened or slept” (Graff 2007: 66).

Shakespeare education was as central to the critique of the philological method as it was to its deployment. In 1895 an edited collection of essays by English scholars included several essays which took issue with the narrowness of linguistic approaches to literature. Emphasizing the importance of distinguishing English-language teaching from English-literature teaching, Professor Daniel Kilham Dodge of the University of Illinois averred that “It is bad enough to confine ourselves to the grammatical forms of Chaucer; it is little far from criminal to do so with our mighty dramatist” (1895: 71). Of the many detractors of the philological emphasis who fuelled their

polemic with Shakespeare, Hiram Corson, who became a professor of English at Cornell University in 1870, was perhaps the most flamboyant. Corson's championing of Shakespeare as a dramatist, along with his emphasis on the pedagogical imperative of speaking Shakespeare, constituted an educational model which was both radical and nostalgic in its ideals. According to Corson, the leading aim of teaching English was "to speak and write good live English, of the best verbal material and texture, and closely fitting the thought which it clothes" (1895: 90).

In Corson's pedagogy, examinations had no part, and were in fact antithetical to the whole purpose of literary education. He explains his reason with reference to Shakespeare:

Examinations on a play of Shakespeare have generally nothing to do with the play as a play, with the dramatic action, with the *artistic expression* in its highest sense; they are rather examinations on Elizabethan English . . . as Hamlet says in quite another connection, "the play's the thing."

(Corson 1895: 93; emphasis original)

Corson's emphasis on the performativity of the plays was echoed in accounts of his idiosyncratic teaching style. Corson "let himself go, thundering Shakespeare to his classes and giving public readings every Saturday morning" (Graff 2007: 48). It is no accident that Corson's charismatic performativity echoes that of Coleridge's popular and public educational lectures, for Corson himself lacked institutionalization. He had no degree from a college, and instead began his career as a Senate reporter and as a librarian at the Smithsonian. The tradition from which he evolved his radical educational approach was that of the enthusiastic reader of Shakespeare's works given the opportunity and access by their proliferation in book form.

AFTERWORD

In closing, I wonder if a play-centred provocation might be ventured. When Lear divides his kingdom, he relinquishes effective authority because he seeks to exchange participation in the local and contingent drama of power for symbolic headship. When he makes this choice he does not understand the terms of the bargain. Something like this incomprehension takes place when Shakespeare's plays are institutionalized in educational curricula. As examples in this study have shown, pedagogical projects which deploy Shakespeare's works under the sign of cultural authority seem both to define and to limit their space of play. Here, the plays lose their playfulness and, I argue, their capacity to respond in new ways to new political and cultural contingencies. Conversely, where the educational value of Shakespeare is complicated or questioned, this drama of contested authority engages the gears of Shakespeare's play-worlds and engages learner audiences in new ways. Does this contested authority make for a more profound or authentic learning experience? If the purpose of Shakespeare education is to make visible Shakespeare's "actual achievements as a playwright," the answer would seem to be yes. As this chapter suggests, however, the purpose and practice of applying Shakespeare in formal educational contexts have been disputed from the outset, and they provide an ongoing drama worthy of attention.

For time to undertake research for this chapter I am indebted to the “Shakespeare Reloaded” project funded by the Australian Research Council; and, for invaluable research assistance, to Dr Linzy Brady.

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CHAPTER TWENTY

CONJURING SHAKESPEARE FOR YOUNG AUDIENCES THROUGH FAIRY- TALES, FABLES, AND FANTASY



Naomi J. Miller

CONJURING SHAKESPEARE: “AND AS IMAGINATION BODIES FORTH”

In the final act of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Duke Theseus muses that “as imagination bodies forth / The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen / Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing / A local habitation and a name” (5.1.14–17). Following a night of confusions in love and unexpected transformations, Theseus's observation connects the embodying capacity of the imagination to the poet's pen, capable of turning “things unknown” into visible shapes. In the meantime, Theseus's preference for “cool reason” over the “seething brains” of the lunatic, the lover, and the poet is effectively trumped by Hippolyta's more empathic response to “the story of the night told over” by the lovers, which she finds “strange and admirable” (5.1.23, 27). In some sense, the very act of adapting Shakespeare for twenty-first-century audiences across a range of genres can be appreciated for its aspiration to re-embody the “forms of things unknown” and give “to airy nothing a local habitation and a name.”

From the nineteenth century to the present, authors and artists have employed fantasy and fable to adapt, reimagine, translate, and transform the visions embodied in Shakespeare's plays for young audiences in particular, often offering not simply new takes on old plays but new habitations, where – to borrow the words of another poet – the end of all our exploring is to arrive where we started and know the place for the first time (Eliot 1971: 145). Commencing with a focus on adaptations for children, the present chapter considers how various genres associated with fable and fantasy – ranging from fairy-tales to comics and graphic novels – have succeeded in rendering Shakespeare *habitable* for new audiences across both temporal and geographical boundaries. Although the range of existing adaptations spans all of Shakespeare's plays, including the tragedies and histories, the present chapter focuses on adaptations of the comedy and romance most directly associated with magical and fantastical worlds that appeal to young audiences: *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Tempest* (Oppermann 2013: 44).

My focus on adaptations of Shakespeare that employ fairy-tales, fable, and fantasy opens with a survey of nineteenth- and twentieth-century retellings for children, and moves forward in time to consider twentieth- and twenty-first-century adaptations that employ “the fantastic arts” for an ever-expanding range of audiences, encompassing but not limited to children. As Jennifer Lee Carrell has so lucidly observed, “Shakespeare’s plays are all about play,” and “since play is all about make-believe . . . Shakespeare, you might say, is all about world-making” (2003: 171). This notion of world-making play connects both to young audiences and to the habitational potential of fantastical adaptations in particular. One college student, for instance, attributed her familiarity with Shakespeare to imaginative play in childhood, so that when she studied Shakespeare for the first time as an adult, she explained: “I felt as though I was returning not only to something which I knew well, but to *something with which I had played before, to something which was mine*” (quoted in Schoch 2005: 1; my emphasis). In other words, fantasy play in childhood made Shakespeare habitable to the adult.

Genre marks the borders of this discussion: from the examples of Shakespeare fairy-tales in the nineteenth century to the classical comics of the twentieth century as well as the manga Shakespeares of the twenty-first century; and from the 1992 video *Animated Tales* (a collaboration between British authors and Russian animators), released in conjunction with Leon Garfield’s illustrated *Shakespeare Stories* (1985), to Neil Gaiman’s graphic *Sandman* series adaptations. Moreover, the global dimensions of Shakespearean adaptations extend from British and American retellings for children to Japanese-inspired manga Shakespeare for young adults as well as adults interested in the intersection of classics and fantasy, and even more widely to “indigenous appropriations on a global stage” (Dionne and Kapadia 2008: 1, 7).

While a number of critics have analysed Shakespearean adaptations in terms ranging from *celebratory* or *oppositional* to *dialogic* appropriation (Fischlin and Fortier 2000: 3–5; Lanier 2002: 3–5; Trivedi 2005: 18–30; Hutcheon 2006: 8; Julie Sanders 2006: 62; Kidnie 2009: 2–10), I would like to identify an additional model of Shakespearean adaptation that may be labelled *habitational* appropriation, employing a figure drawn from the now classic modern picture-book by Eric Carle, *A House for Hermit Crab* (1987). Carle’s tale opens with Hermit Crab looking for a “new house” because his “little shell” has become “too snug.” Upon first moving into a more spacious shell, he finds it too “plain,” and goes in search of other creatures, from a sea-star to a sea-urchin, to cohabit and enliven the space with him. Once this shell ultimately becomes too small, he finds another crab to adopt his home and sets off across the ocean floor to find a new house that he looks forward to adapting into a home with the help of barnacles, clownfish, and sand dollars. This lovely fable offers a tale of habitational appropriation that I employ to describe the process of adapting Shakespeare for new audiences: taking a play and refiguring it into a “local habitation,” not for permanent residence but rather as a space to grow into and bring along to a new location, ready to be appreciated by different audiences.

FAIRY-TALES: “THE FORMS OF THINGS UNKNOWN”

As critics such as Georgianna Ziegler have elucidated, early nineteenth- and twentieth-century adaptations of Shakespeare for children commonly focused on bringing

children to Shakespeare through frames of significance that reproduced individual adult concerns with the “meanings” and “messages” of the plays, reflecting the Lockean conception of children’s minds as *tabula rasa* or “empty cabinets” (Ziegler 2006). Many late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century adaptations, on the other hand, endeavour to bring Shakespeare to children through “play” and the concept of playing, involving a sea-change in notions of the receptivity of young audiences, and frequently extending the relevance of Shakespeare adaptations from children to young adults, as well as to adults engaged by intersections between classics and fantasy that embody the “forms of things unknown.”

Both Edith Nesbit’s adaptations, *The Best of Shakespeare* (1900), and the slightly earlier *Phoebe’s Shakespeare* (1894), authored by Adelaide Sim, followed in the footsteps of Charles and Mary Lamb’s influential *Tales from Shakespeare* (first published 1807), as well as Thomas and Henrietta Bowdler’s *The Family Shakespeare* (published in the same year), which aimed to introduce Shakespeare to children’s uninitiated minds. A gendered notion of authority emerges in the kindly but patronizing attitudes of the Lambs and the Bowdlers – both brother/sister pairs – introducing Shakespeare as if from an older brother to a younger sister, or from a gentleman to a lady. A less gendered and hierarchical but no less proprietary orientation can be identified in the “gift” strategies of Nesbit and Sim, proffering their versions of Shakespeare to children in their own families, a rhetorical gesture indicative of the growing significance of an audience not solely of children but of families, for whom adaptations of Shakespeare could offer a relational rather than solely individual experience.

Ziegler and Felicity James have pointed out that the Lambs’ adaptations, while explicitly striving to highlight useful elements for moral instruction, also aspired to appeal to the imagination of the child (James 2006). Using a story format tailored to youthful rather than adult audiences, the Lambs rearrange some of the sequences of events in the plays in order to make the plays less confusing to children, and concern themselves with adjusting the plays so as not to be “tedious to young ears” (Lamb 1807: ix). Thomas and Henrietta Bowdler’s adaptations, by contrast, focus less on children themselves than on what can “with Propriety be Read Aloud in a Family” (Bowdler and Bowdler 1807: title-page).

By contrast to the Bowdlers, Sim, writing almost a century later, embraces the movement towards the fantastic in children’s literature with an investment in imagination and the fairy-tale realm that leads her to represent Shakespeare’s evil characters as comparable to trolls and giants in fairy-tales. Not coincidentally, the publication of *Phoebe’s Shakespeare* in 1894 places her project in direct historical proximity to Andrew Lang’s famous *Fairy Book* series (1889–1910): his *Yellow Fairy Book* in fact appeared in the same year as *Phoebe’s Shakespeare*. Indeed, the emergence of fairy-tales as part of the children’s literature industry at the turn of the century signals an acceptance of the fantastical as appropriate for child readers, contextualizing such choices on the part of Sim as the inclusion of *The Tempest* and *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* as the first two plays in her collection of adaptations. Sim’s work explicitly recasts Shakespeare in a fairy-tale frame by opening with a letter to her niece that itself begins, in the best tradition of fairy-tales, “once upon a time” (1894: iii).

While Sim maintains the basic plots of the stories, she adds details and exaggerates settings in order to heighten the fantastical elements of the plays. In *The Tempest*, the

opening tale of her collection, Sim asserts that Prospero “knew directly that he was in an enchanted country, and . . . understood all about fairies and their ways” (3). At the end of her retelling, Sim suggests that the island disappears because “the fairies gave it to the mermaids, who took it down to the bottom of the sea and used it for a palace” (13). Personalizing Shakespeare by creating a role for him as the narrator of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* – explaining that “a poet is a person who can see fairies” (14) – Sim offers young readers the opportunity to form an imaginative relationship with the author, as character, that connects them to the plays. Sim’s strategy anticipates the personalized approaches of fantasy adaptations of Shakespeare, such as those of Neil Gaiman, a century later.

In her 1900 collection *The Best of Shakespeare*, Nesbit similarly introduces Shakespeare’s stories to her own particular children by declaring that they are like “fairy tale(s),” although she explains that “the stories are the least part of Shakespeare” (9). Akin to Sim in highlighting “fairy-tale” aspects of the plays, Nesbit multiplies the presence of the fairies in *The Tempest*, for example, by recounting the tale of an enchanted island that “for years had lain under the spell of an evil witch, Sycorax, who had imprisoned in the trunks of trees all the good spirits she found there” (49). At the same time, Nesbit consistently frames magical elements with human reality. In *The Tempest*, for example, she emphasizes that Prospero achieves his triumph not through magic but through forgiveness, giving him happiness on a human level more compelling than the magical power that he relinquishes. The staying power of the adaptations of the Lambs and Nesbit, still being reprinted in lavishly illustrated versions at the present moment, suggests that fantastical adaptations of Shakespeare have the potential not simply to engage historically ephemeral young audiences, but also to offer transformative habitations for adults both as adapters and as audiences.

Just as the advent of the nineteenth century saw the emergence of the adaptations of the Lambs and the Bowdlers, and the close of the nineteenth century marked the appearance of the adaptations of Nesbit and Sim, so the close of the twentieth century encompassed yet another resurgence of interest in children’s Shakespeares, with the works of authors as varied as Leon Garfield and Bruce Coville, Marcia Williams and Lois Burdett. Whether “staging” the plays in the pages of a picture-book or on the illustrated margins of the texts themselves, some of the most successful recent adaptations of Shakespeare for children seek to engage young audiences with Shakespeare by employing a number of the dramatic portals, such as plays-within-plays, offered so effectively by the plays themselves.

Garfield’s *Shakespeare Stories* presents the plays in narrative form, in conjunction with water-colour illustrations by Michael Foreman that are dreamlike rather than realistic, and that serve to connect children more to moments of emotional intensity in the texts than to climactic details of the plot. In Garfield’s text, Prospero’s all-seeing capabilities are connected to the “mouse-eyed Ariel,” so that Prospero, “through the eyes of his servant, watched over all” (1985: 62). In Foreman’s illustration three pages later, the very hills appear like the head of a watchful giant, so that the foolish Stephano and Trinculo are pictured wandering into the all-seeing gaze of the magician himself (Figure 20.1).

Just as children might imagine monsters under the bed, they are brought into the Garfield/Foreman adaptation as into a world where nature itself is magical, possibly



Figure 20.1 Image of Stephano and Trinculo from Leon Garfield's "Tempest" in *Shakespeare Stories* (1985).
© Michael Foreman

malevolent, and clearly enchanting. The brief but intensely suggestive words of the author thus connect with the elusive and equally intense images of the illustrator to create an imaginative world where everything has "suffer[ed] a sea-change / Into something rich and strange" (*The Tempest*, 1.2.403-4); and child readers or listeners, watching the pictures as the text is read aloud, can enter that fantastical world of their own volition.

Garfield also supplied the text for the picture-books associated with *Shakespeare: The Animated Tales*, a series of animated films made in Moscow and Cardiff and jointly financed by entertainment companies in Russia, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Japan for transmission by the BBC and Channel 4 Wales. The artist/designer responsible for each film supplied the illustrations to accompany Garfield's text, which once again emphasizes the magical and extraordinary. However, the video version of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, condensing Garfield's text, cuts the "rude mechanicals" entirely, producing, as several reviewers have observed, an imbalance on the side of the magical and surreal that short-changes the play itself. Similarly, an overemphasis on the fantastic as opposed to the human marks the series' animated puppet version of *The Tempest* (Osborne 1997: 115; Andreas 2000: 103; Bottoms 2001: 9; Semenza 2008: 59).

The most successful adaptations of these plays for young audiences balance the fantastical and the real at every stage. While Coville's adaptations of different Shakespeare plays are accompanied by the images of different illustrators, to varying effect, his consistent authorial voice takes up the "story" of the plays as "the bait" for children (Coville 2003: 58). Describing one of his most successful picture-book collaborations, with realistic artist Ruth Sanderson on *The Tempest*, Coville acknowledges that "just as a playwright must, at some point . . . release the play to the director, eventually I have to release the text to the artist" (2003: 66). This dialogic quality of voice and vision between author and illustrator in fact marks many successful picture-book adaptations of Shakespeare, indicating the extent to which, as suggested by Coville, a picture-book adaptation can function as a "production" of the play.

Unlike adaptations which privilege the fantastic, the climax of Coville's *Tempest* foregrounds human emotion: "For a long time [Prospero] was silent, for it was not easy to give up his anger" (1994: 34). Coville is less didactic than Nesbit, who moves immediately to instruct on the value of forgiveness. Instead of a lesson, Coville offers his young readers an opportunity: the chance to empathize with a magician, and possibly to recognize moments when it is difficult to give up their own anger as well.

The final illustration, depicting Prospero high upon a cliff, casting his staff down upon the waters (and into the hands of Ariel), similarly opens the opportunity for children imaginatively to experience both power and its end, in a magical setting where, just as in Shakespeare's *Tempest*, the future may be seen to encompass boundless possibility rather than a single conclusion. In Coville's words, "this book is not meant as a substitute for, but as an invitation to, the splendors that await in not only *The Tempest*, but all of Shakespeare's works" (1994: 40). It is up to children to accept this invitation by entering the story as readers and viewers.

Williams offers an entirely different approach to adapting Shakespeare for children than the authors surveyed above because she is at once the author *and* the illustrator for all her adaptations. Her comic-strip format includes both a running-narrative paraphrase of the story in consecutive panels and selections from the actual speeches in the plays, inserted as dialogue within the individual panels. Moreover, the borders of each page are framed by her drawings of imagined audience members at the Globe Theatre itself, calling out commentary on the plays and judgements on the characters, as well as engaging in the business of theatre: "Ale for sale!" (Williams 1998: 1). These illustrations offer a strikingly original intersection of artistic fantasy and details of historical reality. Consequently, Williams's versions of the plays give her young readers a shared experience of viewing the plays alongside internal audience members, whose raucous remarks encourage readers to exercise their own right to comment and react. Her adaptations thus offer her young readers (or listeners, if her books are read aloud) a multivocal experience that leaves space for their imaginative engagement as individual audience members.

Williams comments on her childhood exposure to the Lambs' *Tales from Shakespeare* ("I yawned and fidgeted through every page") and demands, "how can you, particularly in this day and age, introduce children to plays without giving them a foretaste of the visual experience?" (2003: 29). At the same time, she acknowledges

that the Lambs told the stories “with loving care” and with a desire to share their passion, while the Bowdlers’ sanitized version by contrast makes the Lambs seem “innovative and lively” (2003: 31). Williams’s point is that it is imperative to “keep reimagining Shakespeare for a new audience” in order to “speak directly to the modern child” (2003: 31). Just as children and childhood evolve, so children’s Shakespeares must change. Reflecting upon her own narrative and illustrative techniques, Williams explains that “while the rest of the book may be considered my retelling of Shakespeare’s conversation with his reader, the audiences’ speech bubbles are my conversation with my reader, our personal interaction, gossip, backchat” (2003: 34). By reframing her adaptations of the plays to include both children and adults among the audience members on the margins, Williams successfully introduces young people to an engagement with Shakespeare’s plays that offers space for imaginative habitation.

With a distinctly performative focus, Lois Burdett’s *Shakespeare Can Be Fun* series provides inspired examples of what happens when adaptations engage children as artists and actors, as well as readers. As a primary-school teacher, Burdett integrated the study of Shakespeare into her grade two class at the aptly named Hamlet Public School in Stratford, Ontario, by authoring and publishing a series of books that includes verse adaptations of Shakespeare plays along with illustrations and written responses by her students. Because the children’s words and pictures are included in these adaptations, Burdett’s students achieve the standing of published authors and illustrators – agents of their own inventive adaptations. Speaking as an educator as well as an author, Burdett attests to the transformative power of bringing Shakespeare into the children’s classroom:

Shakespeare became not an end in itself but a means to an end, and the study went far beyond the plot line of a Shakespearean play. Shakespeare became a friend, not someone to be feared, and language took on a whole new dimension. Seven-year-old William wrote, “The world would be less radiant without Shakespeare’s plays, for he warms the world like a burning fire”. . . . And Anika, age eight, shared her thoughts in her daily journal: “Shakespeare is like a big piece of chocolate cake. Once you’ve started, you wish you could go on and on forever in a nonstopping dream.”

(Burdett 2003: 45)

Burdett involves her students from the start – as actors and audience members, authors and adapters at once – by having them role-play and write letters to other students from the points of view of characters in each play. Observing their growth, Burdett comments: “As they write diaries and letters pretending to be Shakespearean characters, the dramatic structure allows them to risk expressing their own emotions and thoughts. Their letters become rich in context and contain sensory details and deep insights” (2003: 48). Just like the college student who said she learned to “own” the plays through imaginative play in childhood (Schoch 2005), Burdett’s students understand that Shakespeare belongs to them, as viscerally as does any adult actor or audience member. In the voice of another of Burdett’s young students: “William’s incredible words are a velvet silk coat that wraps around his pure thoughts. His pen

writes on like all the colours of the wind” (2003: 54). Thus can young audiences engaged by Burdett’s adaptations embody and even clothe the imagination.

FABLE AND FANTASY: “TURNS THEM TO SHAPES”

Moving from young children to young adults opens another category of adaptation, ranging from middle-grade fiction to comics, manga, and graphic novels. Susan Cooper’s middle-grade novel *King of Shadows* (1999), for instance, employs a time-travel frame to bring a modern boy to Elizabethan England. Drawing a connection between the fairy-tale genre and Shakespeare’s “magic plays,” or *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* and *The Tempest*, Eva Oppermann considers Cooper’s use of the figures of Puck and Ariel, while Kate Chedgzoy focuses on Cooper’s representation of the protagonist Nate’s journey from boyhood towards adulthood in the context of the Shakespearean theatre company as surrogate family (Oppermann 2013: 47–50; Chedgzoy 2007: 191–98). Introducing historical details of Elizabethan England from a twentieth-century boy’s point of view, Cooper employs details of performative experience akin to the performative elements that mark both Marcia Williams’s and Lois Burdett’s adaptations of Shakespeare for younger children. Reaching an older audience, *King of Shadows* represents the consciousness of a boy actor who builds a personal relationship with Shakespeare that endures even when Nate returns to his own time, understanding that as he plays Puck and Ariel he will “never lose” the bond forged with Shakespeare in the performative habitation of the theatre (186).

While Cooper’s *King of Shadows* offers realistic prose slices of Elizabethan life, the most effective comic-book adaptations of Shakespeare enact the plays as visual productions. The combination of spatial and temporal elements in these works reveals the intersections between the theatre and comic art, enabling teens to engage with a type of reading that, regardless of subject-matter, emulates performance (Muller 2013: 96; Mortimer-Smith 2012: 84). The Classics Illustrated comics, first published in the 1950s, express the explicitly instructive aim in their reprintings of providing “an introduction to the world’s greatest works of literature” by featuring essays by scholars and teachers as “study guides” to the plays (Classics Illustrated, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* 1997: back cover). With the advent of the twenty-first century, and a growing pedagogical emphasis on choice, a new Classical Comics series offers three different versions of each of its Shakespeare titles: an “Original Text” version “featuring the entire script with nothing taken out”; a “Plain Text” version that “translates” Shakespeare’s text into “plain English”; and a “Quick Text” version that offers “the full play in quick, modern English for a fast-paced read” (Classical Comics, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* 2011: back cover). Analysing the book covers of this series, Anja Muller connects the visualizations to the versions’ different agendas, with the Quick Text aiming “at a clearly identifiable story,” whereas the Original Text “acknowledges the sometimes opaque character of Shakespeare’s text,” signalling the need to look closely at the work rather than reading quickly and superficially for the plot (100).

The Classical Comics adaptations offer visual cues to assist teen readers – assumed to be new to the plays – in keeping the characters straight, such as an illustrated *Dramatis Personae*. Available separately is a tool-focused “Teaching Resource Pack” with a CD-ROM, supplying exercises “written by teachers, for teachers, helping

students to engage in the play.” Moreover, the back matter for each book includes a brief biography of Shakespeare; a description of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust; a performance history of the play; a theatre history of the Globe (both old and new); and, uniquely among Shakespeare comics, a “Page Creation” section that details the stages of graphic-novel construction: Character Sheets, Rough Layout, Linework, Colouring, and Lettering. This anatomization of the process of graphic adaptation brings the readers backstage, so to speak, making visible the painstaking detail work supporting the visual performance of each play in graphic-novel form. Clearly acknowledging that the books are creative adaptations – whether Original Text, Plain Text, or Quick Text – the Classical Comics series reworks Shakespeare’s plays in a comics form that Shakespeare scholars and educators have regarded as “airy nothing” (Tondro 2011: 91–92). Nonetheless, this series successfully presents a visually engaging set of productions of each play that allows readers from a range of levels – and indeed, as has legitimately been observed, from a range of market niches – to experience Shakespeare (Lanier 2010: 111).

Classical Comics adaptations are also available via “Interactive Motion Comics,” with professional actors such as Sir Derek Jacobi and Juliet Stevenson speaking the lines for these “animated graphic novels,” with a full-audio sound-track that allows switching between text versions; these interactive comics can be viewed panel-by-panel or in movie mode, to “watch the whole play unfold.” Reading backwards from the books to the supplemental materials, then, the Classical Comics series can be said to supply a print version of an animated film of each play – rendered in bright colours, bold lines, and dramatic shading – that has received praise for “allow[ing] the language to once again be fresh, vital, energetic, punchy, rather than being potentially remote and distancing” (Classical Comics, *The Tempest* 2009: back cover).

A more visually subtle variation among the comic-book adaptations aimed at “older teens and up” is *The Tempest*, produced as part of the Graphic Shakespeare series by Can of Worms Press. It is illustrated with visually striking originality by Oscar Grillo, who is proclaimed on the back cover to “join the ranks of famous directors as he turns the page into the stage with his graphic interpretation of what is thought to be Shakespeare’s last – and for many, most compelling – play” (Graphic Shakespeare, *The Tempest* 2009: back cover). Grillo’s artwork makes subtly effective use of different shades of colour as the backdrops for panels representing groups of scenes, and includes arresting moments where figures extend outside the frame – particularly in instances of Ariel producing magical visions, but also in Caliban’s descriptive vision of the “nonpareil” Miranda, elongated in height beyond the fussy figure of Prospero, who remains confined with his books within the frame that Miranda transcends (Graphic Shakespeare, *The Tempest* 2009: 15–17, 81). By comparison to Marcia Williams’s comic-strip adaptation for younger readers, where reality intrudes into the world of the play by means of action outside the borders, Grillo’s border-crossing images suggest the extrusion of the play’s magic into the outside world. The designation of Grillo as a “director” rather than an author or illustrator further supports the correlation between graphic novels and theatre.

Manga Shakespeare, which critics such as Muller distinguish from the “overtly educational agenda of the Classical Comics series” for “emphasis on its entertaining function” (2013: 102), takes its inspiration from the originally Japanese comic-book genre known as *manga* (Japanese for “whimsical pictures”). Two approaches to adaptation stand

out. *Manga Shakespeare* (established in Britain in 2007 by SelfMadeHero, and edited by Emma Hayley) features pared-down Shakespearean text and artwork by manga artists from the UK. *Shakespeare: The Manga Edition* (a 2008 paperback series from editor Adam Sexton and Wiley Publishing in New Jersey), currently focuses on Shakespeare's tragedies, with unparaphrased original text and a variety of artwork. It is published in a separate Indonesian edition as well, with notably less violent cover art. Wiley's series makes a visual attempt at historical fidelity, while SelfMadeHero's *Manga Shakespeare* "transports its Shakespearean drama text into an entirely new visual world," ranging from samurai warriors in a post-nuclear world of mutants for *Macbeth* to video-conferencing for Egeus's complaint to Theseus about Hermia in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. The international range of these editions has been praised for achieving a "hybridization of visual aesthetics" that draws on both Japanese manga and Western comic traditions, grafting the original text and story "onto a world of cultural images and icons the intended readers are likely to share" (Muller 2013: 105-7).

Perhaps the most celebrated instance of graphic-novel adaptation of Shakespeare can be found in Neil Gaiman's award-winning fantasy series, *The Sandman*, whose Vol. 2, *The Doll's House*, establishes the framing story of Morpheus, the Sandman, granting William Shakespeare the power to write great theatre in exchange for composing two plays on demand – which turn out to be *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (featured in Vol. 3, *Dream Country*) and *The Tempest* (featured in the final book in the series, Vol. 10, *The Wake*). Like the *Manga Shakespeare* series, which relies on Shakespeare's language to stage the plays across a range of visualizations, Gaiman represents his fantasy adaptations as "productions" of Shakespeare, observing that "the existence of the texts allows us to do anything, [so that] we can put on stage any Shakespeare we'd like to imagine" (2013: panel recording).

In *The Sandman*, Gaiman offers a visual production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* staged before an invited audience including Titania, Oberon, and the fairy court. Gaiman's attitude towards his fiction is summarized in a resonant meta-exchange between Oberon and the creator character known as "Dream" or Morpheus, during which the king of the fairies concludes that "this diversion, although pleasant, is not true. Things never happened thus." Dream responds, however, "Oh, but it is true. Things need not have happened to be true. Tales and dreams are the shadow-truths that will endure when mere facts are dust and ashes, and forgot" (2010b: 22). This insistence on the truth of dreams completes a comment by Gaiman's "real" Puck upon observing the players' Bottom given an ass's head by stagecraft: "This is **magnificent** – and it is **true!** It never **happened**; yet it is **still** true. What magic art is this?" (2010b: 14).

Just as Shakespeare's Theseus comments that the poet turns the "forms of things unknown" to shapes and "gives to airy nothing / A local habitation and a name," so Gaiman's Morpheus attests to the "shadow-truths" of "tales and dreams," in effect celebrating the magic art of adaptation that gives the airy nothing of Shakespeare's plays a new habitation and a name in the fantasy world of the Sandman. In that liminal arena, where the boundary separating the human sphere from fairyland is repeated and amplified on the one hand and suggestively thinned on the other, Gaiman's fairies disrupt Will Shakespeare's performance, reinserting themselves, in the figure of Puck, into their "own" story. Gaiman's Titania also takes a fancy

to Shakespeare's son Hamnet, playing the Indian page, with the implication that Hamnet's death, later on in Will's biography, results from the boy's willing choice to accompany the queen "to a distant land" (Gaiman 2010b: 25; Brown 2009: 167–68). Within the fluid boundaries of Gaiman's graphic novels, the playwright receives the ability to "write great plays, create new dreams" – and loses his son (Gaiman 2010a: 14).

Joe Sanders's illuminating analysis of story-tellers and stories in collaborations by Gaiman and illustrator Charles Vess addresses Gaiman's ambition to see "how far the comics' medium would stretch to fit difficult subjects." Sanders points out that the levels of action in Gaiman's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* resist separation, revealing the same human concerns "in different shapes," sometimes literally, when long vertical panels replace horizontal ones, or characters escape the frames, so that there are moments with no background and no borders, allowing Vess to create "a new, distinct space for moments when the play becomes real" (Sanders 2006: 25–26, 28–31). Examining Gaiman's *The Tempest* along parallel lines, Joan Gordon explores the effect of borderless panels and "bleeds" which run off the edge of the page. She notes that the panel with Shakespeare reciting the lines of the speech he has written – "this insubstantial pageant faded" – is bordered with black lines, whereas the next panel, drawn without a border, shows Prospero continuing the next line of the speech: "we are such stuff as dreams are made on." Switching from Shakespeare to his character and back requires the reader's interpretive engagement, and cements the bond among characters, author, and audience (Gordon 2006: 87).

Attesting to the adult audience for fantasy adaptations of Shakespeare, the 34th International Conference on the Fantastic in the Arts in March 2013 included a panel called "Adapting Shakespeare" that featured Gaiman as well as Conor McCreery (co-creator of the comic *Kill Shakespeare*), Sharon Emmerichs (an academic Shakespeare specialist), and Jim Casey (president of the International Association for the Fantastic in the Arts). In the panel discussion, McCreery observed that "Shakespeare is now almost mythology, to be repurposed by modern adaptors," while Emmerichs proposed several metaphors for adaptation, including "a palimpsest, written over and scraped off, and a tapestry" (Gaiman 2013). From palimpsest to tapestry, modern adaptations in the range of comics and graphic novels surveyed above "repurpose" Shakespeare within fantastical frames, opening new portals and paths for appreciation and exploration alike by modern audiences.

ADAPTIVE APPROPRIATION: "A LOCAL HABITATION AND A NAME"

The present survey, ranging from fairy-tale retellings for young children to fantasy comics and graphic novels for teens, suggests the extraordinary scope of what I am calling habitation appropriation of Shakespeare's two most "supernatural" plays, described as his most metatheatrical works (Brown 2009: 165). Daniel Fischlin and Mark Fortier point out that "adaptation involves the interpenetration of contemporary circumstances and contingencies with earlier histories and values that may well be at odds with the contemporary moment" (2000: 18). I would add that at its most successful, as represented by many of the examples in this chapter, the creative act of adaptation constitutes an imaginative habitation of the adapted text *within* the

contemporary moment, constructing an allusive (and sometimes elusive) experience that invites further engagement.

To return to the fable of the hermit crab, I suggest that both adapters and audiences can experience habitational appropriation by inhabiting (both growing into and outgrowing) the interpretive and experiential space offered by the adaptations. Thus in a sequential account of child development, children might start to become acquainted with Shakespeare by reading Bruce Coville's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* or Leon Garfield's *The Tempest* until they grow in awareness and imaginative capability and move on to inhabit the Classical Comics Shakespeare, from "Quick Text" to "Full Text," followed by the *Manga Shakespeare* series and Neil Gaiman's nuanced engagements with Shakespeare in his *Sandman* graphic novels, along with live performances of the plays, which themselves offer theatrical acts of habitational appropriation.

Each experience with adaptive appropriation renders successive encounters with Shakespeare potentially more habitable for new audiences, encompassing globally as well as generically complex acts of adaptation. Indeed, the possibilities for habitational appropriation offered by the adaptations that conjure Shakespeare through fairy-tales, fables, and fantasy discussed in this chapter extend beyond young audiences and transcend sequential schemes to encompass a multitude of twenty-first-century spectators of Shakespeare. Spanning the worlds of theatre as well as academic criticism, actors and scholars, directors and teachers can bring our own habitational engagements with new adaptations along with us on a path towards greater appreciation of the process as well as the products that imaginatively inhabit/adapt Shakespeare's plays. As Eric Carle's hermit crab exclaims on the final page: "There are so many possibilities! I can't wait to get started!"

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CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

SHAKESPEARE IN AMATEUR PRODUCTION

—♦—
Stephen Purcell

I want to start this account of modern amateur Shakespearean performance with reference to two contrasting fictional portrayals in recent films. The first is from *Hot Fuzz* (2007), an action comedy set in the fictional English village of Sandford. Martin Blower (David Threlfall), an arrogant local solicitor, gets caught speeding by police officers Nick Angel (Simon Pegg) and Danny Butterman (Nick Frost), and he offers them tickets for the Sandford Dramatic Society's *Romeo and Juliet* "by way of an apology." Blower has cast himself in the male lead, and his much younger lover, Eve Draper (Lucy Punch), as Juliet. The production turns out to be a badly acted "homage" to Baz Luhrmann's 1996 film *Romeo + Juliet*, complete with a closing rendition of The Cardigans' song "Lovefool." Close-ups of the audience reveal horrified faces, with one spectator falling asleep. Blower and Draper are subsequently murdered in their dressing-room, their severed heads left at the boundary of the village. At the end of the film, it transpires that they have been killed, along with numerous others, by the village Neighbourhood Watch Alliance in order to maintain the village's nostalgic self-image: "You murdered him for that?" says Angel. "Well, he murdered Bill Shakespeare," replies their ringleader.

My second example is from the 2008 comedy *A Bunch of Amateurs*. Washed-up Hollywood action star Jefferson Steel (Burt Reynolds) signs up to play the lead in the Stratford Players' production of *King Lear*, mistakenly believing that he is to be working with the Royal Shakespeare Company, when in fact he has been invited by an amateur theatre group from the Suffolk village of Stratford St. John. The villagers tell Jefferson that he has been brought in to "save our theatre," a makeshift auditorium in a barn: "the council have cut our funding, and unless we can raise the money, we're going to close." Jefferson's presence ruffles feathers: Nigel (Derek Jacobi), a pompous veteran of the company, is offended that he was not offered the central role; and before long, Jefferson's landlady Mary (Imelda Staunton) throws him out for what she takes to be his sexual impropriety. When a tabloid newspaper reports Jefferson's apparent affair on its front page, the production's sponsor pulls out, and the Players angrily fire their star. It transpires that the story is false, the result merely of village gossip. When the Players apologetically welcome Jefferson back, their director Dorothy (Samantha Bond) articulates her anger to the group:

I mean, what were we thinking? The Stratford Players is the one thing that keeps this village together. Even the church only holds services once a month. This stupid theatre is all we've got. It's the heart of our community and we were just going to throw it all away.

Needless to say, the film climaxes in a triumphant performance and a sense of collective renewal.

Both films recall, in different ways, Shakespeare's own presentation of amateur drama in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Love's Labour's Lost*. On the one hand, the activity is portrayed as unoriginal and self-indulgent, dominated by cliché and hampered by talentless participants. On the other, it acts as a focal point for its newly healed community to express a sense of itself as a group and to celebrate its togetherness. Both films also suggest something rather nostalgic and Anglophile about amateur Shakespeare, each taking place as it does in a rural English idyll. The joke in *Hot Fuzz*, of course, is that the Sandford Dramatic Society's production is out of keeping with the standards demanded by the "Village of the Year."

This chapter will argue that some of the most recurrent constructions of Shakespeare in amateur production are prefigured in the texts themselves. It will do so by making reference to an on-line survey, undertaken in late 2014, of amateur theatre groups currently operating in the United Kingdom. It will attempt to give a sense of the full range of Shakespearean performances staged by such companies, many of which fundamentally challenge the stereotypical images of amateur theatre demonstrated in the examples above. It will outline some of the dominant trends in this work, seeking to explain them with reference to concepts from literary theory such as Northrop Frye's "green world" and C.L. Barber's "festive comedy." It will also suggest that, while much of the amateur Shakespearean work being performed in modern Britain is genuinely innovative, there is often an unmistakable tendency towards the evocation of traditional notions of Englishness.

There is, of course, a great deal of non-professional performance of Shakespeare which does not come within the scope of this survey. My survey focuses exclusively on live performance: readers interested in the emerging field of user-submitted on-line Shakespearean performances might begin with Stephen O'Neill's 2014 study. My decision to focus on British Shakespeare was a pragmatic one: amateur Shakespeare is a much neglected subject, Michael Dobson's excellent *Shakespeare and Amateur Performance* (2011) the only book-length academic study of it to date, so it was necessary for me to undertake a considerable amount of primary research. Similar surveys of amateur Shakespeare elsewhere in the world remain to be done, although the foundations for such work have been laid by Ron Engle, Felicia Hardison Londré, and Daniel J. Watermeier's *Shakespeare Companies and Festivals* (1995); by Paul Edmondson and Paul Prescott's project on US Shakespeare Festivals, *Shakespeare on the Road* (2014); and by Isabelle Schwartz-Gastine's study of amateur Shakespeare in France (2014). A good deal of work has been done on the cultural imperialism implicit in much international amateur Shakespeare. Laurence Wright has considered the politics of amateur Shakespearean performance in post-colonial Africa, for example, which he described as remaining largely in the hands of the white population (1990: 41); meanwhile Rosemary Gaby has argued that both amateur and professional open-air performances of Shakespeare in Australia have reflected

“European aesthetic tastes” and “transported Australian audiences into a fantasy landscape, distinct from the drier and often hostile environment of the Australian bush” (2014: 26). While Dobson’s study focuses, like mine, on British Shakespeare, he also explores the tradition of “using Shakespeare as a vehicle for the maintenance and assertion of British cultural identity” in British expatriate performances across the world (2011: 19).

This chapter, then, is concerned with the live performance of Shakespeare by amateur groups currently operating in the United Kingdom. A further qualification is necessary, for it is by no means clear what defines a group as “amateur.” Dobson notes that the concept of amateur theatre evolved in the mid-nineteenth century in response to the “professionalization” of commercial drama, and that the terms “amateur dramatic society” and “amateur dramatic club” were Victorian inventions (2011: 6). The category “professional” is itself a nebulous one: much of the work that is performed by actors hoping to make their living from the profession is either unpaid or paid on a “profit-share” basis which barely covers expenses, while numerous groups calling themselves “amateur” have paid employees. The label “amateur” also implies, perhaps, an organization which is an institution in its own right. The majority of non-professional performances of Shakespeare’s plays probably occur in schools, colleges, and universities; there is also a long tradition of unpaid actors participating in performances in prisons. The groups undertaking such performances, however, rarely describe themselves with the term “amateur.”

My central criterion, then, in selecting groups for inclusion in my survey was whether or not they described *themselves* as “amateur.” Using information from the websites of umbrella organizations like the National Operatic and Dramatic Association, AmDram.co.uk, Voluntary Arts, the Little Theatre Guild, the Amateur Theatre Directory, and the RSC’s Open Stages project, I contacted several hundred amateur organizations – including (but not limited to) any group who had listed a Shakespearean performance on these websites since late 2009. Altogether, 104 individuals representing ninety-three different amateur organizations responded to my survey. Of these organizations, the majority (eighty) reported having performed at least one Shakespearean production in the last five years. My methodology meant that the respondents were mostly from community organizations, but also included representatives of a small number of youth theatres and student societies.

While they all self-identified as “amateur” groups, seventy-one of them (76 per cent) reported that at least some of their members had worked professionally in the theatre, whether before, during, or after their involvement in the amateur group. Forty-two (45 per cent) reported that their current membership included trained or former professional actors. In the words of one respondent, “[m]any of us used to be professionals in theatre, TV, film and radio, [but we] had to stop acting professionally when kids were on the way.” Thirty-two (34 per cent), meanwhile, reported former members who had gone on to successful careers in the professional theatre: notable alumni included Alan Bates (the Derby Shakespeare Theatre Company) and Michael Gambon (the Geoffrey Whitworth Theatre). Several groups had employed professional directors, while others had professional technical staff. Interestingly, twenty groups (22 per cent) reported that their current membership included individuals who maintained a parallel professional career, suggesting that amateur performance

holds some key attractions for professional actors: a chance to hone their skills; to play roles they might not otherwise be offered; and to maintain a full CV. Some groups, in fact, seem to be dominated by professional actors. James Sheldrake, a former student of mine and now the Literary Advisor for the Pendley Shakespeare Festival, reported that although the Festival had been “decidedly and proudly amateur” for most of its sixty-five-year history,

that demographic has changed significantly in recent years. The vast majority of our actors nowadays have either trained or are in training. The summer tends to be a bit of a dead spot for theatre anyway, so many are grateful for the opportunity to keep their hand in during July and August whilst having a bit of a holiday at the same time.

Indeed, some notable professional companies have emerged from former amateur dramatic societies: the Rude Mechanical Theatre Company, for example, had its origins in a community theatre company in Eastbourne in the 1990s. It may be worth remembering, in light of the category’s permeable edges, that the etymology of the word “amateur” implies not simply unpaid work, but work undertaken for love.

THE AMATEUR SHAKESPEARE CANON

Since the respondents to my survey were self-selecting, the majority were representatives of groups who had performed some Shakespeare in the last five years. A small number had not, and their reasons are worth articulating: answers included indifference to Shakespeare on the part of the membership; the anticipation of casting problems; the perceived difficulty of the texts; or, most commonly, an expectation that Shakespeare would not attract an audience. Interestingly, the answers of respondents whose groups *had* performed Shakespeare over the last five years often indicated the opposite: Shakespearean plays, they suggested, tended to feature large casts and good parts for women, and were “likely to sell well.” The most common reply was that the choice of a Shakespearean play was that of an individual director; others included the attractiveness of a copyright-free script and the necessity of maintaining a balanced programme.

Some groups have a tradition of staging Shakespeare regularly: several organizations reported that they were in the habit of performing one Shakespeare every year or two, while others – such as Shakespeare at The George, the Bournemouth Shakespeare Players, or the Farnham Shakespeare Company – are wholly devoted to Shakespearean performance. A few such societies are driven by a desire to be comprehensive: these include the Derby Shakespeare Theatre Company (“Our ultimate aim is to mount a production of every play in the canon”); the York Shakespeare Project (“Our goal is to produce all the plays of Shakespeare over 20 years in York in roughly chronological order”); and the Richmond Shakespeare Society (“We reckon to produce at least two Shakespeare plays each year, and to cover the entire canon”). Some replies indicated a continuation of the tendency in early twentieth-century amateur Shakespeare for groups to see their work as addressing a wider cultural deficiency (Dobson 2011: 92–93). The Buxton Drama League, for example, “wanted something that wasn’t always being done at our local theatre,” whereas the

Sevenoaks Shakespeare Society noted that their group was able to field a “full cast, not five actors playing all the parts in a much shortened text as is the case with many professional productions.”

I asked respondents which Shakespearean plays their groups had performed over the last five years. The ten most frequently performed plays are given in Table 21.1. The sample size is small (80 companies), but a pattern nevertheless emerges: seven of the top ten are, broadly speaking, festive comedies, with *A Midsummer Night's Dream* by far the most popular; many of them have multiple leading roles for women; and those with three or more substantial female roles gravitate towards the top of the list. Presumably they are all fairly reliable at the box-office. Sheldrake describes “a process of negotiation and compromise” between artistic and commercial concerns in Pendley’s programming:

We like to keep a balance of comedy and tragedy, so the two plays are usually from different genres, and also a balance of popularity; if one show is *Twelfth Night* then we can consider doing a more obscure history, for example, as the other show. . . . We do try to put on some of the lesser-known ones when we can (we consider this a Reithian duty, as it were, as well as a pleasure) but often we have to compromise.

Clearly, for most companies, comedies are the safer choice. The Vice President of the Tottington Amateur Dramatic Society (TADS) noted that “TADS, like many amateur companies, has to keep budget constraints and audience appeal very much in mind, especially as we have our own little theatre and pay a mortgage.” Thus, she reports, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was considered a safe programming choice, but *Henry V* a “risky” one. Similarly, the Inn Theatre Company “mainly stick to the most popular plays audience wise”; but, according to their Artistic Director, “despite the fact we always expect comedy to be the most popular, we had our highest audiences for *Macbeth*.”

Table 21.1 Top ten amateur Shakespeare plays (80 companies)

1	<i>A Midsummer Night's Dream</i>	33	41%
2	<i>Much Ado About Nothing</i>	22	28%
3	<i>Twelfth Night</i>	19	24%
4	<i>Macbeth</i>	18	23%
=5	<i>The Merry Wives of Windsor</i>	16	20%
=5	<i>Romeo and Juliet</i>	16	20%
7	<i>As You Like It</i>	13	16%
8	<i>The Comedy of Errors</i>	12	15%
9	<i>Hamlet</i>	11	14%
10	<i>The Tempest</i>	10	13%

Table 21.2 Top ten outdoor amateur Shakespeare plays (39 companies)

1	<i>A Midsummer Night's Dream</i>	18	46%
2	<i>The Merry Wives of Windsor</i>	13	33%
3	<i>Much Ado About Nothing</i>	12	31%
=4	<i>As You Like It</i>	9	23%
=4	<i>Macbeth</i>	9	23%
=4	<i>Romeo and Juliet</i>	9	23%
=4	<i>Twelfth Night</i>	9	23%
8	<i>The Comedy of Errors</i>	8	21%
9	<i>The Taming of the Shrew</i>	7	18%
10	<i>Love's Labour's Lost</i>	6	15%

Other replies suggest that the tendency towards comedies lies in the genre itself. For the director of the Earl's Courtiers, comedies are "easier to put on" and "less demanding on amateur actors" than tragedies or histories. It may be that the comedies better withstand a certain wilful "amateurishness." The director of the "Shakespeare in a Week" project, which rehearses and produces truncated, semi-improvised, interactive performances of Shakespearean comedies in just a week, explains that her company has "stuck to comedies so far, as, given the improvised and chaotic nature of our performances, we feel it's safer to have a laugh at the comedies rather than go off book in the middle of Hamlet's madness." For many, though, the predilection towards comedies is simply a result of the performance venues themselves. Whereas plays like *Macbeth* and *Henry V* may be chosen for performance in a castle, for example, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, and *As You Like It* are natural choices for a park or garden. Indeed, the term "site specific" cropped up repeatedly throughout the responses to my survey. Mask Theatre's representative noted that, after ten years of their Shakespeare in the Park event, they had "exhausted the comedies" and were turning to *King Lear*.

AMBITIONS AND ASPIRATIONS

Respondents were asked, "What, in your view, makes a Shakespearean performance by your organization especially successful?" Their answers tended to stress the importance of actors understanding the text, clear story-telling, dexterity with verse, attractive costumes, an evocative setting, and good editing. Some noted awards or acclaim in the press. Interestingly, several also emphasized the modernity of their productions. Occasionally, and refreshingly, some respondents admitted that they did not consider their productions especially successful: in the words of one, "we are very much still learning."

Given the strong interconnections between amateur and professional theatre in Britain, it is unsurprising that many of my respondents articulated aesthetic priorities which are similar to those of dominant professional organizations. The influence of

the Royal Shakespeare Company (RSC) was especially prominent: numerous groups reported an emphasis on verse analysis and voice work, some of them name-checking the RSC directly (the Arts Director of the Highbury Players, for example, reported his group's use of "RSC-based technique – voice, physicality, verse delivery, interpretation, etc."). RSC practices may have found their way into the work of amateur groups through several means: via the training of their professional or semi-professional members, perhaps, or well-known publications such as John Barton's *Playing Shakespeare* or Cicely Berry's *Voice and the Actor*; or the extensive programme of teacher training which has been offered by the RSC in recent years (several respondents noted that they, or other members of their groups, are teachers). But the single most influential medium through which the RSC has shared its practices with amateur groups is Open Stages, a nation-wide project launched in 2011 through which the company offers professional mentoring to amateur groups staging Shakespearean plays: as of January 2015, over 260 amateur groups and over 7,200 people had taken part (see RSC 2015). Several of my respondents reported that they had been motivated to perform Shakespeare by this project, and they noted the influence of the RSC's professional mentoring on their own practices.

Many companies were explicitly concerned with the generation or celebration of a sense of community among their casts and audiences. The director of the youth theatre group 216 Productions stressed the importance of establishing a "rapport with the audience" and "breaking down the 'fourth wall,'" while the Edward Alderton Theatre's Artistic Director emphasized "intimacy": "We are a small theatre and the audience is involved with the action." In many cases, such intimacy was predicated on a pre-existing community of audience members of which the players were already a part: for the Garden Suburb Theatre, "the local community enjoy coming to see us"; the Oxford Theatre Guild's work is "theatre made by the community for the community"; the Hampstead Players value "inclusivity, both of cast members and audiences" and a "good relationship with [the] community." As a representative of the Southside Players pointed out, the group's audiences are often "us when we are not involved in a particular play," a fact which generates an "enormous amount of trust." For the director of the Haven Heavenlies, the fact that the group includes numerous "friends/acquaintances of our audiences" makes it "fun for the audience to see people they know in the 'real' world performing sometimes very unexpected roles." As Dobson puts it:

Whereas in the professional theatre the actors are at work while the audience are at play, enforcing a fundamental distinction between the two groups regardless of the shape of the auditorium, in the amateur theatre both cast and spectators are at play together.

(Dobson 2011: 203)

Indeed, the festive comedies which dominate the top-ten list all enact some kind of communal affirmation: *Much Ado About Nothing*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and *As You Like It* each end with the anticipation of continuing celebrations among their newly healed communities; and in the Epilogues of the latter two, Puck and Rosalind attempt to charm their respective audiences into collective applause. The reunited families and newly established couples of *The Comedy of Errors*, *Twelfth*

Night, and *The Tempest* leave the plays promising to retire to a festive space in order to hear more. In *The Merry Wives*, Mistress Page invites the Windsor community – including its disgraced and embarrassed outsiders – to “go home, / And laugh this sport o’er by a country fire” (5.5.233–34). Even *Romeo and Juliet* concludes with the joining of hands between two former enemies. It may be, then, that amateur groups’ choice of plays is often affected, whether consciously or unconsciously, by the social desire which underlies their artistic activity.

THE EMERGENT AND THE RESIDUAL

As Michael Dobson points out, whereas the amateur drama of the early twentieth century tended to be “the home of emergent theatre,” by the end of the century it was “more commonly regarded . . . as the last refuge of the residual” (2011: 152). Although Dobson himself does not fully endorse this impression, he concedes that in recent years the Shakespeare of the longest-established amateur companies “has tended to look more old-fashioned than that of the contemporary professional stage” (2011: 153). Certainly several respondents emphasized the “traditional” nature of their productions, and in many cases this word was used in conjunction with costumes and setting; others noted (and perhaps it is not too much of a stretch to detect some frustration in this description) “slightly conservative audience tastes.” But, at the same time, many respondents were clearly engaged in innovative and unconventional work. In order to establish a sense of the extent to which amateur Shakespeareans considered their practice either avant-garde or conservative, then, I asked respondents whether they felt anything made their Shakespearean productions “unusual.”

While a few respondents answered this question with a simple “no” or “not really,” most felt something set their productions apart. The Chairman of Bexhill Amateur Dramatic Society might have been speaking for many when he argued that performances of Shakespeare’s plays work best when “they are treated as modern plays, not historical re-creations.” Indeed, the modernity of some productions was striking. Video, computer, and Internet technologies were incorporated into several: the Southside Players’ *Julius Caesar*, for example, was reminiscent of Ivo van Hove’s *Roman Tragedies* in its recontextualization of Roman politics in the digital age:

In *Julius Caesar* we used a live Twitter feed projected onto the back wall. . . . The Twitter feed had tweets from all the different characters but with an emphasis on the smaller minor characters in an attempt to democratize the voices of the play. Cast and crew also tweeted as themselves and there was a new “character” called @romanreporter in the Twitter feed who provided a news feed type commentary on the play – the audience were also invited to tweet into the feed using a hashtag.

This respondent – the production’s director – reported that some spectators continued to participate in the Twitter feed even after they had seen the performance, introducing a digital dimension to the community established between actors and audience.

A number of respondents indicated that their productions were intended as highly topical. The performance of *Julius Caesar* cited above was a “response to the Arab Spring and the London riots of 2010/11,” while the Oxford Theatre Guild’s *Measure*

for *Measure* was “reset to contemporary American politics” in order to explore “the rise of the religious Right.” *Richard III*, noted a representative of the Bournemouth Shakespeare Players, was “a topical subject” in the year in which the historical king’s remains were identified. More than one company indicated that they had chosen a play with a wartime setting (such as *Henry V*) in order to mark the 2014 centenary of World War I. Others were topical on a more local level: Drama in the Dale’s *The Tempest*, for example, was staged in an old quarry in order to address local issues of land ownership, while Telford and District Light Operatic Players combined extracts from *The Tempest* and *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* in order to explore their local heritage in a new piece called *A Furnaceman’s Dream*. Several of these productions appear to have been responding directly to the RSC Open Stages call for “inquiring, ambitious, collaborative and engaging” work.

Some groups drew attention to their casting and staging innovations. Numerous in-the-round and promenade performances were reported – which, as more than one respondent noted, was an unusual use of space in a church or village hall. Several productions employed cross-gender or “gender-blind” casting, possibly for pragmatic reasons, since Shakespeare offers a ratio of male roles to female roles which is often the inverse of the typical gender balance of an amateur dramatic group. Thus, the Oxford Theatre Guild’s adaptation of the three parts of *Henry VI* was performed “with complete gender reversal,” while Romsey Amateur Operatic and Dramatic Society’s *The Taming of the Shrew* was all-female.

Dobson’s research into amateur Shakespeare led him to conclude that, in general, “the audiences for amateur productions of Shakespeare want to see Shakespeare performed in a conservative version of what for them constitutes ‘proper’ historical dress” (2011: 194). My own research supported this conclusion to an extent. “Fabulous,” “spectacular,” “brilliant,” or “quality” costumes were frequently cited as a crucial component of a successful production. Of the eighty different groups who had staged Shakespeare in the last five years, sixty-four (80 per cent) had performed at least one production in some sort of period costume. These numbers mean, of course, that a significant minority (20 per cent) had performed Shakespeare exclusively in modern or other non-historical costume (non-period-specific productions included a “steampunk” *Midsummer Night’s Dream* and a *Twelfth Night* costumed from “recycled and re-purposed materials”). In fact, a closer examination of the historical eras chosen for the settings of “period” productions reveals that only forty-seven groups (59 per cent of those who had performed Shakespeare since late 2009) had adopted periods which might be considered, to use Dobson’s term, “proper” – that is, Elizabethan/Jacobean or earlier.

Productions set in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were fairly common, while thirty companies (38 per cent) had adopted “period” twentieth-century costumes. The 1920s, World War II, and the 1960s were especially popular settings. Interestingly, this information was often recorded in answers to the question “Did anything make your Shakespearean productions unusual?” indicating that although the use of twentieth-century “period” settings for Shakespeare is common practice, many groups do not perceive it as such. The reason for this tendency may be practical: twentieth-century period costumes are much easier to hire or to make than costumes of earlier eras, and many amateur dramatic societies will have such costumes in stock already. But perhaps the fashion for mid-twentieth-century settings also indicates

that Shakespeare's plays can provide a forum for the evocation of a nostalgic vision of Britain itself. The Derby Shakespeare Theatre Company's production of *Much Ado About Nothing*, for example, was set in 1940s Walmington-on-Sea, the fictional home town of Captain Mainwaring's Home Guard platoon in the BBC sitcom *Dad's Army* (1968–77). When I read that this production was performed at Cornwall's open-air Minack Theatre, overlooking the English Channel, I was reminded of Dobson's description of the theatre: "Minack labels the whole of the British mainland as Shakespeare's, in a posture at once of beckoning lighthouse and of defensive sentinel" (2011: 189).

OPEN-AIR SHAKESPEARE

Approximately half of the groups who had performed Shakespeare since 2009 – thirty-nine out of eighty – had staged at least one of their productions in the open air (see Table 21.2). Some were exclusively open-air companies, many of them with a regular home at a local park or heritage site. In their answers to the question about what set their productions apart, numerous respondents cited variations on "a beautiful outdoor setting." The representative of the Garden Suburb Theatre, for instance, described their "local wood clearing" as having "a very magical feeling," while a member of Shakespeare at The George – a group who perform each year in the outdoor Jacobean courtyard of The George Hotel, Huntingdon – called their venue "the perfect setting." Indeed, the two performance venues in Britain which present the largest number of different amateur Shakespearean productions each year are both open air: the Minack in Cornwall (Figure 21.1) and the RSC's The Dell in Stratford-upon-Avon.



Figure 21.1 A crowd watches a performance in the Minack Theatre.
© Patrick Ward/Corbis

Michael Dobson's account of open-air Shakespeare identifies the roots of the movement in the work of Ben Greet's professional Woodland Players in the 1880s and 1890s, noting that while several amateur companies performed Shakespeare in the open air in the early twentieth century, it was not until after World War II that it became "the dominant mode of amateur Shakespearean performance in Britain" (Dobson 2011: 20). Dobson observes that such performance is "customarily given in some semblance of Elizabethan costume" (2011: 20), and he quotes a 1935 review of the Richmond Shakespeare Society – "our friends, the Richmond Shakespeare Society, have done much towards the recovery of Merry England" – to argue that "[t]o watch Shakespearean comedy in these surroundings . . . is to spend festive holiday time in Merry England itself" (2011: 189, 194). Indeed, the sense of collectivity examined above may be even more pronounced in open-air performance, where the frequently adverse weather conditions experienced by cast and audience alike can generate what one respondent referred to as a "Dunkirk spirit." Dobson is right to identify a more conservative tendency in the costuming of open-air Shakespeare: groups who have employed period costume go from 80 per cent of the whole sample of amateur Shakespeareans to 90 per cent of those who perform in the open air, and specifically Elizabethan or Jacobean costumes from 49 per cent to 72 per cent respectively. A substantial minority of 44 per cent of open-air companies, though, have also performed modern-dress productions, a slightly *higher* proportion than the 41 per cent of the whole sample.

Broadly speaking, amateur groups tend to choose the same Shakespearean plays for performance outdoors as they do indoors (see Table 21.2). The top-ten lists are almost identical: only *The Tempest* and *Hamlet* drop out of the list, to be replaced by *The Taming of the Shrew* and *Love's Labour's Lost*. The weighting of the list is thus even more heavily towards festive comedy. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* tops the list again, with a similar proportion of productions to the overall list; but, interestingly, *The Merry Wives of Windsor* shoots up from joint fifth place to second – strikingly, 81 per cent of the total number of productions of this play were performed in the open air. *The Taming of the Shrew* and *Love's Labour's Lost* were likewise far more likely to be performed outdoors than indoors, at 78 per cent and 75 per cent of the total number of performances of each play respectively. Both lists are similar to Greet's outdoor repertory of what he called Shakespeare's "pastoral plays": *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *As You Like It*, *Twelfth Night*, *The Tempest*, and *Much Ado About Nothing* (Dobson 2011: 174).

I have already remarked that these lists are dominated by plays which enact some model of communal renewal. One further observation is worth articulating. The majority of these plays follow what Northrop Frye called "the argument of comedy":

the action of the comedy begins in a world represented as a normal world, moves into the green world, goes into a metamorphosis there in which the comic resolution is achieved, and returns to the normal world.

(Frye 1957: 182)

This "green world" may be a literal one – as in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *As You Like It*, or *Love's Labour's Lost* – or it may be metaphorical, a holiday space of licence and misrule like the Illyria of *Twelfth Night*

or the Ephesus of *The Comedy of Errors*: a world which simultaneously bewilders and enchants the outsiders who visit it. C.L. Barber famously explored “the way the social form of Elizabethan holidays contributed to the dramatic form of festive comedy,” and he considered “the tendency for Elizabethan comedy to *be* a saturnalia, rather than to *represent* saturnalian experience” (1972: 4, 36). In many ways, the modern tradition of open-air amateur Shakespeare allows both its spectators and its actors to re-perform this saturnalian experience: they enter a green world; participate in events which are simultaneously baffling and delightful; enact a temporary but powerful communal identity; and leave the space – one hopes – with a renewed sense of optimism. (A cynic might call this response “a renewed sense of faith in the rightness of the prevailing social order,” but I am not convinced that the endings of these plays are always unambiguously conservative.)

Indeed, the holiday may well be literal. At outdoor venues like the Minack or The Dell, audiences invariably include a substantial proportion of tourists. The Brownsea Open Air Theatre, an amateur enterprise which takes place every summer on Brownsea Island in Poole Harbour, requires its audiences to become tourists in a real sense, taking a specially organized boat in order to get to and from the performance venue. Brownsea is merely an extreme version of the journey into a green space undertaken by the spectators of most open-air Shakespeares, clambering with their picnics across uneven terrain towards a brightly coloured carnival world. But the experience can be one of holiday for the actors, too. As Dobson notes, the tendency to stage outdoor productions in July and August allows amateur casts to be swelled by students on holiday from school or university (2011: 190). Some ventures, such as the Pendley Shakespeare Festival and the Abbey Shakespeare Players, attract actors from across the country, who convene in a beautiful countryside location in order to experience what the Abbey Players’ patron, Edward Hall, has described as “the feeling of community and shared ambition that is at the centre of any thriving theatrical enterprise” (Abbey Shakespeare Players 2015). Perhaps, then, amateur Shakespeare affords its participants the opportunity not merely to watch and perform the plays, but – in the case of the festive comedies – actually to live them.

Acknowledgements

I should like to take this opportunity to offer my thanks to the organizations that promoted my survey and, most importantly, to the individuals who so generously took the time to complete it.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

“PRITHEE, LISTEN WELL” The case for audio Shakespeare



Michael P. Jensen

INTRODUCTION

Douglas Lanier locates the first audio Shakespeare at the introduction of the telephone in June 1876, when Alexander Graham Bell read Hamlet’s “To be, or not to be” speech (2005: 415). While one can posit earlier times when visually impaired people heard a play rather than saw it, Lanier is right to begin with this moment for the electronic transmission of Shakespeare. Like the telephone, audio Shakespeare is entirely non-visual. Directors and actors deliver interpretations, but the audience experience Shakespeare with their ears. They see the story only in their mind’s eye.

When we speak of audio Shakespeare, we usually mean audio recordings and radio broadcasts of his plays. In addition, documentaries, audio study guides, lectures, educational commentary, interviews with actors and directors, reviews, and programmes excerpting Shakespeare’s work have been created for radio. Some of these categories have been produced infrequently as commercial recordings. The subject is so vast that audio Shakespeare needs and deserves a book to explore it fully. Because of space constraints, I shall concentrate on audio adaptations. There have been more Shakespeare radio adaptations than films and television broadcasts combined; hundreds more, a number that grows by another few hundred when audio recordings are added, but few have noticed.

Most Shakespeare scholars do not understand why audio matters or why their scholarship is poorer for neglecting it. One book that surveys important stagings of *The Tempest* mentions John Gielgud’s four productions and his movie *Prospero’s Books* (1991) to establish that Gielgud is an important interpreter of that role; but there is nothing about the five times that Gielgud played Prospero for BBC radio, although the standard claim is that those broadcasts were heard by more people than saw his stage performances in the play. Including audio would have made the better and decisive point that in his time Gielgud owned the role in all media except television. Audio adds an important dimension to Shakespeare performance history.

The case for audio Shakespeare needs to be made. This chapter makes that case while giving the different but related media of radio and audio recordings an historical and a social context. It begins with the narrative of how these sound media evolved. With that context in place, it then makes the case for studying audio by

surveying interesting performers and performances, directors who often produced more Shakespeare than well-known stage directors, institutions that created Shakespeare programmes; and it ends with texts seldom performed on stage or screen that are available on audio. This survey barely scratches the surface. All of these subjects need in-depth study to grasp fully the richness and variety of audio Shakespeare.

ORIGINS

Wes Folkerth (2002) identifies the first Shakespeare recording as Henry Irving's August 1888 recitation of the opening of *Richard III*. Other notable actors of the era also made Shakespeare recordings. They tended to be male talents, such as Ben Greet, Herbert Beerbohm Tree, Henry Ainley, Edwin Booth, and Frank Benson – although Ellen Terry made a number of recordings and there were a few with Viola Allen and Ada Rehan. These well-known actors usually recorded well-known speeches. The earliest duet seems to be excerpts from *As You Like It* by E.H. Southern and Julia Marlowe in 1920. Speeches and brief scenes soon became the standard form of early radio Shakespeare with a series of shows presenting, and sometimes entitled, *Scenes from Shakespeare*, beginning on the BBC in 1923.

Susanne Greenhalgh (2011: 547) identifies the earliest known Shakespeare broadcasts as the balcony scene from *Romeo and Juliet* on Cincinnati station WLW and a production of *As You Like It* on WCAL, operated by St. Olaf's College in Minnesota, both broadcast in November 1922. One obstacle to saying that something was the first is that in the early days local and college stations created a lot of programming, often without leaving records. Firsts tend to be attributed, sometimes erroneously, to networks such as the BBC. Thus the first "full-length" broadcast, as the BBC called it, is usually said to be a 110-minute 1923 *Twelfth Night*, which came five months after the WCAL broadcast. This play was chosen to conquer the challenges of non-visual storytelling. Twins, a woman disguised as a man, and the long explanations of act 5 had to be delivered with clarity by sound alone. The experiment was considered a success, and as a result full-length plays dominated Shakespeare radio for the next few years – and soon became the standard for recorded Shakespeare after a similarly trimmed *Julius Caesar* by Orson Welles and his Mercury Theatre was released in the US in 1935. Welles also created a 1938 version with a different text and supporting cast.

Recorded Shakespeare eventually tended towards unabridged texts, while radio continues to abridge, occasionally rearranges scenes, and often adds a word or a phrase such as "Here comes the King," allowing listeners to identify the next speaker. This difference speaks partially to marketing. The recordings of the fifties were bought by people who wanted "high culture" and "pure" Shakespeare. These long-playing discs (LPs) were also used by educators who wanted textual fidelity for their students. By comparison, radio is a medium more driven by ratings and the concepts of directors, privileging clarity over fidelity to Shakespeare's texts. The generalizations in this section are usually true, but life is untidy and there are exceptions. The Oregon Shakespeare Festival (OSF), for example, has produced an annual play for Blackstone Audiobooks since 2011. These recordings keep the cuts that originate in the stage productions that precede them. The Living Shakespeare recordings (1961–63) abridged twenty-six of Shakespeare's plays to fit on an LP disc that could be heard in one class session.

It was not until the nineties that radio experimented with what is called “director’s Shakespeare.” A wonderful 1993 *Twelfth Night* directed by Nigel Bryant for the BBC featured a lively score of Caribbean music. Characters from the lower classes spoke in the accents of the isles, which enhanced an energetic and beautifully realized performance. Such experiments are sometimes less successful. Jeremy Mortimer’s 2001 BBC *Othello* used jazzy music, and the Duke and Senators received war news over a noisy teletype; but the concept did not really add much to an otherwise fine production. The concept was a hindrance in Peter Kavanaugh’s 1999 BBC *Romeo and Juliet*. Making Capulet audible during sex that reaches orgasm in act 4 scene 4 was an annoying distraction, one of several. Most unusual was a 2007 BBC *Two Gentlemen of Verona* that set the play in India during the independence movement: the Indian cast delivered some of their lines in Hindi. This production was so steeped in Indian culture that the play was retitled *Two Gentlemen of Velasna* (Greenhalgh 2011: 550).

Recorded audio largely avoids such concepts. A rare and only partial exception is the 1998 Naxos Scots-accented *Macbeth*, which repeats the opening lines at the end, perhaps suggesting against the argument of the play that the cycle of usurpation and violence will continue. A stronger exception is OSF’s 2011 Grammy-nominated audio book *Hamlet*. It retains the hip-hop music from the 2010 stage production used in certain scenes, and the cast is essentially the same, even when female actors play male roles. The music that indicates the Ghost’s presence is repeated at the end of the recording, since stage director Bill Rauch had the Ghost cradle his dead son in his arms as the last lines were spoken. Other OSF/Blackstone audio titles make similar concessions to the stage director’s visions.

Many radio broadcasts are now lost. In the early days, the equipment to record broadcasts simply did not exist. Once it did exist, the BBC, for example, would record new programmes over old transcriptions. Some transcriptions were destroyed during the Blitz, whereas most of the earliest audio recordings survive since these were commercially available. Multiple copies in private hands greatly increased the odds that a recording would last. We have virtually every commercial audio Shakespeare recording since 1935, and many from before that date.

Distinctions between radio and recorded Shakespeare can be soft. Recordings were sometimes played over the air by American radio stations, especially WNYC in New York in the fifties through the mid-sixties, with several other New York stations spinning Shakespeare platters during the quatercentenary year 1964. KQED-FM in San Francisco broadcast Shakespeare recordings Saturday nights in the eighties. The audio-book boom in that decade proved there was a market for audio mysteries, straight novels, self-help books, memoirs, and many other publishing categories, but generated few new Shakespeare recordings. That neglect changed in the nineties, with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and the BBC producing versions of Shakespeare’s plays that were dually conceived for radio, and later audio distribution. These were produced with the textual modifications common in radio productions.

Radio usually cast actors who were not well known, although networks would sometimes bring in a star or two to play lead roles. Some recorded series did the same, as in the Marlowe Society recordings; others put the names of their stars on the record covers, as US company Caedmon did when boasting of Michael Redgrave,

Vanessa Redgrave, and Hugh Griffith in their 1963 recording of *The Tempest*. Occasional recordings were made of star productions, such as the *Othello* recordings of Paul Robeson in 1959 and 1963; Laurence Olivier in 1965; and the two recordings of *Hamlet* by John Gielgud, one with the Old Vic Company in 1957 and the other for the BBC in 1948, released as a Naxos audio in 2006. The BBC eventually got into the act with its broadcasts and later audio releases of three plays produced by Kenneth Branagh's Renaissance Theatre Company between 1992 and 1994.

While most suppliers of radio Shakespeare were broadcasting companies, some programmes originated with theatre companies such as the Old Vic and the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre in the UK (as it was called before occupancy by the Royal Shakespeare Company), OSF in the US, and the Stratford Festival in Canada. The Old Vic Company was occasionally hired to act in plays that the company was not then performing for both BBC radio and on records; and the Old Vic sometimes broadcast plays from their recent-past repertory when touring in the US and Australia.

The UK has dominated Shakespeare recording and broadcasting, producing more programmes than the rest of the world combined, although other nations have made significant contributions. US radio gave Welles a chance to portray Shakespearean characters he did not play on stage, film, or in his recorded plays. The CBC began producing Shakespeare in the twenties, but the output was often heavily abridged until the mid-forties, flowering afterwards with the creation of a late-forties Wednesday night cultural programme that included many Shakespeare broadcasts. After a hiatus during which only occasional Shakespeare programmes were heard, the CBC returned from the nineties into this century with an irregular series of specials using talent from the Stratford Shakespeare Festival. The Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) has occasionally dabbled in Shakespeare with sporadic productions in the early days and quite recently. Australia is the only country to produce the canon as a series (1936–38), and offered “as many as five Shakespeare broadcasts a year” during the fifties (Greenhalgh 2011: 551). I have been able to find only seven non-English-speaking nations that have created any audio Shakespeare; and, with the exception of twenty-three productions from Germany between 1948 and 2001, none have produced Shakespeare in significant numbers. I shall therefore concentrate on English-language productions with appropriate mention of others.

MAKING THE CASE: PERFORMERS

Audio is seldom mentioned when biographies of great actors are written, although much is made of their stage and film work. Some very well-known Shakespearean actors, at least well known in their time, had significant careers performing radio Shakespeare. In addition to Orson Welles, already mentioned, Peggy Ashcroft, Edith Evans, John Gielgud, Marius Goring, Baliol Holloway, Godfrey Kenton, Anthony Quayle, and Michael Redgrave sometimes performed roles on the air that they did not play on the stage. Performances by Claire Bloom, Kenneth Branagh, Richard Burton, William Hutt, Ian McKellen, and Paul Scofield are preserved on audio recordings.

Although John Barrymore did little Shakespeare on stage, he was acclaimed for his *Hamlet* and *Richard III*. He reprised these roles in the *Streamlined Shakespeare* series for the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) in the US, now doubling *Hamlet*

and the Ghost plus Prospero and Caliban, and adding performances of Petruccio, Macbeth, and Sir Toby Belch in forty-five-minute broadcasts of *The Tempest*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Macbeth*, and *Twelfth Night*. Most of these programmes were cut to thirty minutes and released on 78 RPM records in 1950, later combined onto LPs. Years of high living made Barrymore a less capable actor when this series aired in 1937, but he was at the height of his reputation when he performed *Hamlet* in London's Haymarket Theatre. A BBC scenes programme excerpted this production during its 1925 run. In addition, Barrymore performed a number of Shakespeare's scenes and soliloquies on US radio programmes over many years. Some of these are of interest, especially his Shakespeare duets with Welles on various programmes between 1940 and Barrymore's death in 1942.

Laurence Olivier was an acclaimed Richard III on stage in 1944, and his 1955 movie is covered in Shakespeare film literature. Virtually unknown are his radio broadcasts of this play in the US (1946) and Australia (1948). I have not heard the Australian broadcast, but the US show makes an interesting contrast to director John Burrell's staging and Olivier's film for the different scenes and characters included, and for Olivier's alternate line readings. Many players from the stage production reprised their roles in this broadcast, to some extent preserving, or more likely approximating, what would otherwise be lost from the ethereal theatre (Jensen 2004–05: 101–2). Olivier made a few other Shakespeare broadcasts, for example, playing Leontes in *The Winter's Tale* in 1935 and Henry V two years before his film in 1942. He joined Gielgud, Ralph Richardson, Vivien Leigh, Sybil Thorndike, and a host of other stars in a 1954 BBC broadcast of *Henry VIII*, but the majority of his programmes were documentaries or readings.

Richardson was one of the most celebrated Falstaffs of the twentieth century. Books on Falstaff published after World War II, production histories of the *Henry IV* plays, or editions of these plays with a performance section invariably discuss the 1945 Old Vic productions in which Richardson played the fat knight. None mention Richardson warming up for the role by performing in an Old Vic-produced eight-part serial on BBC radio in June and July of that year, shortly before these plays were staged in the New Theatre. Richardson's Shakespeare audio career began in an unknown role in a 1929 BBC production of *Twelfth Night*. He made many Shakespeare and other dramatic broadcasts until his film career took off in the mid-thirties, then gave occasional Shakespeare radio performances through 1969, eventually acting in twenty-seven Shakespeare adaptations. He portrayed Bottom and Caliban multiple times on the air, contributed to eight programmes about Shakespeare, and made three commercial recordings of Shakespeare's plays.

Audio contributes not only to our knowledge of notable actors, but also to that of others who should be much better known, as they were among the busiest Shakespearean actors of the twentieth century. They may not have thought of themselves as Shakespearean actors – because they might have worked in a Dickens adaptation one week, a modern play the next, an educational programme the week after that, and a Shakespeare play the following week – but their numbers can be impressive.

Between 1931 and 1974, Norman Shelley performed in forty adaptations and other programmes about Shakespeare for the BBC. These include four *Cymbelines*, if we count a broadcast of Bernard Shaw's fifth act in 1951. He played the King twice, and did so brilliantly. He played Hubert at least twice, and an unknown role, perhaps

Hubert, in another *King John* broadcast. He later appeared in a 1963 broadcast of *Edward III* when that play was still assigned to the Shakespeare Apocrypha. Shelley often worked with Carleton Hobbs in Shakespeare and other broadcasts. Hobbs performed in at least sixty Shakespeare programmes between 1927 and 1978, although a few of these were educational broadcasts. Producer Mary Hope Allen gave Hobbs the role of King John in her two adaptations and in an educational programme about Falconbridge in which Shelley played Hubert. Gloucester in *King Lear* was another of Hobbs's roles, playing it three times for director Peter Creswell; and three times he was Silence in 2 *Henry IV*, although some of these broadcasts were presented during World War II when plays were truncated to accommodate war news. Hobbs was in four radio productions each of *Henry V*, *Macbeth*, and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. He was also in the *Edward III* broadcast with Shelley, and he played Shakespeare in a 1945 fictionalized biography of Ben Jonson. He appeared twice in radio versions of *The Spanish Tragedy*. (There will be more about this play below.) The BBC later named an award after Hobbs, the Carleton Hobbs Bursary Award.

Not all Shakespeare radio careers are significant on the basis of fame or numbers. Although Fay Compton is best known for dozens of television and film roles, she often performed Shakespeare on stage and broadcast his plays twenty times, portraying Juliet, Paulina, Titania, and other leading characters on the air. She played Ophelia on stage three times, including Barrymore's Haymarket production, and she twice played the role for the BBC, including the Barrymore programme. Compton also broadcast Cleopatra twice. She played Emilia for BBC radio in 1949 and in the 1952 Orson Welles film, and was featured in the Living Shakespeare recording of *Richard III* (1963). *The Radio Times* used Compton as a touchstone in the 11 February 1937 number. The listing for an early television programme that included scenes from *Romeo and Juliet* and *Much Ado About Nothing* invited viewers to compare the television performances of the latter "with the interpretations of Fay Compton and Godfrey Tearle in the sound broadcast on January 3." Perhaps most significantly, Compton was triumphant as Innogen in *Cymbeline* for the BBC in 1935 and 1951 – twice in 1951 if we include the broadcast of Shaw's fifth act. Compton was the only actor to play this role in full-length broadcasts during this period. Since the Old Vic did not produce the play between these dates and the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre produced it three times with relative unknowns, it may be said that Compton dominated the role in England for those sixteen years. Compton is not usually thought of as a Shakespearean actor, but she was, and she is the only notable Innogen in England in the mid-twentieth century. Shelley, Hobbs, Compton, and many other actors in sound media are not among the most notable Shakespeareans of the twentieth century, but they are certainly worth study as actors of audio Shakespeare.

Audio permits us to hear and understand the performance styles of previous generations of actors. Obviously, this opportunity was not possible before sound recordings. We do not really know what Samuel Taylor Coleridge meant when he said famously on 27 April 1823 (according to *Table Talk*, published in 1835) that watching Edmund Kean "act was like reading Shakespeare by flashes of lightning"; but we can hear the overly enunciated style of the Henry Irving era slowly evolve to the more naturalistic acting of today. Douglas Lanier writes that sometimes the "deliberate manner" of speaking in early recordings was due to "the demands of the recording apparatus" (2005: 423). There is doubtless truth to this statement, but

there is a consistency to early performances that suggests a generational style, and we can hear that style linger and then evolve after better equipment was developed. The deliberate manner changed too slowly for the primitive apparatus to account for it fully. The truth probably embraces both ideas.

This increased naturalism is a window into modern English culture. For thirty years English producers have allowed actors to use their natural voices and accents when performing Shakespeare. A book should be written on the sociology and politics of performing Shakespeare in non-standard English accents: how social forces made this a necessity and how this change facilitated acceptance of multicultural voices and people in England. Audio Shakespeare reflects and is a part of this story.

The evolution had a different path in the US and Canada. Many actors in both nations used a declamatory “we are doing a classic play” voice longer than actors in England. These actors were possibly influenced by Maurice Evans, the always-actorly English performer who moved to the United States in 1936. He made a splash in *Hamlet* and *Richard II* on stage, and his voice was heard in Shakespeare performances on radio, LPs, television, and film, making him the most public Shakespearean actor in North America after Barrymore died and for several decades. Through the seventies and sometimes beyond, performances on recordings and broadcasts from North America seem influenced by his technique.

MAKING THE CASE: IMPORTANT DIRECTORS

Some of the busiest directors of Shakespeare have worked in audio. For the BBC, Peter Creswell, Rayner Heppenstall, R.E. Jeffrey, Martin Jenkins, John Tydeman, Peter Watts, Charles Lefeaux, Raymond Raikes, and Howard Rose are noteworthy. The latter three were actors in and directors of Shakespeare broadcasts. Watts often adapted scripts for the programmes he directed, and sometimes he adapted for others. Creswell directed forty adaptations and Shakespeare-related programmes, while Watts directed twenty-seven. Andrew C. Love directed abridgements of OSF plays for NBC and syndication from 1951 to 1979, and recorded full-length versions of the annual repertory for the OSF archive (Figure 22.1). OSF plans to put most of these programs on the Internet, accessible through their website. Andrew Allen was head of drama for the CBC for a dozen years starting in 1943, personally supervising many Shakespeare broadcasts. Including shows directed by others, the CBC produced about sixty Shakespeare broadcasts during Allen’s tenure. All of these directors produced many non-Shakespearean programmes in addition, so perhaps only Allen thought of himself as a Shakespearean director; but we should study them all for the volume and variety of their Shakespeare work.

Charles Warburton began as an actor on the English stage; he produced the 1919–20 season at the Old Vic; emigrated to America, where he worked on Broadway; and acted in and adapted at least a dozen Shakespeare plays for the NBC series *Radio Guild* from 1929 to 1937, although he may have contributed to additional Shakespeare episodes since adapters and casts were not always credited. Warburton graduated to adapter and director of the CBC programme *The Shakespeare Cycle*. Since US radio writers were then able to resell scripts to other markets when the scripts did not involve copyrighted characters such as Bulldog Drummond or the Shadow, or well-known personalities such as Jack Benny or Burns and Allen, it is likely that Warburton



Figure 22.1 Andrew C. Love rehearsing Oregon Shakespeare Festival actors for a broadcast of *1 Henry IV* in 1964.
© Oregon Shakespeare Festival

reused some of his *Radio Guild* scripts for this series, but I have not been able to confirm this assumption. The eleven *Shakespeare Cycle* episodes were broadcast in 1938, the year that Warburton returned to the US to take over directing and adapting the second series of the NBC educational programmes *Great Plays*. Warburton produced five of Shakespeare's plays for this series through 1941. He may have used some scripts again, although neither *Love's Labour's Lost* (1940) nor *The Taming of the Shrew* (1941) is known to have been broadcast by *Radio Guild*. Very few *Radio Guild* shows have survived, but the CBC released a CD of Warburton's *As You Like It* in 2005, and pirated copies of his *Great Plays* episodes are readily available on the Internet.

Between 1957 and 1964 the British Council selected George Rylands, an academic and director of student productions, to record the thirty-seven-play canon – the thirty-six plays in the First Folio and *Pericles, Prince of Tyre* – as commercial LPs. Although he imported an occasional star, Rylands used mostly student actors from his Marlowe Society in Cambridge. Several future RSC stars and directors are students heard in these recordings. American-born Howard Sackler and English-born Peter Wood shared direction of the same canon for US-based Caedmon Records, now available on CD or download from HarperCollins. Clive Brill directed this canon,

plus *The Two Noble Kinsmen* for Arkangel in the UK. While roughly contemporaneous, the recordings by Rylands and Sackler have stylistic dissimilarities. Lanier suggests one is the result of Rylands attempting to duplicate the sound of a stage play by not letting his actors get too close to a microphone and having them declaim. Sackler productions are more intimate, the actors pitching their performances to the microphone with greater vocal variety than in Ryland's recordings (Lanier 2005: 426–27).

Beyond the work of these male directors, our era of scholarship offers additional and vital theatre history: the discovery of sometimes important female artists and civic figures who made previously unnoticed or undernoticed marks on culture. Some of these women were neglected simply because of their gender. Studying radio performance introduces us to the work of some talented women who directed Shakespeare.

Cathleen Nesbitt was appointed co-producer of the BBC's initial Shakespeare unit, helping create and starring in the 1923 "scenes" series and the first "full-length" show mentioned above. Although Nesbitt left this position later that year, she returned to play Portia in a one-hour programme about that character in 1926; Queen Elizabeth in Rose's production of *Richard III* in 1935; Lady Macbeth for BBC Head of Drama Val Gielgud in 1936; and Iris in Mary Hope Allen's production of *The Tempest* in 1946. Allen's career has been surveyed by Michael P. Jensen (2008: 171–73), but her more than forty adaptations and other Shakespeare programmes have yet to be studied.

Barbara Burnham began adapting Shakespeare in 1929 for BBC directors Creswell, Rose, and Val Gielgud. She was appointed director of a three-part educational series presenting readings from Shakespeare's plays in 1933. Burnham returned to adapting duties for her next five Shakespeare assignments, but was permitted to direct a second series of educational readings before being appointed director for the 1935 full-length *Troilus and Cressida*, thereafter presenting a few Shakespeare plays most years, along with other work. Burnham's Shakespeare output fell off after 1942, although she directed *All's Well That Ends Well* in 1952. She went into television the next year.

Nesbitt, Allen, and Burnham are three pioneers of radio Shakespeare whose work needs study. While there have not been significant numbers of women directing professional audio recordings, what these three began lives on in the producing work of Barbara Worth for the CBC and of directors such as Kate Rowland and Cherry Cookson for the BBC. If studying the directing approaches of Rylands and Sackler reveals telling differences, this kind of study will probably generate similarly complex results when Creswell, Rose, Allen, Burnham, and all the others are given their due. There is much work to be done on directors of audio Shakespeare.

MAKING THE CASE: INSTITUTIONAL STUDY AND RARELY PERFORMED WORKS

When broadcasters such as the BBC, CBC, ABC, and NBC decide to invest in Shakespeare, they do so for a reason. As Asa Briggs, Marta Straznicky, Susanne Greenhalgh, and Michael P. Jensen have shown, these reasons may be different and come at different cultural moments, but they inform the kind and amount of Shakespeare that are broadcast. Briggs (1961–77) has told the story of how drama, led by Shakespeare, came to be broadcast on the BBC. Greenhalgh (2007, 2009) and Jensen (2008) have looked at different types of BBC broadcasts, and Jensen (2013) has studied

the collaboration between NBC and OSF. Straznicky (2002) has covered Andrew Allen's contribution to the CBC, but none of these stories have been completely told. Untouched or little touched are modern BBC approaches; early and later CBC broadcasts; the canon on ABC in 1936–38, which no other broadcaster has attempted; and the other ABC broadcasts. Barely noticed are theatre companies that provided content to broadcasters, such as the Stratford Shakespeare Festival, the Old Vic Theatre, and the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre. This is a rich area for future study.

Shakespeare's collaborative plays are seldom produced for the stage; and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, *Edward III*, and *The Book of Sir Thomas More* have never been produced for cinema or television screens. *The Two Noble Kinsmen* has been broadcast twice, once by the BBC (1956) and once in Austria (1980). As already noted, the play is available as an Arkangel audio book. *Edward III* has twice been broadcast by the BBC (1956 and 1963). *Sir Thomas More* has had two full BBC productions (1956 and 1983, the latter with Ian McKellen as More) and a scenes programme (1948). Another scenes programme was broadcast in Austria (1980). Some of these broadcasts are available for study, and the Austrian broadcasts are available commercially. Shakespeare's revision of Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*, as published in the 1602 quarto, was recently accepted into the canon. The play has been broadcast four times on BBC radio between 1953 and 1969, and was the subject of a 1944 lecture by Nevill Coghill broadcast on the BBC. In writing this chapter, I have not found other broadcasts of *The Spanish Tragedy*: this topic needs study as well.

Shakespeare's poetry, too, is seldom performed either live or screened, but it is broadcast and recorded. *The Rape of Lucrece* received two BBC radio broadcasts (1948 and 1964) and three audio recordings in the sixties. Caedmon's recording included *The Phoenix and the Turtle* and *The Passionate Pilgrim* (1961). Some of the latter's poems were written by Shakespeare. *The Rape of Lucrece* was also recorded with *Venus and Adonis* on a three-CD set by Naxos (2006). *Venus* was broadcast once by the CBC (1959) and six times by the BBC between 1944 and 2004, or seven if we count twice a two-part 1947 reading by Robert Donat. Caedmon paired *Venus and Adonis* and *A Lover's Complaint* in 1962. A narrative version of *A Lover's Complaint* was created for the BBC by George Rylands in 1954, who recorded most of Shakespeare's poetry with the Marlowe Society, including the Sonnets (1958). The Sonnets have been excerpted, recorded in full, and broadcast both ways dozens of times. New Zealand radio turned Sonnet readings into a series for the 400th anniversary of their publication (2009). Individual Sonnets from this series may be heard on the Internet (Radio New Zealand Concert 2009). There are several audio recordings, some by notable actors such as Ronald Colman (1960) and Stacy Keach (2000). John Gielgud recorded 120 of the Sonnets (1963); and a dual Czech/English broadcast produced by Czechoslovakian radio (2002) was abridged and released on CD in 2007. Sound media open all of Shakespeare to performance studies.

CONCLUSION

The parable of the blind men and the elephant is overused, but hard to resist here. Different blind men touch and describe different parts of an elephant, such as the tail or tusk, with the result that each has a false impression of what elephants are like. Studying Shakespeare productions only on stage and screen misses hundreds

of shows possessing the unique characteristics of sound media. Some of these performances are by notable actors and some by those who are little known, but with extensive Shakespearean resumés. Audio records the evolution of acting styles since 1888; reveals unknown directors who have produced more Shakespeare than many better-known directors; and introduces work by a number of women who pioneered directing Shakespeare. Audio makes possible study of notable theatre, broadcasting, and record companies for their contribution to Shakespeare performance, and makes available rarely performed poetry and plays. In his introduction to *Shakespeare on Film, Television and Radio*, Luke McKernan writes, “the neglect of Shakespeare on radio (with some notable exceptions) is a disgrace” (2009: viii). It is, and there is no excuse for neglecting sound media now that Susanne Greenhalgh, Eve-Marie Oesterlen, Douglas Lanier, Marta Straznicky, and I – with additional contributions by Luke McKernan and Olwen Terris – have catalogued and described so many productions and made our research public. This chapter identifies dozens of people, institutions, companies, and topics that merit more research.

I write not just to chide, but to enable. Below are resources that informed me as I wrote this chapter and will help you do this work. Citations are in References, and additional resources are in the Further Reading section. Many more resources are listed in the “Reference Guide” of Terris *et al.* (2009, especially 217–27). It is time to know all the richness of Shakespeare performance.

Acknowledgement

My thanks to Jeffrey Kahan, who once asked me to make the case for audio Shakespeare. This chapter is my answer.

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BBC Sound Archive
Perivale Industrial Park
Horsenden Lane South
Perivale, Middlesex UB6 7RW
United Kingdom

BBC Written Archive
Peppard Road, Caversham Park
Reading RG4 8TZ
United Kingdom

British Library
Sound and Vision Reference Service
96 Euston Road
London NW1 2DB
United Kingdom

Oregon Shakespeare Festival Archives
40 Pioneer Street
Ashland, Oregon 97520
USA

Paley Center for Media
25 West 52 Street
New York, NY 10019
USA

Stratford Festival Archive
55 Queen Street
P.O. Box 520
Stratford, Ontario
Canada N5A 6V2

Websites

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CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

STICKY OR SPREADABLE? SHAKESPEARE AND GLOBAL TELEVISION

—♦—
Susanne Greenhalgh

In 1996 the United Nations proclaimed 21 November “World Television Day,” as a symbol for “communication and globalisation in the contemporary world.” Britain’s hosting of the 2012 Olympic Games focused a televisual spotlight squarely on Shakespeare, employed both as national and world icon. Not only did *The Tempest* provide the theme for the global broadcast of the “Isles of Wonder” opening ceremony, celebrating British history and culture, but the equivalent ceremony for the Paralympic Games also portrayed the “brave new world” brought about by Enlightenment ideas of human rights and scientific progress, as Prospero (Ian McKellen) sent Miranda, played by a disabled actress, on a voyage of discovery. The accompanying BBC2 *Shakespeare Unlocked* season also presented his works as both national and international property through documentaries which included scholarly historical examinations; colourful travelogues about Shakespeare in India or Italy; and explorations of the discoveries to be made through professional and amateur performance.

Arts, educational, and sociological documentaries which explore and archive twentieth- and twenty-first-century performances, both amateur and professional, form a genre of “reality Shakespeare” which is often primarily grounded in the cultural or political specifics of the originating society. This chapter’s chosen, highly selective focus is rather on examples of the kinds of “fictive Shakespeare” transmitted – and transmigrated – within and between such diverse national broadcasting cultures as Britain, North America, South Africa, and Denmark, via the internationally dominant televisual formats of the single play and the series. Since television is no longer just a medium for local and domestic entertainment or education, but an ever-expanding window on the world, the meanings that accrue to televisual Shakespeare constantly shift in relation both to the specific national, civic, social, and economic orders within which the medium operates and to its global distribution and reception. In the UK the British Universities Film and Video Council (BUFVC) project to create an international, online, and updatable audio-visual Shakespeare database now lists global details of nearly 2,000 television programmes, from 1936 to the present. Intended as “a definitive resource,” the database enables and encourages “accounts of national and international

histories, patterns of change and responses to circumstances (economic, artistic, political, technological)” (Terris 2011: 58) such as that attempted here.

Across the Anglophone world and beyond Shakespeare permeates television in the form of event scheduling, niche programming, numerous “incidental appropriations” (Olive 2013), or fleeting “weak” references, as well as occasional “full strength” adaptations of his plays (Burt 2010: 75). As Douglas Lanier summarizes:

Shakespeare’s association with a mass-cultural product, medium, or genre lends that item a moiety of highbrow depth, “universality,” authority, continuity with established tradition, or seriousness of purpose, while at the same time the association with mass culture lends Shakespeare street credibility, broad intelligibility, and celebrity.

(Lanier 2010: 104)

Television’s proliferating genres are also now at the heart of current processes of media convergence, further blurring boundaries between film, radio, television, and computers. The medium is marketed as home cinema in the form of large plasma or LCD screens which provide high-definition digital images, stereo sound, and the capability of receiving global streamed or downloaded content from the World Wide Web. In all these processes Shakespeare, present on Anglophone television from its earliest days, continues to be invested with “adaptational energy” (Lanier 2010: 105), whether in drama, commercials, documentaries, discussion programmes, comedy sketch shows, sitcoms, or quiz and reality shows. While these diverse and often contradictory televisual Shakespeares may be regarded as a continuing way in which “extant ways of thinking about Shakespeare’s humanity and iconicity . . . enter the public consciousness on a massive scale” (Olive 2013), they can also be viewed, as Maurizio Calbi has recently argued, rather as evidence of “Shakespeares” best conceived as spectral presences, fragmenting and proliferating into “multi-mediated ‘manifestations’ . . . in the increasingly digitized and globalized mediascape of the twenty-first century” (2013: 2).

Early theories of broadcasting flow and programme segmentation, developed in a period of relatively few channels, have been modified by the advent of multichannel viewing, where programme choice is made via the remote control; time-shift recording technology; or by on-demand direct streaming to a choice of Internet-enabled devices. Recently media theorists have evolved the paradigms of “stickiness” and “spreadability” to account for developments in the contemporary media environment. Television organizations were traditionally top-down, centralized producers or distributors of pre-structured content. As such, they aimed to draw audiences and encourage them to “stick” with the appeal of their offer, whether for an evening’s viewing, every day, or for a lifetime. The multiplication of global media outlets, together with the diverse means of accessing them, has shifted focus to how individuals in a networked culture constantly repurpose, recirculate, and “spread” content via social media in ways that circumnavigate broadcasting gatekeepers. The international “hyperdistribution” of illegal uploads of old Shakespeare programmes on YouTube, the offer of DVD copies on online auction sites, or the Web distribution of not-yet-transmitted episodes of quality long-form drama do not simply create alternative archives of Shakespearean television: they enable these programmes, old

and new, to be recirculated and reappraised through the online commentary they generate, by communities who may “incorporate the cultural texts as part of their self-identity, often going on to build social networks on the basis of shared fandoms” (Pearson 2007: 102).

The relationship between Shakespeare and television remains notably underexamined by scholars compared with the attention that has been given to filmed Shakespeare, so that it remains “a field of enquiry still waiting to be defined and explored” (Crowl 2008: xvii). Reflections on the processes and problems of adapting Shakespeare for television were initially the work of programme-makers and reviewers in institutional publications or the press. Whereas the development of film studies gave cinematic Shakespeare growing prominence and approval from the 1960s onwards, academic interest in television was hampered both by a sense of the medium’s low status in the cultural hierarchy and by its perceived aesthetic limitations. For pioneering scholars of Shakespeare on film like Jack Jorgens, television Shakespeare was “definitely a compromise.”

In place of the fine image- and sound-making and meaningful technique of good films, we have decided to settle for mindless zooming and dollying, sloppy editing and compositions, crude music and sound effects.

(Jorgens 1979: 215)

Viewing Shakespeare on television was seen as handicapped by its reduced scale, contained and often fragmented formats, and the constant danger of domestic distractions (Buchanan 2005: 6).

As Barbara Hodgdon points out (2002: vi), a dearth of cinema films, coinciding with the BBC project to televise all thirty-seven plays over a seven-year period (1978–85), turned academic interest towards television; but the majority of publications on Shakespeare and television still take the form of journal articles or chapters in books that also deal with cinematic adaptations or offshoots. To date there are only a handful of books or essay collections devoted solely to Shakespeare on television, several of these prompted by or largely concerned with the “completist” BBC Shakespeare series. In contrast with film research and criticism, there has been somewhat of an “anti-canonization” tendency in writing on television Shakespeare, which has more often provided historical surveys or considered groups, formats, or genres of programmes rather than seeking to identify individual “masterpieces.” Much early discussion of Shakespeare’s plays on television, defined as those retaining the original language, was concerned with textual fidelity: the extent and effect of cuts and speech or scene relocation deemed necessary in order to fit the texts into the programme timespans allocated. The influence of cultural- and television-studies approaches, often focused on popular modes of media content – together with more sophisticated post-fidelity theories of adaptation – has turned critical attention to the wider range of programmes containing Shakespearean-derived narratives or citations which constitute the mass of television Shakespeare. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, with the expansion of digital recording technologies, scholars could base encyclopaedic accounts on their own viewing and deliberately exclude “straight” productions of the plays, as in Richard Burt’s chapter in *Shakespeares after Shakespeare* (2006).

SHAKESPEARE AND THE SINGLE PLAY

For programme-makers the overriding question has always been whether television – this “hybrid genre wandering somewhere among the realms of theatre, radio, television studio, and cinema” (Rothwell 2004: 118) – could appropriate Shakespeare to its own institutional, economic, and aesthetic ends. From its opening in 1936 to the mid-1950s, the BBC found it convenient to shoot short scenes and eventually longer “full-length” versions of theatre productions in the studio, which offered “actors who knew a role along with ready-made costumes” (Wyver 2014: 108). Initially conceived as entertainment rather than education, the productions were also a means to experiment with and to perfect the televising of drama before attempting full-length plays, and to commission new ones written specifically for television. From the 1950s until the 1980s, regular seasons of drama series built around classical plays were a standard part of BBC scheduling, a strategy imitated by the commercial channels during their early days. From its beginnings, British televisual concepts of “quality drama” were thus in thrall to theatre, epitomized by Shakespeare. This theatrical aesthetic continued for many years, even after the end of live transmissions, in the form of dialogue-heavy scripts, performer-focused camerawork, long takes, and the implicit assumption in editing that an audience was viewing from the perspective of an “open-walled” auditorium space. In the UK the reception of Shakespeare’s plays on television occurred within a framework of expectations whereby viewers anticipated that televised stage plays would offer “strong, gripping and intriguing narratives . . . a sense of visual style in settings, décor and costumes; and . . . acting of a high quality in exceptionally demanding and rewarding parts” (Smart 2014: 459).

In Britain Shakespeare’s stage productions have been televised more frequently than any other playwright’s (Wyver 2014: 119). For many scholars, these are the productions “that have fared most impressively on the small screen” (Hindle 2007: 241). Whether recorded on their original stage, in a studio, or at a new location, John Wyver argues that stage-derived Shakespeare must be viewed as “doubled adaptations” rather than transparent performance documentations, combining theatrical, televisual, and sometimes cinematic remediation (2014: 104). Wyver himself has produced televised versions of Royal Shakespeare Company (RSC) stagings of *Macbeth* (Channel 4, 2001), *Hamlet* (BBC2, 2009), and *Julius Caesar* (BBC4, 2012); and he has attempted to define more precisely the interplay of theatrical, televisual, and cinematic concepts in relation to the televising of stage-derived Shakespeare productions, approaches which for many years also influenced made-for-television versions of Shakespeare’s plays. Markers of a purely theatrical approach include “continuous performances pitched to an auditorium and the acknowledged presence of a live audience,” together with the use of televisual techniques such as wide shots offering an “apparently direct and comparatively unmediated form of access to the staging.” Dominantly televisual approaches work within the constraints of “images and sounds conceived primarily for domestic consumption on modestly sized screens” and employ multi-camera techniques enabling the capture of continuous performance in single takes with live cuts between shots. Cinematic treatments typically employ a single camera, a mode of filming associated with the cinema which has now become the dominant televisual mode for prime-time drama. This sets up every take separately, allowing for changes of frame, camera position, lighting, and performance,

and depends on post-shooting editing for the final shape of the film. Cinematic approaches may also exploit “visual spectacle, rich aural experiences, and complex camera movements employing tracking and crane shots” (Wyver 2014: 106).

Examples range from early, non-surviving BBC Shakespeare productions, such as the live outside broadcasts of Michel Saint-Denis’s *Twelfth Night* from the Phoenix Theatre (January 1939) and *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* from Regent’s Park (1946). In 1956, six months after the launch of commercial television in Britain, ITV followed suit by broadcasting its first Shakespeare production. Peter Brook’s *Hamlet*, starring Paul Scofield, was filmed live in a studio rather than in the Phoenix Theatre, where it was staged. In the 1970s, two ITV adaptations of RSC productions directed by Trevor Nunn marked the beginnings of a continuing trend in televisual restagings of theatre productions: the fusion of the roles of theatre and TV director. In *Antony and Cleopatra* (ATV, 1974) and *Macbeth* (Thames Television, 1979) Nunn, aided by his television co-directors, turned the TV studio into an intimate space for performance by employing close-up, multi-camera filming that concentrated flexibly on the shifting emotional currents between characters created by the actors’ practised delivery of Shakespeare’s language; and he abstracted the key aspects of the action’s setting, whether through the opposition of a sterile white Rome and a hazy golden Egypt, or the encircling darkness of *Macbeth*. The same approach was followed later in Nunn’s *Othello* (BBC2, 1990), in which Cyprus was represented by a quasi-domestic military barracks, and in a “digital noir” *Merchant of Venice* (BBC2, 2000), set in the fascist 1930s. Other than *Antony and Cleopatra*, all of these productions originated in the studio theatres of the RSC and the National Theatre, a trend in staging that responded directly to the impact of television on audiences’ desires to be close to the performance.

This reciprocity between theatre and television studio continued until the end of the twentieth century. Richard Eyre, an accomplished director of film and television as well as theatre, also chose to film his National Theatre *King Lear* (BBC2, 1998) in a studio treated as a box set, coloured red or grey in turn, and opening into empty space for the storm scene. Deborah Warner’s *Richard II* (BBC2, 1997), starring Fiona Shaw as the King, was likewise filmed against neutral sets on a sound stage instead of the National Theatre’s Cottesloe. However, a series of recent films produced by Wyver’s company, Illuminations, marks a shift away from the studio to site-specific restagings in carefully chosen locations, allowing the stage director simultaneously to reimagine aspects of the theatrical original and to create a specifically televisual style. Gregory Doran’s *Macbeth* (Channel 4, 2001) turned the Roundhouse theatre into the basements of a war-blasted city, whereas his *Hamlet* (BBC2, 2009) extended the concept of Elsinore as a surveillance society through the incorporation of footage from security cameras, disabled by Hamlet for the “To be, or not to be” soliloquy. For *Julius Caesar* (BBC4, 2012), set in contemporary Africa, an overall documentary style allowed the combination of crowd scenes filmed on the Stratford stage with political deliberations, assassinations, and battles filmed on location. Shooting his Chichester Festival Theatre production of *Macbeth* (BBC4, 2010) at Welbeck Abbey enabled Rupert Goold to juxtapose his Stalinist political world with supernatural forces embodied by expressionist film techniques.

In North America, the Canadian Broadcasting Company (CBC) began adapting productions from the Stratford (Ontario) Shakespeare Festival in 1964, with a *Julius Caesar* starring William Shatner as Mark Antony. The educational channel

TV Ontario (TVO) partially funded the English Shakespeare Company's epic and subversive seven-part *Wars of the Roses* (Portman Productions, 1989), filmed mainly live in the Grand Theatre, Swansea: TVO broadcast the resulting twenty-hour production in 1990 as a twentieth-anniversary celebration in what appears to have been its only television transmission. Early American television Shakespeare primarily took the form of made-for-TV versions, with stage-derived recordings not beginning until the 1970s. These range from a documentation of James Earl Jones's magisterial outdoor performance as King Lear for the New York Shakespeare Festival (Public Broadcasting System/PBS, 1974), in which the audience's presence was essential to the televised play, to a live PBS relay of Nicholas Hytner's production of *Twelfth Night* in the Live from Lincoln Center series in 1998. More recently there have been live relays from Shakespeare's Globe of *Richard II* (BBC4, 2003) and *Measure for Measure* (BBC4, 2004), and the filming of the eighteen-hour Avignon Festival production of La Piccola Famiglia's *Henri VI* (France2, 2014). The BUFVC database also documents, though often without much detail, a host of televised theatre productions in France, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Poland, and Scandinavia, which are yet to be widely examined by Shakespearean scholars.

The first made-for-television production of a Shakespeare play was the BBC's modern-dress *Julius Caesar* in July 1938, which incorporated contemporary news footage and was also used to test new lighting technologies. In America, in the "golden age" of the late 1940s and early 1950s, when television was not yet a mass-audience medium, Shakespeare, alongside other stage-derived drama and literary adaptations, tended to appear in anthology series supported by corporate sponsors for whom good reviews and the right audience demographics were more important than ratings. Rather than restaging theatre, productions attempted to find televisual ways of filming plays for series such as Westinghouse Studio One, which produced modern-dress versions of *Julius Caesar* and *Coriolanus*, and CBS's Omnibus (1959–61), which hosted an ambitiously symbolist, if uneven, live version of *King Lear* in which Peter Brook directed Orson Welles as the King (1953). The most theatrically indebted productions were made for the Hallmark Hall of Fame by NBC between 1953 and 1960 as a collaboration of the British-born actor Maurice Evans, in roles he had created on stage, with the director George Schaefer. Motivated by the urge to popularize Shakespeare, the productions pioneered ways to combine theatre with television, including film insertions, stylized settings, and latterly location shooting.

However infrequent, productions of the plays have often been scheduled as appointment television, timed to achieve high visibility, if not high viewing figures: on Sundays; at specific times of the year such as Christmas or in Shakespeare's birthday month of April; at significant moments in national or broadcasting history; or embedded in broadcasting "seasons," accompanied by connected cross-media productions. A performance of *Kiss Me Kate* marked the opening of BBC2 in April 1964; and the two-year-old digital channel More4 scheduled the RSC's *King Lear* on Christmas night 2008, accompanied by a mini-Shakespeare season of Ian McKellen's performances as Macbeth, Iago, and Richard III. Once recording of television drama became more prevalent in the 1960s, both restagings and made-for-television versions of Shakespeare had a high survival rate compared with other British television drama of the time, also the case with North American Shakespeare productions. As John Caughie emphasizes, the shift from direct transmission to recording commodified

television drama as a “tradable good” (1991: 39), and Shakespeare’s cultural capital rapidly made his plays successful and influential British televisual exports. Recent hunts through the archives have discovered programmes that were “missing, believed lost,” most notably the six BBC and ITV adaptations of Shakespeare plays found among sixty-eight other purchased British teleplays in the National Educational Television (NET) collection at the Library of Congress in 2011. These include two made-for-television adaptations, *The Winter’s Tale* (BBC, 1962) and *Romeo and Juliet* (BBC, 1967); *Much Ado About Nothing* (BBC, 1967), a studio adaptation of Franco Zeffirelli’s National Theatre production; and two ITV schools series, *Twelfth Night* (1959) and *Hamlet* (1961) by Associated-Rediffusion, which were transmitted as full-length programmes by WNET.

Such finds highlight the significance of transnational exchange and co-commissions in the history of Shakespeare on television. From the 1960s British drama exports to the NET and its successor the Public Broadcasting System (PBS) perpetuated a transnational trope that linked classic drama, a theatrical aesthetic, and UK acting as signifiers of quality television. The BBC Television Shakespeare series – co-funded by a range of American corporate, financial, and broadcasting organizations – was seen in fifty-three countries and sold on video across the world. While British – especially BBC – television still accounts for nearly half its entries, however, the BUFVC database succeeds in drawing attention to Shakespearean programming beyond the Anglophone world, in Europe, Latin America, Africa, and Asia, mapping the ways in which both Shakespeare and television, often in combination, have extended their global reach.

In addition to single-play studio adaptations that sought to translate Shakespeare into a more televisual mode – such as David Thacker’s modern-dress, surveillance-camera-dominated *Measure for Measure* (BBC2, 1994) or John Caird’s stylized single-play conflation of the two parts of *Henry IV* (BBC2 1995) – more extensive adaptations set the plot and characters of the original in a new context, usually contemporary, as in Penny Woolcock’s *Macbeth on the Estate* (BBC2, 1997), which transposed the play to a Birmingham estate ruled by drug gangs, or Tim Supple’s *Twelfth Night* (Channel 4, 2003), which explored migration and multiculturalism in modern Britain. More radical retellings replace Shakespeare’s language with new dialogue and employ Shakespearean narratives to strengthen the social or political impact for contemporary audiences. Often the action is relocated to settings familiar to national audiences. *Romeo and Juliet* became the story of two students in present-day provincial Brazil (TV Globo, 1980). In America *The Tempest* (NBC, 1998) was set during the Civil War; and Turner Network Television (TNT), a cable and satellite channel noted for its westerns, broadcast a version of *King Lear* initiated by its star, Patrick Stewart. *King of Texas* (TNT, 2002) paralleled the play’s disposessions and cruelties with the aftermath of the Mexican War of 1846–48. Andrew Davies’s updated version of *Othello* (ITV1, 2001), intended as the first of a series, retold the tragedy to expose the high command of the London Metropolitan Police as institutionally racist, and concluded with Iago’s promotion. *The Shakespeare ReTold* series (BBC2, 2005) comprised *Much Ado About Nothing*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Macbeth*, and *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, and was commissioned from its four writers as a way of sneaking the single play back into the schedules, metatelevisually referencing familiar programme formats and contemporary British celebrity culture.

SERIALIZED SHAKESPEARE

Today Shakespeare is much more likely to appear on television in serial form than as a single-drama adaptation, which when made is most often screened as part of a series. Television adapted the serial from popular fiction and early cinema, but this format has come to be regarded as specifically televisual. Various formats of television series became established in twentieth-century broadcasting, from the cyclical melodrama of soap opera to the episodic structure typical of sitcoms and comedy shows and the longer story arcs of mini-series drama. In 1960 the BBC's *An Age of Kings* (Figure 23.1) made Shakespeare its own through serialization, adapting all eight of the English histories into fifteen two-hour episodes, each with an apt title. Shot live entirely in the studio on two to four cameras, with a repertory-style cast drawn mainly from the theatre and augmented by “guest star” appearances in some of the main roles, over thirty weeks the series attracted a regular fortnightly audience of five million, and it was repeated in 1962. Serialization enabled *An Age of Kings* to turn Shakespeare's histories into a narratively gripping power play rather than a conservative pageant, presenting a vision of politics in tune with current international events.

The cultural impact of the series also successfully promoted the case for the BBC, rather than ITV, to be awarded a third channel (BBC2, 1964–) by the government's Pilkington report of 1962, and as telerecordings marketed the quality of



Figure 23.1 Scene from *An Age of Kings: Henry VI: Part III: The Morning's War* (1960).
© BBC

BBC drama abroad. Broadcast also in Australia and New Zealand, in America its success with critics and viewers aided the development of NET into a fully fledged public service, having set a bench-mark for “quality” programming compared with mass-audience commercial schedules. As J. Hoberman commented in a review of the DVD release, the series’ concern to involve an audience in Shakespeare’s portrayal of political machinations can be viewed as a direct ancestor of the contemporary “serial dramas that strain the confines of the small screen with their large characters, compelling situations and narrative density,” such as *The Sopranos* and *The Wire* (2009: 17).

A made-for-television attempt to serialize the three Roman histories, *The Spread of the Eagle* (BBC, 1962), was less successful since only a few characters appear in more than one of the plays; but in 1964 the filming of the RSC’s *The Wars of the Roses* demonstrated how the theatrical and the televisual could be triumphantly aligned within the serial form. This acclaimed production by Peter Hall and John Barton celebrated Shakespeare’s 400th birthday by condensing *Henry VI* and *Richard III* into three parts. Influenced by the theatrical practices of Bertolt Brecht and Antonin Artaud, and by Jan Kott’s theorization of Shakespearean history as a cruel cyclical mechanism, the production aimed to reflect contemporary politics. For the eight weeks of filming the Stratford auditorium was emptied of an audience and turned into a television studio. Half the stalls were removed so that the stage could be built out and the twelve cameras could move freely and deeply into the stage action. The political turmoil and battles were filmed close up via hand-held cameras, at a distance in crane shots, and from a “death’s eye” perspective level with the stage in order to make the adaptation effective in televisual rather than theatrical terms. A “behind-the-scenes” film, transmitted a week before the first episode, anticipated that interest would be as much in the televisual process as in the delivery of a theatrical record. Originally screened in 1965 in the weeks preceding Shakespeare’s traditional birthday, the production was subsequently edited into eleven fifty-minute episodes, on the model of *An Age of Kings*, and rebroadcast on BBC2 the following year.

Almost fifty years later it seemed that the concept of serial presentation of the histories was to be revived with *The Hollow Crown* (BBC2, 2012). Proposed by the film and stage director Sam Mendes, and broadcast as part of the BBC’s contribution to the 2012 Cultural Olympiad, this was intended as “event” Shakespeare. It was also the first BBC made-for-television adaptation of Shakespeare plays since the mid-1990s to employ the original language. Each of the three theatrically experienced directors – Rupert Goold (*Richard II*), Richard Eyre (1 and 2 *Henry IV*), and Thea Sharrock (*Henry V*) – used medieval settings and scenic castle and cathedral locations around Britain, creating a broad unity of visual style inflected by their own interpretations of the plays.

An Age of Kings had been praised for offering “neither picture-postcard realism nor elaborate stylization, but . . . a sustained and vigorous make-believe” (Purser 1960). *The Hollow Crown* combined realism, stylization, and make-believe within an epic, cinematic approach, epitomizing key stylistic features of contemporary UK “quality” television with its “emphasis on action, location shooting and the spectacle of the landscape” (Weissmann 2012: 82), and with actors equally at

home in film and theatre. There was no ensemble cross-casting, except between *Henry IV* and *Henry V*, while in the latter play the colour-blind casting of the black actor Patterson Joseph as the adult John of Lancaster simultaneously challenged conventional audience expectations and disrupted the sense of serial connection. Although colour-blind casting is retained in the second series, comprising a two-part *Henry VI* and *Richard III* (BBC2, 2016), the narrative continuity produced by the plays' action and characters, together with sole direction by Dominic Cooke, the former artistic director of the Royal Court, is likely to enhance the sense of serialization.

Outside such rare ventures, Shakespeare most often occurs in serial form either as brief citations in title or script, invoked to make a passing comic or serious point, or in episodes, in which the narrative is organized around a Shakespearean play or theme of some kind. In long-running "procedural" serials in which different stories concerning the same group of characters occur each week, thematic connections can be made between the regular characteristics of the series and a specific Shakespeare play, as in the sex-war comedy of "The Taming of the Shrew" episode of *Moonlighting* (ABC, 1986). The *Star Trek* franchise (NBC, 1966–69; syndicated 1987–94; 1993–99; 1995–2001; 2001–05) regularly employed Shakespeare in both ways to portray and to comment on the civilizing mission of the starship *Enterprise*, especially after the RSC actor Patrick Stewart was cast as Captain Picard. Similarly, *The West Wing* (NBC, 2002–06) employed Shakespearean references to depict the dilemmas of presidential government, notably in the episode "Posse Comitatus," which featured a staging of the English history plays at the White House intercut with the approval and carrying out of a political assassination. In "The Shakespeare Code" episode of the science-fiction drama series *Doctor Who* (BBC1, 2007), Shakespeare's genius was at the centre of the plot, since it was his ability to improvise powerful language on the stage of the Globe Theatre that attracted witch-like aliens to attack Earth, but also led to their defeat.

Like single plays, drama mini-series loosely inspired by Shakespeare often appropriate narratives for political or social comment, adding new plotlines, characters, and locations to fill the increased airtime. The four-part *Centrepiece* (Channel 4, 1990) retold *Hamlet* as a contemporary thriller to dissect the rottenness embodied by the development of London's Docklands into the heartland of global finance. The two-part *Second Generation* (Channel 4, 2003), set in the British Asian business community, borrowed its concern with family rivalries from *King Lear*, but also illuminated the tension between tradition and assimilation in multicultural Britain. Andrew Davies's adaptation of a trilogy of political thrillers, *House of Cards* (BBC1, 1990), starring the Shakespearean actor Ian Richardson, deliberately combined the feel of Jacobean revenge tragedy with more specific plot references to *Macbeth*, *Richard II*, and *Richard III*. The series *Shakespeare in Mzansi* (SABC1, 2008) consisted of four mini-series versions of *Macbeth*, *King Lear*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Romeo and Juliet*, successfully remade to reflect the languages and cultures of contemporary South Africa; it was followed in 2012 by a version of *The Taming of the Shrew*.

More recently, the emergence of long-form drama series, designed to be viewed novelistically, in sequence, has produced a number of highly successful American TV

shows which have been deemed “Shakespearean” even if containing few specific Shakespeare references. In the case of *The Sopranos* (HBO, 1999–2007) and *Breaking Bad* (AMC, 2008–13), it is the psychological complexity of the protagonists’ Macbeth-style moral choices that attracts the Shakespearean sobriquet. In the fantasy series *Game of Thrones* (HBO, 2011–), adapted from novels that used the Wars of the Roses as one source for its violent dynastic battles over the Iron Throne, the Shakespearean echoes are more at the level of *mise en scène*, plot, and character type. In *Sons of Anarchy* (Fox, 2008–14), a *Hamlet* narrative intermittently shapes a familial revenge story set among a Californian biker gang. Both *Boss* (Starz, 2007) and *Empire* (Fox, 2015) replay *King Lear* in the settings of city-hall politics and the hip-hop music industry respectively by highlighting motifs of madness (in the form of dementia) and family rivalries over succession. In another example of television employing Shakespeare to mark institutional landmarks, the digital on-demand channel Netflix chose to adapt a British series with Shakespearean motifs for its first original drama commission. *House of Cards* (2013–) transposes the Machiavelian Westminster politics and direct address of its BBC original to the White House, increasing the Shakespearean resonances by casting Kevin Spacey, an actor who has played both Richard II and Richard III, as Francis Underwood, while greatly expanding the role of his Lady Macbeth-like wife.

Another recently prevalent mode of serialization focuses on Shakespearean performance. Spread over three seasons, the action of *Slings and Arrows* (CBC, 2003–06), depicting the fortunes of a Canadian theatre modelled on the Stratford (Ontario) Shakespeare Festival, deliberately mirrored the plays performed by the company – especially *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, and *King Lear* – and paralleled characters’ personal dilemmas and self-discovery with the struggle to keep the New Burbage Theatre going. A similar use of Shakespeare as a tool for psychological probing is evident in *Forestillinger* (DR, 2007), a six-part series made for Danish television. Directed by Per Fly, a director largely concerned with realist explorations of the social psychology of life in contemporary Denmark, the title of the series has a number of possible meanings, referring both to theatrical shows and to conceptions or notions, suggesting ideas of self-identity and its performance. Set in an experimental theatre in Copenhagen, the story covers the six weeks of rehearsals and first performance of an adaptation of Shakespeare’s erotic poem *Venus and Adonis* and the relationships among the six main characters during that time. Each episode tells the story from the perspective of one of the characters, constantly revising the viewer’s sense of what has happened and its meaning, while the drama is intercut with direct-to-camera, “hot-seat” interviews of the characters with the off-screen director. Sexual desire and rivalry, betrayal, fear of death, ambition, and the need to make art drive the characters, culminating in a theatrical production where Shakespeare’s words are poignantly combined with those derived from their real-life interactions and problems. In a lighter vein *Complete Works* (2014), an independent production first aired on the US Web-based channel Hulu, used a sitcom format and the setting of a Shakespeare competition, neatly enabling its Shakespeare citations to be brief but extensive and always integrated with the “dramedy” dilemmas of its young actors.

In 2014 the Director General of the BBC announced a project to celebrate the 400th anniversary of Shakespeare’s death in 2016 by making the BBC archive of

Shakespeare content available to schools in the UK, and possibly on sale world-wide. Douglas Lanier suggests that “Shakespeare’s relationship with specific media or arenas of culture tends to be invested with energy at certain moments and social contexts” (2010: 105). The planned opening up of the archives – together with the recent international cluster of restagings, new commissions, and expansion of Shakespearean content into evolving genres and modes of transmission – suggests that these energies are currently moving in the direction of television. It seems that for the foreseeable future Shakespeare’s transmigrations will continue as part of television’s response to and portrayal of the contemporary globalized world.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

SHAKESPEAREAN TOURISM

From national heritage to global attraction



Robert Ormsby

INTRODUCTION

Shakespearean tourism is a global phenomenon that encompasses a wide range of activities. For decades, people have spent their leisure hours watching summertime Shakespeare at such venues as the Delacorte Theatre in New York's Central Park, tents at Vancouver's Bard on the Beach, and street-theatre performances by companies like Brazil's Grupo Galpão. Tourists flock in their thousands to what is often called "Shakespeare Country," which now incorporates not just Stratford-upon-Avon but greater Warwickshire and, by extension, locales associated with the plays: Juliet's Balcony in Verona, Denmark's Kronborg Castle, and Scotland's Glamis Castle. Such sites include rebuilt early modern theatres – in Argentina, Australia, Canada, England, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Poland, and the United States – that purport to replicate or evoke the spirit of Elizabethan performance spaces. Of course, tourists travel to seasonal theatre festivals in (among other countries) the Czech Republic, South Africa, Spain, Hong Kong, Belgium, Mexico, India, and Hungary that frequently stage or are dedicated to Shakespeare's work. At larger festivals (for example, Shakespeare's Globe; Stratford-upon-Avon; Ashland, Oregon; and Stratford, Ontario), visitors from across the globe watch performances, view exhibits of Shakespearean paraphernalia, take backstage and costume-shop tours, purchase a vast array of souvenirs, hear lectures and readings, and participate in seminars and workshops. Like most tourism, the Shakespearean variety spawns myriad secondary industries that come with travel to a destination geographically separate and experientially distinct from the visitors' everyday home life: restaurant and spa services, accommodation, interpretation and tour guidance, advertising of further tourist opportunities, gift shops, and transportation.

As travellers who depart from quotidian experience, Shakespearean tourists, like tourists generally, are often depicted as descendants of the pilgrim. While large theatre festivals founded in the post-war era have claimed descent from the "quasi-religious festivals of ancient Greece" and were imagined to re-integrate fragmented cultures in Europe and North America, pilgrim-tourists have sought out Shakespeare at different locales for nearly three centuries (Kennedy 1998: 176; Knowles 2004: 181).

This literary pilgrimage is, to borrow Dean MacCannell's influential formulation, an aspect of the tourist's characteristic search for the self through contact with "the Absolute Other" (1976: 5). Such otherness includes leisure activities distinct from tourists' work-life (Urry and Larsen 2011: 4) and, in the case of Shakespeare, is frequently associated with supposedly authentic contact between literary pilgrims and the author-as-historical-other or as divine-and-transhistorical-other. In the history of Shakespearean tourism, this otherness has included "the destination, an other place," that "locus for all variations on the other" (MacCannell 2011: 10–11). Tourist places may be designed by travel-industry operators, but they cannot exist without tourists' repeated performances of rites associated with literary pilgrimage. As Balz Engler (1997) persuasively argues, visitors' participation in the creation of Shakespearean tourist places like Stratford-upon-Avon has been fundamental to the author's canonization.

Rather than offering an overview of Shakespearean tourism in numerous places, this chapter will focus on the two best-known sites of tourist pilgrimage – Stratford-upon-Avon and Shakespeare's Globe in London – to examine what, historically, has been at stake when people encounter Shakespeare as tourists. The first section will survey the centuries-old history of tourism in Stratford, especially at Shakespeare's Birthplace, while considering the opportunities for contemporary visitors to reflect upon their own participation in rites that sustain Shakespeare-related properties as pilgrimage sites. Awareness of the importance of such tourist participation has, since the eighteenth century, caused anxiety about sharing ownership of the cultural heritage Shakespeare represents, an anxiety that actually bolsters British nationalism and a cultural elite's sense of identity when supposedly inappropriate appreciation of Shakespeare is attributed to foreign and vulgar tourists. The second section will discuss how this anxiety extends to the reception of early Globe performances, when reviewers dismissed the venue's cultivation of interactive theatre as coarsely touristic and visiting foreign companies' Shakespeare productions as inauthentic. But the history of journalistic reception and scholarly criticism of Globe performance reveals that the label of tourist can be applied to ordinary visitors, professional reviewers, and academics alike. The label's slipperiness was especially pronounced during the 2012 Globe to Globe Festival, when companies from around the world visited Shakespeare's London home and temporarily changed the practices that helped make the theatre a shrine for tourist-pilgrims.

PILGRIMAGE AND NATIONAL HERITAGE IN STRATFORD-UPON-AVON

Actor David Garrick's 1769 Jubilee celebrating the playwright is seen as a landmark in establishing Stratford-upon-Avon as the centre of Shakespearean tourism, but key practices associated with this tourism were visible in the decades prior to Garrick's festival. The urge to ascribe Shakespearean significance to Stratford's architecture and history, so important to subsequent literary pilgrimage there, is connected to late seventeenth-century efforts to create a national literary canon founded on biographical criticism (Schoch 2012: 184). Yet, prior to 1769, there were no large-scale co-ordinated efforts to make Stratford a national site of literary worship, and the Birthplace did not feature prominently in visits to the town. Instead, visitors sought

out the playwright's death monument in Holy Trinity Church and went to New Place, the residence Shakespeare purchased in 1597. At the former location, they chipped away at Shakespeare's statue until it was destroyed; at the latter, they took cuttings from a mulberry tree the author himself had supposedly planted. This behaviour suggests the importance of tourists' participation in producing tourist-places-cum-literary-shrines, even if worship means claiming ownership to a piece of Shakespeare by inflicting damage in scavenging for souvenirs. As Richard Schoch argues, legends associated with the mulberry tree "brought Shakespeare to life not by conveying any fixed meaning" or imposing a sense of authenticity "but by inviting tourists to attribute meaning to it." The tree, standing "somewhere between history and mythology," was "precisely what allow[ed] the tourist to frame – and thus derive meaning from" it, to share in the rites that helped define Shakespeare (2012: 187). Once a new owner, the Reverend Francis Gastrell, felled the tree in 1756 and demolished the house in 1759, tourists transferred the rituals to other sites, including the Birthplace, where a walnut tree, like the mulberry, was harvested for its Shakespearean associations (Watson 2007: 204; Schoch 2012: 189–90).

Garrick's three-day Jubilee extended such practices and initiated other important features of Shakespearean tourism, while intensifying the language of religious veneration in the process of helping to elevate the playwright to a symbol of national and universal greatness. Virtually no Shakespearean lines featured in the official commemorative festivities, and rainstorms prevented the pageant of Shakespeare's characters from proceeding; but the event did draw crowds to the Birthplace, where visitors encountered what Nicola Watson believes was the invention of "the literary souvenir proper": they could purchase "the first mass-produced [Shakespearean] souvenirs," including the official Jubilee song-book, *Shakespeare's Garland*, from a stall set up in the birth-room (2007: 206–7). The Jubilee crystallized for visitors to Stratford an image of Shakespeare-as-national-poet: not only did *Shakespeare's Garland* praise him above and beyond the poets of France, Greece, and Rome, but the comic actor Tom King, posing as a foppish Francophile aristocrat, was planted in the audience to interrupt Garrick's performance in the purpose-built 1,000-seat Jubilee rotunda. By rebuffing the planned foreign interruption, Garrick produced an image of Shakespeare's true or purely English identity, a cultural heritage not to be shared with other nations. Meanwhile, the *Ode* that Garrick performed in the rotunda – which proclaimed Shakespeare "The god of our idolatry!" – was consistent with the Jubilee's other rhetoric, which portrayed the playwright as divine (Rumbold 2012: 255).

As Michael Dobson observes, the moral values ascribed to English Shakespeare and his imagined transcendence actually made him an apt figure to be adopted by nationalist movements in Europe and America, and arguably lent rhetorical justification for his international spread through the empire (1992: 226–27). Ironically, the nationalist Jubilee, widely covered in the press, can thus be regarded as a milestone in coupling the language of universal Shakespeare to the global sharing of his work. Finally, the Jubilee caused the first stirrings of the anxiety about sharing Shakespeare with tourists who participated in framing and deriving meaning from sites associated with the author. Specifically, scholar George Steevens's ridicule of would-be Jubilee participants who are stimulated "through the medium of the senses only" – unlike those "intellectual spirits . . . susceptible of a more abstracted and refined indulgence" (quoted in Rumbold 2012: 265) – was transformed into the derision of "yokels"

for Garrick's London audiences when he staged a theatrical version of the Jubilee's events in October at Drury Lane (Rumbold 2012: 268). This early instance of sorting response to establish a hierarchy between sophisticates and spectacle-beguiled provincials anticipated an important long-standing means of categorizing touristic reaction to Shakespearean performance, and thus of defining authentic Shakespeare.

During the nineteenth century these features of Shakespearean literary pilgrimage evolved and were regularized. As the Birthplace's importance to biographies of the playwright increased, the inherited regard for a divine Shakespeare was accommodated to a desire to locate the historical Shakespeare's origins in an idealized domestic sphere. This interest in the domestic Shakespeare coincided with Victorian appropriations that aligned his work with contemporary family values; but the interest was largely the result of the Birthplace's purchase in 1847 by a committee that became the Birthplace Trust (Thomas 2012: 13–35). Extensive press coverage of the sale revealed contradictory fears about knocking down Shakespeare to the highest bidder: if, as a vital piece of the country's cultural heritage, the property had to be purchased by the right people to ensure it remained an English possession, its sacred status was nevertheless felt to be diminished by letting the market determine its price (Thomas 2012: 37–43). Concerns about vulgarizing Shakespeare by marketing him were transferred onto foreigners: not the Jubilee's Francophiles but Americans, particularly showman P.T. Barnum who, it was feared, would globalize Shakespeare by moving the Birthplace across the Atlantic and turning it into a travelling spectacle.

Worries over the trivialization of Shakespeare turned into concerns for the possibly unreverent disposition of visitors to the Birthplace once the new ownership opened it to the tourist market (Thomas 2012: 127–30). Again, the perception of unreflective appreciation of the Birthplace was, partly, attributed to American tourists, revealing an awareness that Shakespeare's international popularity meant that other nations would claim ownership of him on their own terms, even in his home town (Thomas 2012: 129). Those who purchased the Birthplace countered related threats to the house's pilgrimage value by ensuring it was seen as authentic, both by undoing post-seventeenth-century alterations to make it appear Elizabethan and by attempting to document the structure's Shakespearean pedigree (Thomas 2012: 93–96).

While historical documentation complemented the faith in the otherness of a divine author, the Birthplace's authentic status was also the consequence of repeated textual and pictorial representations of Shakespearean tourism in guidebooks and the press. These representations were a crucial feature of those "circles of anticipation, performance and remembrance" that sustained Stratford as a "tourist place," reinforcing a set of expectations about what the Stratford tourist experience should be (Bærenholdt *et al.* 2004: 3). So influential were the Victorian traditions resulting from these expectations that, it has been argued, they created Stratford's tourist industry as it exists today (Thomas 2012: 3; Engler 1997: 361–66).

Vestiges of these earlier traditions were evident when I visited three Birthplace Trust properties in August 2014. As I watched tourists snap photos of restored (or re-created) Tudor buildings – especially the Birthplace on the now pedestrianized Henley Street, with its souvenir shops and eateries – it seemed clear that centuries of tourism were continuing to "shape . . . the topographies of Stratford" (Engler 1997: 365). The charmingly landscaped gardens at the Birthplace, Hall's Croft

(home of Shakespeare's daughter Susanna and her husband, Dr John Hall), and Anne Hathaway's Cottage (the ancestral home of Shakespeare's in-laws) might credibly be described as part of a "fantasized national identity" about an idealized rural England (Hodgdon 1998: 213). The interiors of these households, full of carefully arranged period (or reproduction) home furnishings, do, arguably, impose an orderly vision of Shakespeare and his extended family's bourgeois propriety (Hodgdon 1998: 205).

Displays in the Birthplace and adjoining Shakespeare Centre may not strain at projecting an image of the divine Shakespeare, although some of them suggest we are his invention: one relates that he "has helped to shape us and make us what we are"; another highlights all the Shakespearean phrases used in everyday English, the playwright's words set off in red like Christ's speech in red-letter bibles. Others assert the importance of Stratford and the Birthplace to Shakespeare's biography. These displays include original deeds and explanatory signage authenticating his family's ownership of the property, and the stone base of Stratford's Market Cross which, a sign relates, is "very significant as it is one of the few surviving objects that we know Shakespeare himself would have seen and touched during his lifetime." The hint of a desire to fetishize objects touched by Shakespeare extends to the blurb that visitors see shortly before entering the actual Birthplace; it reminds them that this home – "[where] he played with his brothers and sisters as a child" – is the place that "helped form Shakespeare into the genius he became," reinforcing Victorian associations between his imagined wholesome family life in Stratford and his literary brilliance.

Yet the numerous opportunities for tourists to reflect upon their relationships to the Trust's properties as tourists made it difficult to credit the notion that visitors are all ensnared in an irresistible "quasi-religious ideology" that collapses distinctions between an idealized early modern past and the present (Holderness 1988: 7–8). Each property includes displays about its physical appearance changing over time; and, although signage at the Birthplace claims that "much of the original structure of the house survives," explicit invitations to consider how the sites have been remade, to consider the differences between past and present, mitigate the strictly original/authentic status of the buildings. Visitors are also encouraged to understand their own behaviour at these properties as part of a centuries-old history of tourism. Exhibitions at the Birthplace note previous famous visitors (John Keats, Thomas Hardy, Princess Diana) and mount for display the once-functional "Birthroom Window," which earlier generations of pilgrims had signed.

While these displays may add a gloss of respectability to tourism at the Birthplace, visitors can also consider exhibitions about the creation of such tourism, including signage that noted Garrick putting "Stratford on the map as a place of pilgrimage, with Shakespeare's Birthplace at the heart of it," alongside displays of eighteenth-century souvenirs made from the mythical mulberry tree. At Anne Hathaway's Cottage, visitors can contemplate examples of nineteenth- and twentieth-century souvenirs representing the Cottage; they were, in effect, gazing upon touristified representations of the building in which they were standing as tourists. Exhibitions at the Cottage, meanwhile, reveal the fraudulent aspects of Shakespearean tourism-pilgrimage. An informational sheet notes that the Cottage's current name was invented for its romantic connotations. Other blurbs cast doubt on the authenticity of the Shakespeares' displayed "marriage bed," and remark that the "courting settle" in which future husband and wife supposedly sat was faked to sell souvenirs to those who wanted a

piece of wood associated with a particular image of Shakespeare. That is, visitors are reminded that they are “somewhere between history and mythology” (Schoch 2012: 187) in a locale marked by earlier pilgrims’ desire for that other Shakespeare, the romantic, uxorious family man.

Such displays made me self-conscious about my own “tourist gaze,” that regard which “orders, shapes and classifies . . . the world” (Urry and Larsen 2011: 2). I was aware of how, by seeking out fissures between past and present, my academic/tourist gaze was like that of the “post-tourist” who self-consciously regards sightseeing as “a series of games with multiple texts and no single authentic tourist experience” (Urry and Larsen 2011: 114). When taking notes on my sightseeing, an activity for which I was paid – and which perhaps disqualified me as a tourist (Urry and Larsen 2011: 4) – I was struck by the understanding that the position of tourist is defined through difference: encountering Shakespeare-as-other (all this imagined figure comprises); differences from other tourists; and differences between labour and leisure. But why should others not develop their own post-tourist gazes, playing games with texts that invoke histories of tourism, and be self-conscious about their participation in generating authenticity or “the reality of the experience” (Watson 2007: 223)? What criteria determine the difference between tourist and professional Shakespearean? Under what circumstances might the professional Shakespearean become a tourist? The chapter’s next section will explore these questions by considering another important tourist site, Shakespeare’s Globe, attending to what happened when performers from around the world brought their cultures into Shakespeare’s London home during the 2012 Globe to Globe Festival.

GLOBAL SHAKESPEARE TOURISM AT THE GLOBE TO GLOBE FESTIVAL

The 2012 Globe to Globe Festival offers a novel perspective on the tensions noted above: those between national heritage and the globalization of Shakespeare; and between Shakespearean architecture as sacred site and as locale of cultural tourism. Shakespeare’s Globe has, arguably, embodied such tensions since it opened in 1997. The building’s location in Southwark, near the early modern Globe, and its design’s evocation of the Elizabethan playhouse encourage a sense of authenticity that relies upon nostalgia for an idealized past. The Globe’s implicit assertion “that British Shakespeare is the most ‘authentic’” (Silverstone 2005: 32) is underpinned by a belief that the structure somehow makes Shakespeare present for spectators, an act that depends upon the “culture of response” that the building is intended to foster (Conkie 2006: 45). Theatre-goers from many nations who have made the pilgrimage to the Globe are meant to participate in an experience that renders the otherness of the playwright’s works available through performance. Nevertheless, the theatre’s management endeavours to control where spectators place themselves, whether they sit or stand, and the nature of their response. Such control stems partly from anxieties about the perceived lack of seriousness at the venue, anxieties related to the Globe’s similarity to theme parks that offer participatory experience while essentializing their themes – in this case, Shakespeare (Worthen 2003: 79–116). Journalists, too, have disciplined spectators and performers for profaning that type of Shakespearean theatre which conveys “[s]ubtlety, sub-text, psychology, [and] thematic and linguistic

complexity” (Prescott 2005: 371). Asserting their own “committed and cultured spectatorship” (Bennett 2005: 409), reviewers have frequently turned spectators’ supposed search for the other against them, using the same tropes employed by critics of Stratford tourists to condemn Globe patrons as foreigners “liable to be disruptive and incompetent readers of drama, and . . . prone to come between the Englishman and his Shakespeare” in “the potentially most sacred spot in Shakespearean theatre” (Prescott 2005: 373, 367).

The 2012 Globe to Globe Festival, which saw thirty-six non-English-speaking companies perform Shakespeare over fifty days, altered these relationships that are based on the hierarchical sorting of response. Like many festivals, this one was a kind of global market-place where governments exercised diplomacy by subsidizing performances, thereby encouraging companies to embody “national cultures” (Knowles 2004: 181). As such, the Festival revealed the extent to which this kind of tourist performance has loosened any one nation’s “claims to ownership” of Shakespeare (Burnett 2011: 449), while demonstrating how the oft-maligned position of tourist at the Globe could be re-mobilized when the theatre mounts such an extended series of international productions in a multicultural city like London.

Productions staged prior to 2012 under the Globe to Globe rubric ran afoul of the venue’s combination of nationalist sentiment, assumptions of authenticity, and tourist environment. Intercultural adaptations that challenged the Britishness of Shakespeare at the Globe by bringing the playwright’s works into contact with foreign performance traditions – productions such as *Romeu e Julieta* from Brazil, *uMabatha* from South Africa, *Otra Tempestad* from Cuba, and a Kathakali *King Lear* from India – have been taken as compelling instances of the world staking “claims to ownership” of Shakespeare. Yet pre-2012 Globe to Globe performance ostensibly “perpetuate[d] the familiar relations of colonial modernity” wherein the marginal world “provides the raw materials . . . and the entertaining spectacle for the metropolitan, transnational, Globe consumer” (Worthen 2003: 157), namely the tourist. The argument goes that, when the cultural margins brought their work to the centre, the productions’ local contexts disappeared “[i]n the theme parks of international tourism” (McLuskie 1999: 164), “exemplify[ing]” globalization’s reduction of “local culture” to “a narrow range of metonymic signs” (Worthen 2003: 156–57). Journalists assumed what W.B. Worthen calls “tourist privilege, the privilege to decide others’ meanings, the privilege of *owning* Shakespeare” (2003: 155, emphasis original). Assuming for themselves this ownership of Shakespeare, reviewers treated the foreign productions just as they treated the Globe’s “foreign” spectators, by asserting the otherness of Globe to Globe visitors and defining authentic Shakespeare against such otherness. Reviewers may have found the pre-2012 Globe to Globe visiting companies entertaining and powerful in their different ways; but, lacking Shakespeare’s poetry and the approved methods of performing his language, these works were deemed inferior, inauthentic, other.

Critiques of these journalistic attitudes are persuasive, but do not necessarily prove that such attitudes “prevent . . . the ‘intercultural’ work of intercultural performance from taking place at the Globe” (Worthen 2003: 167). Rather, academics’ critiques of reviewers’ ignorance about the earlier Globe to Globe productions’ cultural complexity demonstrate that, by misunderstanding the productions’ complexities, reviewers sustain what Yong Li Lan calls “the fiction of the intercultural,” that “fictionalization of cultural relations which draws upon the dramatic plot, characters, or subject to

stage the metadrama of their means of performance” (2005: 533). Because intercultural theatre “enacts its audiences’ sense of cultural identity” as they identify or fail to identify with elements of the performance, “the audience’s reproduction of their cultural identities . . . is,” in turn, “structural to that metadrama” (Yong 2005: 533). It was precisely this reproduction of their cultural identities that made the reviewers’ misunderstanding of Globe to Globe performances “productive” (Yong 2005: 533). When scholars anatomize journalists’ misunderstandings, they extend this productivity by exemplifying Yong’s contention that “our . . . procedures [of reading reception] are themselves implicated by and invested in the performance, which necessarily situates that act of reading as party to a particular position in the transaction” (2005: 531). That is, by situating themselves as sophisticated readers of theatre and reception, academics position the reviewers as tourists; not, obviously, as a group embracing the other but as the scholars’ and the foreign companies’ others: those naïve would-be consumers of an authentic and British but reductively nationalist Shakespeare.

A number of factors distinguished the 2012 Globe to Globe season from its earlier incarnations. Being part of the World Shakespeare Festival, which featured prominently in the Cultural Olympiad that preceded the 2012 London Olympics, raised the profile of these intercultural performances while intensifying both certain productions’ national identities and the global significance of the Globe’s festival. Perhaps more important were the grouping of so many non-English-speaking companies into so short a time-frame, and the Globe’s conscious efforts to reach out to London’s diaspora communities that were meant to identify with the visiting companies. These novel aspects of the 2012 season brought into sharp focus the conflicting imperatives associated with the globalization of Shakespeare as a tourist-festival commodity. Productions could address national-linguistic communities and thereby “enact [their] audiences’ sense of cultural identity,” but these productions would supposedly create their “fictions of the intercultural” to “reinforce the idea of Shakespeare as a world heritage that connects disparate local cultures” (Huang 2013: 67). In 2012, the pilgrimage associated with theatre festivals would return the world and Shakespeare to the origins of the dramatist’s play-making so that diasporas could experience “the joy of being in ‘Shakespeare’s home’ as well as being ‘at home’ in one’s language” (Bennett and Carson 2013: 5). The “community” that this “Shakespearean event signal[led]” (Burnett 2011: 460) was imagined to embody a virtuous cosmopolitanism. As Festival director Tom Bird comments:

audiences in London remain far too white and middle-class for our art to be considered as something that appeals to a wide spectrum of modern British society, so it was a great joy to see that if you programme work that appeals to non-traditional audience groups and you make them aware of it, they will come, and laugh and cry and whoop.

(Bird 2013: 16)

In fact, what the non-traditional audiences and foreign companies could reveal about global theatrical tourism at the Globe and the nature of intercultural reception was frequently quite challenging. For instance, it was often difficult to discern what overtly signalled “Poland” in Teatr im. Kochanowskiego’s *Makbet*, which I saw and about which I wrote. The play was performed in Polish and the production’s

tawdry contemporary gangster-figures may have reflected the nation's politics; but the scenography embodied, as Paul Prescott notes, a kind of Esperanto, which he calls "EuroShakespearean" and which is not uniquely Polish (quoted in Ormsby 2013: 150). *Makbet*'s global identity was also partly the result of its actors lip-synching to popular American music: when they karaoked Gloria Gaynor's internationally known "I Will Survive," they allowed a wide range of audience members some form of momentary access to an aspect of the production's meaning. *Makbet* skewed the meaning of the Globe's authentic architecture, meanwhile, by toying with the tourist convention of playing to the audience. Before the play began, the transvestite Witch named Lola (Maciej Namysło) was helped by audience members from the pit to the stage where he/she exposed his/her buttocks to well-pleased spectators. Director Maja Kleczewska later staged Lady Macduff's (Aleksandra Cwen) horrifying rape from the same downstage position. As "Bang, Bang," a metaphorically murderous torch-song made popular by Nancy Sinatra played, the standing theatre-goers were confronted with Cwen's pain-distorted face. Intentionally or not, Kleczewska altered the Globe's tourist tradition of playful audience interaction exemplified by Namysło's pre-show display, transforming the earlier coy sexuality into a sinister image of itself.

By contrast, *The Merchant of Venice*, by Israel's Habima Theatre, challenged the Festival's inclusive sense of community because of the nationalist/local conflicts attendant upon its performance at the Globe. The cultural affiliations that structured the metadrama of this intercultural production were manifestly clear: pro-Palestinian and pro-Israeli demonstrators transformed the tourist-shrine quality of Shakespeare's home by protesting outside and inside the theatre. Globe Artistic Director Dominic Dromgoole tried to use Shakespeare to manage this antagonistic form of cosmopolitan audience participation, telling theatre-goers in a pre-show announcement that Habima's performers were "artists coming here to tell a story," not politicians (Habima 2013). But in this case, the playwright could not provide the all-embracing community sufficient to contain the political. Instead, the building designed to make Shakespeare present for tourist-pilgrims became the staging ground for others' nationalist hostilities. Demonstrations necessitated police presence and vocal protesters were removed from the theatre, altering standard Globe touristic participation with shouts of "Hath a Palestinian not eyes?" (Habima 2013). Ironically, reviewers repeatedly alluded to the "airport-style security" implemented at the theatre for the performance, employing a common feature of tourist travel to describe the measures that undermined the Festival's holiday atmosphere.

Another feature distinguishing the 2012 Festival from earlier Globe to Globe incarnations is the fact that scholars repositioned themselves as novice readers of intercultural performance, the same position in which scholars had once placed journalists. This rearrangement of an established hierarchy of reception resulted from efforts to generate almost immediately academic response to the performances and from the presence of the diasporic audiences supposedly addressed by the productions. Many scholars did not express concerns about the inauthenticity of their intercultural experience, that "anxiety . . . of being turned into the tourist who is sold a replica for the real thing" (Yong 2005: 543). Rather, they often described their awareness of their own foreignness in Shakespeare's home relative to theatre-goers at home in the languages of performance. As Prescott remarks, the World Shakespeare Festival as a whole offered academic reviewers "two shows: the one onstage and

the one everywhere else” (2013: 23). But because “the performance could frequently be interpreted only via the reactions of fellow audience members,” and because “[w]atching one’s own reactions to the play was often a matter of watching other people’s” (Prescott 2013: 23), a number of scholarly reviewers, myself included, were self-conscious about how the need to split the focus of our academic-tourist gaze affected the way we ordered and classified the productions. We were, furthermore, self-conscious about “the experience of non-understanding as a relation not only to the pleasure and meaningfulness of another culture’s art but also to the meaning that art makes of us” (Yong 2005: 534).

What these performances made of many of us was tourists, defined as those not in the know and as those purposefully seeking out those foreign others on stage and everywhere else. Academic reviewers who did not understand the language of performance typically labelled themselves as such, but others felt compelled to identify nationally when describing their own reactions: Suzanne Gossett prefaced her “conflicting feelings” about Habima’s *The Merchant of Venice* and the planned protests by self-identifying as “an American Jewish academic specializing in Shakespeare” (2013: 269); my own “identity as a Canadian academic tourist” was front and centre for me when contemplating the “mutual alien-ness” between me and the stage and between me and the “Polish-speaking theatre-goers” who evidently understood what I did not (2013: 152). While acknowledging the benefits that non-English cultures could provide to solve conventional Shakespearean staging “problems,” Bridget Escolme pushed the search for non-Shakespearean otherness even farther: “fascinated by” her nuanced awareness of her “own lack of knowledge about the numerous productions” and the diasporic audiences they addressed (2013: 309–10), Escolme hoped to reach beyond Shakespeare to the theatrical cultures that gave rise to the shows. By “lik[ing] to think that” questions about these cultures “might become so interesting that they could be in danger of decentring Shakespeare and rendering more precarious our certainties about his significance” (2013: 312), she comes close to embracing a cosmopolitanism that abandons the familiarity of the playwright’s home, meant to discover the other/authentic Shakespeare, in favour of the quest for that Absolute Other against which MacCannell’s tourist self-defines.

The embrace of otherness exemplified by the Festival stands in contrast to Garrick’s staged rebuke of Tom King’s Francophile spectator at the Jubilee and offers a partial realization of historical concerns about foreigners taking ownership of Shakespeare in one of his most British homes. If the Globe to Globe’s visiting companies and non-traditional audiences did not reveal the full extent of international Shakespeare performance or tourism, their presence put real pressure on traditional notions of the Globe’s authenticity and audience participation and what Shakespearean tourism could be. It caused scholars to assume the “identity position of tourist” by recognizing their own lack of knowledge about other theatre traditions and theatre-going communities, and thus rearranged established hierarchies of reception (Bennett 2005: 410). It also revealed that the position of tourist is not uniform; the intercultural work done by the productive misunderstanding at the Globe to Globe generated many tourist gazes or spectatorial perspectives by amplifying both nationalist sentiment and awareness of participation in global culture. Whatever the efforts to maintain the sacredness of the Globe as Shakespeare’s home, the presence of so much concentrated foreign performance seriously mitigated traditional Shakespearean authenticity

as the animating spirit of the building in ways that Globe authenticity – and, arguably, that encouraged by the Birthplace Trust properties – had not been challenged before. The World Shakespeare Festival as a whole may have enhanced Shakespeare’s international reputation, but it also further diversified what Shakespearean tourism could mean. The Globe to Globe altered (temporarily) the nature of Shakespearean tourism through a more sustained encounter with the other than had usually been the case in England, thereby powerfully embodying the shift in the playwright’s identity at the Jubilee from Britain’s national and universal poet to a mainstay of internationalized festival performance.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

“WITHIN THIS WOODEN [2.]O” Shakespeare and new media in the digital age



Brett Greatley-Hirsch and Michael Best

NEW MEDIA, OLD PROBLEMS

Between April and September 2013, a series of graffiti artworks appeared on the streets of Glasgow. Headed by pixelated emoticons (the typographical representations of facial expressions used to convey emotion or tone in electronic correspondence), the anthropomorphic graffiti-figures bemoan their existence through selective quotation from *Hamlet* (Figure 25.1), posing questions to passers-by about “the fragmentation of complex emotions as they pass through technology” (Drew 2013). As illegal street art, Peter Drew’s *Hamlet Emoticons* are constantly under threat of defacement and removal; this transient status poignantly reflects the instability of the Shakespearean text that is both inspiration for the graffiti and their cultural reference.

One of the most contested of all textual problems in Shakespeare is Hamlet’s reference to his flesh in the opening lines of his first soliloquy, rendered by the Oxford editors as: “O that this too too solid flesh would melt, / Thaw, and resolve itself into a dew” (1.2.129–30). Since the text of the play survives in three significantly different early versions, modern editors must decide between the readings of the 1623 First Folio, which gives “solid,” and that of the First and Second Quartos of 1603 and 1604, both of which give “sallied” (a variant form of the word “sullied”). Does Hamlet wish his “solid” flesh, like ice, would melt; or does he imagine himself like trodden snow, “sallied” or “sullied” and tainted, capable of purification only if his flesh undergoes the cycle of thawing, evaporating, and condensing into dew? Is Hamlet’s metaphor physical or spiritual?

Although editors record this moment of textual ambiguity in different ways, conventional practice since the eighteenth century has been to report such variants in the form of collation formulae underneath the text of the play itself. The syntax for textual notes in print editions can be off-putting, with critics branding them a “band of terror” or “barbed wire,” alienated from the text and reader alike. With the emergence of digital publishing, editors have experimented with interface design to solve the problem of displaying textual variation, using colour, in-line visual tags or typographical markers, and customizable, reader-selected levels of annotation (see Alan Galey’s *Visualizing Variation* project, 2012–). Another possible solution is to “take

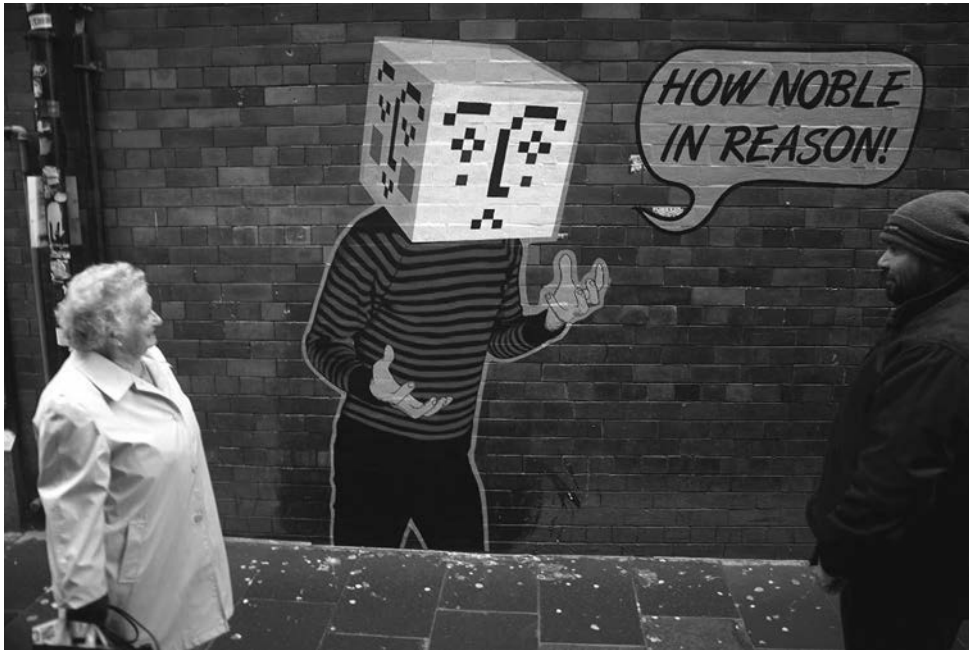


Figure 25.1 *Hamlet Emoticon*, Glasgow, 2013.
© Peter Drew

advantage of the capacity of the medium for animation by recreating a semantic field where the text dances between variant readings,” rendering the text “visibly variant, teasingly slippery, as it makes manifest its actual instability,” otherwise all-too-frequently tucked away and “hidden by our meticulously edited print texts” (Best 2009: 34). Unlike print, in which content is static – and, in the case of the book, literally bound – electronic texts are able to embrace the plasticity of the digital medium through animation, customization, and dynamic interaction with the reader-as-user. Electronic editions, such as the ones described by Best and Galey, allow Hamlet’s flesh to be at once “solid,” “sallied,” and “sullied.”

WHAT IS YOUR TEXT?

Digital media have become insistent multimedia in content. Commercial Web pages are crowded with images; newspapers lead each article with a video or colour photograph; and lists of faculty at universities are routinely accompanied by mugshots. In a world where every smartphone is a potential multimedia platform for publication, it is a salutary reminder that early digital representations of Shakespeare’s texts were necessarily far more limited than their print counterparts. Only now are we beginning to take advantage of the additional tools and ways of viewing data that the digital environment enables. Alan Galey has recently reminded us that many of the features we think of as innovations in the digital display of complex texts were anticipated in print. As an example he highlights the remarkable inventiveness of Teena Rochfort-Smith’s *Four-Text-Hamlet*, created in 1883. This experiment displayed, in

parallel columns, the three original texts (Q₁, Q₂, and F₁), with a “Revized” text in the fourth. Each version further used multiple font faces to indicate types of variant (Galey 2014: 23–29; see also Thompson 1998). More recent (and more successful) experiments in print include Bernice W. Kliman’s *Three-Text Hamlet* (2003) and Michael Warren’s inventive boxed volume, *The Parallel King Lear* (1989).

The first machine-readable texts of Shakespeare were recorded on mainframe computers using what would now be considered arcane, command-line driven software to generate them. They were limited to upper- and lower-case letters, numbers from 0 to 9, and basic punctuation marks. During the 1960s, Trevor Howard-Hill entered all the canonical plays in this format in order to use the computer to prepare single-volume concordances to Shakespeare. Even in its early years, the computer provided two powerful functions unavailable in print: automated searching (in this instance resulting in lists of words for the concordance); and the capacity for modification and correction after the initial data entry. To provide information beyond the limited character-set available to him, Howard-Hill used a mark-up scheme (COCOA) to indicate paratextual entities (page signatures), conceptual differences (stage directions), and bibliographical information (compositor attributions). For many years the only machine that could read these texts was the mainframe computer for which they were created; eventually they were released on floppy disks when personal computers (PCs) became sufficiently widespread.

The PC made possible two new ways of accessing digital data: the disk drive and direct connection to exterior repositories through the Internet. The technology of the CD-ROM attracted the first commercial use of digital scholarly Shakespeare, not only because it made large files and multimedia available on the desktop, but also because the disk was an object that could have a price attached to it in much the same way as a published book. In contrast, networks – in due course the World Wide Web (WWW) – encouraged access to free materials, often generated or collected by enthusiastic generalists rather than scholars. Both technologies faced a major challenge in keeping up with rapid changes in both software and hardware that continually threatened to make their work obsolete by the time it was released (Hirsch and Craig 2014: 4–6).

The large storage capacity of LaserDisc and CD-ROM for the first time made genuine multimedia accessible to the personal computer. At the same time it raised the very knotty problem of copyright limitation on the distribution of graphics, music, and video. Two early projects solved the problem by providing software that accessed LaserDisc performances that the user would have to purchase or license in order to see the end result. Larry Friedlander’s *Shakespeare Project* (1984–91) combined LaserDisc with Apple Macintosh’s HyperCard to develop an interactive workspace that interlinked film segments of selected plays with the text and with other resources (Saltz 2007: 337). Peter S. Donaldson pushed the concept farther at the head of a team at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in the development of the *Shakespeare Electronic Archive* (1992–). The project made possible full multimedia links between the text, digital facsimiles from the Folger Shakespeare Library, and sound and video performances on LaserDisc (see Donaldson 2008). Some sense of the scope of the project can be gleaned from its *Hamlet on the Ramparts* website.

The technology of LaserDiscs did not last: the CD-ROM was more promising, as CD drives rapidly became associated with the personal computer. Three fine scholarly

publications on CD-ROM exemplify a period of experiment and inventiveness that followed; they also illustrate the limitations of the medium. Although the CD-ROM had the advantage for publishers that it fitted well with their established infrastructure for sale and distribution, it brought with it a significant disadvantage, since neither the scholarship nor the software displaying it could be updated. As a result, none of these works can be accessed on modern computers. The most traditional CD-ROM of the group was *The Arden Shakespeare CD-ROM* (Bate 1997). Three years in development, it was based on digital versions of the second Arden series, together with some useful additional resources – facsimiles, sources, glossary, and so on – and it permitted extensive searching of the texts. Although impressive in its comprehensiveness, the texts themselves were already becoming dated by the time of publication, as the third Arden series was already underway.

The earliest of the three was in many ways the most adventurous. The *Voyager Macbeth* (1994) was aimed at a student audience. It used the New Cambridge Shakespeare text edited by A.R. Braunmuller; its interface was inventive and attractive; it included extensive supporting materials; and it encouraged creative interaction with the text, even having a karaoke feature that allowed a user to speak one of the parts of the play. The developers' initial intention was to provide a full video performance (the Royal Shakespeare Company production with Ian McKellen and Judi Dench), but they were able to secure the rights only to the audio track, supported by limited video footage. A later CD-ROM devoted to a single play aimed at a more scholarly audience: *The Cambridge King Lear CD-ROM* (2001), edited by Jacky Bratton and Christie Carson. The subtitle of this work, *Text and Performance Archive*, proclaimed that its scope went beyond a traditional edition. It included an impressive library of textual materials: three modern texts edited by Jay L. Halio (Quarto, Folio, and conflated), together with major adaptations, and an extensive gallery of graphics of performance.

The flurry of adventurous programming and scholarship that resulted in these CD-ROMs has been rendered obsolete over time as operating systems have changed, and as an increasing number of computers lack a built-in CD drive. Digital Shakespeare has migrated to the Web; and it is being read by a multitude of different devices, from computers to tablets, smartphones, and e-readers. It is perhaps ironical that the first generally available digital text of Shakespeare's plays made accessible on the Internet appears to have been derived from a CD-ROM. The Moby Shakespeare, still almost ubiquitous on the Web, appears to have been extracted by Grady Ward from a CD-ROM that claimed to use the Stratford Town modern-spelling edition of 1911, edited by Arthur Bullen. However, it is more likely to be a transcription – not wholly accurate – of the Globe text published in the 1860s, or from one of a number of editions that used this popular text (Lancashire 1992). In 1993, very soon after the Web was established, two sites, both created by computer scientists, took advantage of the Moby text to format Shakespeare's canon in HTML for the first browsers: Matty Farrow's *The Works of the Bard* (University of Sydney) and Jeremy Hylton's *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare* (MIT). To their credit – and to the credit of their supporting institutions – both sites are still available.

It is no surprise that the Moby text became so prevalent. It was free, and it was a text that had pretty much what a general reader would expect from Shakespeare. All the important quotations were there. Michael Hart anticipated, and perhaps helped

create, the expectation that digital information should be free. In 1971, well before the creation of the Web – yes, Virginia, there was a world before the Web – Hart founded Project Gutenberg, designed to make plain-text versions of books freely available to all. Hart’s aim to make simple texts, of reasonable quality, available by open access anticipated both the strength and weakness of Shakespeare on the Web:

We do not write for the reader who cares whether a certain phrase in Shakespeare has a “:” or a “;” between its clauses. We put our sights on a goal to release etexts that are 99.9% accurate in the eyes of the general reader.

(Hart 1992)

This philosophy is still followed by modern sites like Eric Johnson’s *Open Source Shakespeare* (2003–), although his texts have been carefully proof-read to follow the Globe edition more accurately. The site is effectively designed for a general reader or student to use for downloading a text, and the tools the site offers for searching the texts are sophisticated. Martin Mueller has similarly generated a “good enough” Shakespeare for use with the textual-analysis programme *WordHoard*. His approach moves beyond the Globe text by consulting modern editions. Nonetheless, his rationale is very similar to Hart’s:

These texts are in virtually complete agreement with each other and with the Globe Shakespeare on the copy text used for each play, and, if one stands a few feet away from the passionately contested minutiae of Shakespearean editing, they do not differ a great deal in their treatment of cruxes or choice of variants.

(Mueller 2005: 63)

For those cranky readers who *do* care about minutiae, there are fewer choices. From the time of their earlier CD-ROM, the Arden team have done their best to provide digital versions of the Arden editions, with additional supporting material. Their first foray into the field, the website *ArdenOnLine* (1997–98), failed for lack of subscribers; the Arden 2 and 3 texts were made available to subscribing institutions through *The Shakespeare Collection* (2005–) (see Holland and Onorato 2008) until August 2015, when changes in licensing agreements required its publisher, Gale, to remove them. The Arden 2 and 3 editions are now available from *Drama Online*, a subscription-based digital platform developed by Bloomsbury, the current publisher of the Arden Shakespeare, in partnership with Faber & Faber.

All these websites have adapted works previously created for print to the digital medium. One open-access scholarly site, the *Internet Shakespeare Editions* (ISE), has chosen to create editions that are born digital. Founded by Michael Best in 1996, the site has grown to include accurate old-spelling texts of the complete works, with individual plays in the process of being edited by a team of scholars (see Best 2008). Eighteen plays are currently complete with modern texts. The site includes an extensive database of Shakespeare in performance and a much-visited section on Shakespeare’s life and times. As an online digital resource, it is able to take advantage of the medium by regularly updating the site in terms both of its content and of the tools it offers those who access it. In response to changes in technology and the needs of a growing demographic of viewers, it has recently been made available in a format suitable for viewing on the small screens of smartphones.

Smart devices such as smartphones and tablets are bringing Shakespeare to an ever-widening audience; but they remain only as smart as the content they access, content that is still severely limited by copyright restrictions. As the prevalent use of the Globe text on the Web indicates, cutting-edge technology is no guarantee of editorial sophistication. One recent publication specifically for the iPad, Luminary Digital Media's *Shakespeare's The Tempest* (2012), has been described by one reviewer as "a curious throwback to Victorian sensibilities" and "an ironic instance of twenty-first-century technology taking us backward to eighteenth-century editorial practices" (Rasmussen 2014: 161, 163). In many ways, the digital medium is still catching up to the *Voyager Macbeth* of 1994.

THE WORLD TOGETHER JOINS

In contrast with "older notions of passive media spectatorship," late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century new media enable – and are enabled by – active participation, collaboration, and interaction: media producers and consumers, previously occupying separate roles, might now be conceived "as participants who interact with each other according to a new set of rules none of us fully understands" (Jenkins 2006: 3). This blurring of the roles of consumer and producer is reflected in the expectation that digital Shakespeare editions move beyond simply remediating the features and functions of the printed book (such as producing a text and allowing users to "highlight" or "bookmark" it) and providing relevant multimedia (such as digital images, audio and video clips) to supporting user interaction and sharing of user-generated content. No longer satisfied with basic customization options, users increasingly demand the ability to create, store, and share their own annotations and commentary; to link, share, and embed content between other new media platforms and devices; and to contribute multimedia content created by themselves, whether original or a remix of existing material. For example, the *Internet Shakespeare Editions* allows users to create, save, and share annotations; to submit multimedia to its Shakespeare in Performance database; to publish film and theatre reviews on its *ISE Performance Chronicle*; and to link and embed all content on social networking platforms. Similarly, Luminary Digital Media's *Shakespeare's The Tempest* for the iPad provides a "mashable" text, allowing users to create their own custom scripts as well as annotations, and to share these on social media platforms or export them to other apps.

By 1995, still the early days of the Internet, Shakespeare's online presence was already prolific enough to require the creation of "gateway" sites to collate and link to others, such as Terry A. Gray's meticulously curated *Mr. William Shakespeare and the Internet* (1995–2011). After the paradigm shift to "Web 2.0," participatory culture stimulating and stimulated by the emergence of social media and networking platforms, sites such as Gray's could no longer be feasible: there is now simply too much online Shakespeare content to catalogue by hand, and the rate of growth is exponential. At the time of writing, there are over 200 Shakespeare "groups" on Facebook, ranging from academic discussion groups (e.g., "Shakespeare Friends"), clubs and festivals (e.g., "Shakespeare Readers Society" and "Texas Shakespeare Festival"); to amateur and semi-professional theatre companies (e.g., "Shakespeare Institute Players"); specific Shakespeare projects and productions (e.g., "Shakespeare's

Star Wars”); and a dizzying array of school and college Shakespeare courses (e.g., “Shakespeare 412 – Fall 2014”) – not to mention groups with only a coincidental or tangential relationship to the author (e.g., “Shakespeare Spiritualist Church,” so named because it is located at 95 Shakespeare Street, Glasgow). As Christie Carson and Peter Kirwan report (2014: 249), Twitter “indiscriminately includes hundreds of profiles” for Shakespeare, with descriptions ranging from the serious (e.g., “Actor and playwright based in Renaissance England”) to the puzzling (e.g., “Poet, play-write [sic] and member of the assassin order”) and the farcical (e.g., “I acquire [sic] all the wenches. I raise thy hands into the atmosphere and flail them about [sic] as if there were no repercussions”). Although these explicitly Shakespearean avatars and discussion groups are easily located, it is impossible in practical terms to track and measure comprehensively the mass of Shakespearean adaptations, allusions, pastiches, and quotations published online in various new media formats.

Despite the immense difficulty of the task, there have been attempts to catalogue Shakespeare’s presence selectively on certain social media platforms, such as Luke McKernan’s *BardBox*. According to the project’s “About” page, *BardBox* curated some 150 of “the best and most interesting of original Shakespeare-related videos on YouTube, Vimeo and other video hosting sites,” including “animations, parodies, recitations, auditions, promos for theatre productions, amateur records of stage productions, student work, school productions, [and] mashups,” from its launch in May 2008 until its retirement in September 2012. Content such as this participates in the ongoing debate over what constitutes “fair use” in the creation of multimedia remixes, parodies, and mashups, as Hollywood studios zealously police their intellectual property and Actors’ Equity limits the distribution of filmed stage productions. To work around these limitations, a number of projects have partnered with theatre companies and independent filmmakers to make their Shakespeare video content freely available online. For example, the *MIT Global Shakespeares Video & Performance Archive* (directed by Peter S. Donaldson and Alexa Huang, 2010–) has provided streaming videos, in whole or part, of recorded stage and screen Shakespeare performances from around the globe since its launch, alongside essays, interviews, scripts, subtitles for foreign-language productions, and other metadata. The *Internet Shakespeare Editions* has brokered similar partnerships with theatre companies from around the world to contribute multimedia materials to its *Shakespeare in Performance* database. These projects and others like them are making it possible to study and appreciate Shakespeare performance and adaptation as a global phenomenon, extending beyond the commercial Hollywood movies and canonical productions by a select group of professional Anglo-American theatre companies that have dominated performance criticism in the past.

As well as providing a vehicle for the distribution of Shakespeare content, social media and networking platforms also offer a mode of performance in their own right. Co-produced by the Royal Shakespeare Company and Mudlark, *Such Tweet Sorrow* marked the first modernized adaptation of *Romeo and Juliet* performed entirely on Twitter and other social media and networking platforms, in real time, between 10 April and 13 May 2010. Actors brought *Such Tweet Sorrow* to life with their own Twitter profiles – Romeo (@romeo_mo), Juliet (@julietcap16), Mercutio (@mercuteio), Tybalt (@Tybalt_Cap), Friar Laurence (@LaurenceFriar), and Jess, Juliet’s older sister, a non-Shakespearean addition who assumes the role of

Nurse (@Jess_Nurse) – improvising on daily instructions provided to drive the central narrative, responding to current events (such as the London Marathon), and freely interacting with one another as well as with a public audience of Twitter followers. Elsewhere on the Web, Lady Capulet (reimagined as a dietician) updated her blog, “Balanced Adult: Food, Nutrition and Exercise,” while an additional (and uncredited) non-Shakespearean character, Jago Mosca (@jago_klepto), tweeted and blogged an outsider’s perspective as Juliet’s envious and angst-ridden classmate. Exemplifying Jenkins’s notion of “media convergence” (2006: 2), characters “engaged with, and incorporated, the whole gamut of Web 2.0 social [media and] networking platforms, including YouTube, AudioBoo, Yfrog, Twitpics, Tumblr, Spotify, Facebook, [Blogger,] and even Skype” (Calbi 2013: 138).

Such Tweet Sorrow provoked audience participation that far exceeded expectations. Within the first week, the actors’ Twitter feeds had over 30,000 followers, with members of the public tweeting, retweeting, and interacting with the characters. Over the course of the production, fans could also play *Call of Duty* against Romeo on Xbox Live; and audience members posted over 400 images of their own “masks” to the Facebook invitation page for Juliet’s “Sweet Sixteen Masked Ball.” In addition to numerous fan sites and blogs, a public campaign was launched to “save Mercutio” in the lead-up to his death – much to the delight and amazement of the production team, who had not instigated it – followed by a fan-arranged online “wake” for him.

As professional theatre companies continue to explore the possibilities of incorporating social media and networking platforms in performance, Shakespeare has become a focus for online creativity by young users of new media. Leia Yen’s “Hamlet Gone Viral” (2012), published on YouTube as a senior English project to “Create a Modern Interpretation of Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*,” ingeniously adapts the play into a first-person narrative “seen” primarily through the eyes of Hamlet as he negotiates changing personal relationships over Facebook, Twitter, and Gmail; maintains a private journal on Tumblr; visualizes his travels using Google Maps; and reads news stories published on MSN.com and Yahoo! News. Yen’s Hamlet also queries Internet search engines for information, using Google to find out “how to cope with grief and depression” and “ways to make someone feel guilty”; and he submits the question “What do you do if your father’s ghost tells you that your uncle murdered him???” to Ask.com.

Ophelia is another popular Shakespearean candidate for new media adaptation, particularly by girls and young women who, “through their identification with and critique of Shakespeare’s doomed maiden,” are inspired to use Facebook and YouTube to fill the gaps in *Hamlet* imaginatively via creative revision, revivification, and memorialization of her character (Iyengar and Desmet 2012: 59). In their survey of YouTube remediations, Sujata Iyengar and Christy Desmet identify three main categories: “Ophelia Elegies,” which “focus obsessively on Ophelia’s body and poetic signification”; “Ophelia as Tragic Lover,” in which *Hamlet* is rewritten to become “Ophelia’s story”; and “Drowning Ophelia,” which offers “both sentimental and witty reworkings of the death scene available in Shakespeare only through Gertrude’s eulogy” (2012: 68). These new media adaptations “reveal and extend *Hamlet*’s own rhetorical approach to her character,” providing “a more complex biography than Shakespeare could ever have imagined for her,” as Ophelia becomes a “social

paralogue” and “posthuman avatar” with “new adventures [and] new sorrows” (Iyengar and Desmet 2012: 67, 72–73; see also O’Neill 2014: 95–119).

In Shakespeare’s time, the “supreme device of the early modern stage,” providing “audiences access to a character’s motivations and thoughts,” was the soliloquy (O’Neill 2014: 86). At the turn of the twenty-first century, personal video emerged as “the technology of interiority” for Shakespearean performance, exemplified by Michael Almereyda’s *Hamlet* (2000), in which “all but one of Hamlet’s soliloquies [were] framed as video sequences that he has composed” (Rowe 2003: 46). With the capacity to adapt, converge, and manipulate audio, image, text, and video, and through the provision of new communicative forms (comments, posts, and tweets; shares and retweets; social gestures such as “like” and “favourite,” etc.), social media and networking platforms have since overtaken personal video as the technology of interiority. Viewers of Yen’s “Hamlet Gone Viral,” for example, experience the play through Hamlet’s eyes and his computer screen: with music in the background, we watch his exchange with Ophelia in act 3, scene 1 rendered as an email correspondence in which his initial response to her (“I do love you”) is typed, deleted, and rewritten (“I did love you,” and then “I don’t love you”) before, in frustration, he settles on “Go to a nunnery!!!!” and clicks “Send.”

INFINITE SPACE

Shakespeare’s geographies, as Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr suggests, “are at once poetic and historical, archetypal and particular” (2003: 196). Thus, the Venice of *Othello* and *The Merchant of Venice* is simultaneously an historical maritime city-state famed for its political independence and international trade, and a mythical projection of contemporary English anxieties, fears, and desires associated with cosmopolitanism, capitalism, and Catholicism, a mirror reflecting the vices and virtues – real and imagined – of London and England. Shakespearean plays set in the city of London and its surrounds offer even finer geographical detail, “replete with references to streets, buildings, neighbourhoods, wards, parishes, landmarks, and the natural landscape” (Jenstad 2011: 117). Much of the action in Shakespeare’s *Richard III*, for example, takes place in various locations in and around London: Baynard’s Castle, Crosby House/Place, Ely House, Guildhall, St Paul’s Cathedral, the Tower, Westminster, and Whitefriars.

Whereas early modern London audiences were readily familiar with these geographical references, modern readers rely on scholars to explain the historical and cultural significance of such sites. (Modern editions of Shakespeare, even those produced for a British readership, typically gloss all place-names for this reason.) However, local knowledge of early modern London also included an appreciation of its spatial contexts: the proximity of one location to another and their relationships to other built and natural structures; their accessibility by various modes of transport by land or water; and the time taken to traverse these distances. To recover these lost spatial contexts, the *Map of Early Modern London* (MoEML) offers a digital map and gazetteer (based on a high-resolution scan of the Agas woodcut map of London, executed in the 1560s), linked to an encyclopaedia of London people, places, topics, and terms, as well as transcriptions of John Stow’s *Survey of London* and other primary texts rich in London toponyms (see Figure 25.2).

MoEML allows modern readers of *Richard III*, for example, to visualize the movements of the titular character around London, and to piece together the geographical components to his shrewd political manoeuvres and social transgressions. Tudor mythology ensured an “inescapable association of Richard with the Tower” in the early modern English imagination. The site is mentioned more than twenty times in Shakespeare’s play, and “characters orient themselves in physical and symbolic relation to the Tower” (Schwyzer 2013: 153–54). Similarly, the three references to Crosby House/Place in the play, always “in conjunction with the development or fruition of one or another of Richard’s vicious schemes,” suffuse the site with “a sinister significance, like the centre of a spider’s web” (Schwyzer 2013: 155).

Although the vast majority of early modern London theatrical venues no longer exist, many of the sites where they once stood have been positively identified and can still be visited. In 2013, the *Shakespearean London Theatres* (ShaLT) project – a partnership between De Montfort University and the Victoria and Albert Museum – was launched, producing a London walking map; a forty-eight-page colour *Guide to Shakespearean London Theatres*; an interactive website and smart-device app; recorded lectures by leading experts; and short films of performances, all made freely available to download and designed to enable the public “to travel to the modern London locations of these theatres and learn about them” (Egan and Gurr 2013). The ShaLT smart-device app interactively directs users to thirty-seven locations in modern London, including indoor and outdoor professional theatres, inns used for plays, Inns of Court, royal performance venues, churches where actors and theatre personnel are buried, the Revels Office, and Shakespeare’s residences. It provides in-depth information about the sites and their history, as well as visual representations of how they looked, or might have looked, 400 years ago, with images from the vast collections of the V&A complementing the entries (Figure 25.2).

In the absence of surviving material structures, Shakespeare scholars have sought to reconstruct early modern performance spaces digitally, creating 3D scale models



Figure 25.2 Left: Screenshot of the *Map of Early Modern London* Agas map interface. CC-BY-SA Map of Early Modern London. Right: Interface screens for the *Shakespearean London Theatres* smart-device app. CC-BY Shakespearean London Theatres.

with which to explore spatial relationships, simulate staging practices, and experiment with different performance conditions (see Ravelhofer 2002, and articles in Egan 2004). For example, Joanne Tompkins and the team at Ortelia Interactive Spaces (2009–) have built interactive 3D virtual models of the Boar’s Head and Rose playhouses, using archaeological records of the sites’ foundations and the work of theatre historians and architects to ensure that the models are as accurate as possible. Tompkins has recently shown how the Ortelia virtual environment can provide valuable insights into theatre history, with the performance of Christopher Marlowe’s *Doctor Faustus* at the Rose playhouse as a case-study. One “significant revelation” has been the model’s illustration of “just how intimate the Rose was,” and how this intimacy of scale challenges the historical records we have about lighting outdoor theatres (Tompkins 2014: 164). The virtual model similarly allowed Tompkins to experiment with the function and design of a hell-mouth, a large property used to stage Faustus’s climactic damnation (Figure 25.3). Traditionally thought to work in conjunction with a trapdoor, the Ortelia model demonstrates that the limited size of the Rose’s tiring-house and stage suggests that a trapdoor would not accommodate it. Instead, the hell-mouth would be designed to “collapse easily so it wouldn’t occupy too much room backstage,” a mobility requirement that also “would have contributed to its appearance,” rendering it “somewhat ragged after many performances” (Tompkins 2014: 169).

Like Ortelia, the Simulated Environment for Theatre (SET) is another project to create accurate 3D scale models of performance spaces. As a “virtual environment for exploring the relationships between theatrical text and performance” built on the Unity 3D game engine, SET “accommodates visualizations of text, performance, performance records, and annotations in two and three spatial dimensions, as well as in time” (Roberts-Smith *et al.* 2014: 70). As an editorial experiment, Jennifer Roberts-Smith and the SET Project team produced an electronic edition of *Richard III*, taking as its copy-text an excerpt from the anonymous Queen’s Men play *The True Tragedy of Richard the Third* (see Figure 25.3) in which “the gaze” of the user “is directed through the Queen’s Men play to Shakespeare’s by means of the layout of our editorial interface” (Roberts-Smith *et al.* 2014: 72). For Roberts-Smith and her team, the “impotence of linear textual source study” to grant *The True Tragedy* agency as a source or analogue “because its provenance cannot be sequenced” is overcome by the “performance-oriented reimagining of English Renaissance theatre culture” accomplished through the software (Roberts-Smith *et al.* 2014: 74–75). In the spirit of participation that characterizes new media culture, users are invited to “download and play” the edition, to alter the “blocking and text at will,” and to test the team’s findings in a process that “empower[s] users as creators” and “dissolv[es] the researcher–audience binary even more completely than performance can” (Roberts-Smith *et al.* 2014: 75, 78, 91).

While projects such as Ortelia and SET allow users to record blocked simulations, other 3D virtual environments can support real-time Shakespeare performances. On 26 April 1998, Stephen N. Matsuba and Bernie Roehl streamed a live performance of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* over the Internet, using imaginative 3D sets, characters, and props modelled through the Virtual Reality Modelling Language (VRML), with actors providing the voices and puppeteers animating the characters in real time (Matsuba and Roehl 1999: 45). More recently, the Second Life Shakespeare



Figure 25.3 *Top:* Ortelia simulation of *Doctor Faustus* in the Rose playhouse. © Ortelia Interactive Spaces. *Bottom:* SET visualization of *The True Tragedy of Richard the Third*. © SET Project

Company (after February 2010, the Metaverse Shakespeare Company) presented live productions of Shakespeare's plays in the online virtual world of Second Life using a 3D scale model of the Globe Theatre relying on C. Walter Hodges's conjectural reconstruction. Founded in 2007 under the artistic direction of Ina Centaur (the "in-world" avatar of Yosun Chang), the Second Life Shakespeare Company made "live Shakespearean theatre available to anyone anywhere with a computer," and developed "new technology for virtual theatre on Second Life" and "new possibilities in entertainment, culture, and commerce for residents of a diverse, unbounded

geosphere” – all “to make Shakespeare cool again” (Centaur 2009). The Second Life Shakespeare Company mounted live productions of selected scenes from *Hamlet* (act 1, scene 1 in February 2008; act 3, scene 2 in April 2008) and the entire first act of *Twelfth Night* (February 2009). Despite sponsorship campaigns and various efforts to raise funds to meet costs, the company deactivated in October 2009 before dissolving completely in 2011 for lack of funding, with the virtual Globe Theatre deleted from the Second Life servers.

THE [GAME]PLAY’S THE THING

In 2006, a year prior to the inauguration of the Second Life Shakespeare Company, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation awarded Edward Castronova and the Synthetic Worlds Initiative at Indiana University US\$240,000 to develop *Arden: The World of William Shakespeare*, an ambitious, massively multiplayer online role-playing game (MMORPG) set in a 3D virtual world framed by Shakespeare’s *Richard III*. Built as a module extending *Neverwinter Nights* (a popular Dungeons & Dragons game developed by BioWare in 2002), *Arden* allowed players to roam the city of Ilminster, interact with (and complete tasks for) characters from Shakespeare’s plays, or visit the local tavern to gamble at cards with other players. After the first year, the MacArthur Foundation refused to renew its funding, and active development on the game ceased. Incompatibility between the developers’ goals and the expectations of different target audiences was an acute problem. Scholars could appreciate *Arden*’s adaptation of Shakespearean content, but found the gameplay baffling (see e.g., Holland 2009; Osborne 2010). Gamers familiar with MMORPGs could easily navigate through Ilminster, but found the “quests” boring – helping Mistress Quickly mend Falstaff’s torn breeches is hardly the stuff of adventures – and the extensive dialogue tedious (see e.g., Baker 2008). As with the Second Life Globe Theatre, only faint digital traces of the project remain.

The failure of *Arden* points to another problem facing all appropriations of Shakespeare, whether in old media or new: fidelity to the original. “Popular appropriations are controversial,” Douglas Lanier remarks, “because they often extend what counts as ‘Shakespeare’ beyond the limits of where many are willing to go” – that is, towards a Shakespeare “relatively unburdened with worries about historical accuracy, interpretive precision, or faithfulness to the letter of Shakespeare’s scripts” (Lanier 2002: 9). A further complication arises in the case of game adaptations, since there exists an inverse relationship between the level of conformity to Shakespeare’s text and the autonomy granted to players. According to Kurt Squire and Henry Jenkins, simply to “retell Shakespeare via a game” is to “detract from the agency of players who want more open-ended structures and who want to see the outcome emerge from their own choices and actions” (2003: 19–20). At the other end of this spectrum are games with tenuous links to Shakespeare’s text, such as *’Speare*, an arcade-style game loosely based on *Romeo and Juliet*, developed in 2007 by Daniel Fischlin and the Canadian Adaptations of Shakespeare Project. Amidst war between the planets Capulon and Montagor, players of *’Speare* construct a spaceship and shoot their way through an invading army to recover stolen text fragments from Shakespeare’s play, thus restoring peace to the Verona system (Fischlin 2007).

Squire and Jenkins propose a compromise between the two extremes: construct a game that allows players “to explore and have their own adventures in the richly detailed worlds where [Shakespeare’s] stories unfold,” to move beyond a “literal-minded adaptation” that “simply play[s] out the plot[s] with limited roles for player intervention,” offering instead “a deconstruction or interpretation” of the plays (2003: 20). They have been working on just such a game: *Prospero’s Island*, a single-player computer game based on *The Tempest*, developed by the RSC in collaboration with MIT Comparative Media Studies. The “immersive world” of *Prospero’s Island* is “a space of dreams and magic” in which “students are encouraged to decipher symbols, manipulate language, and uncover secrets,” that is, “to perform literary analysis” (2003: 21). For Squire and Jenkins, the “nonlinear, more open-ended medium” of the computer game, “where no two players will have exactly the same experience,” not only exemplifies the ephemeral and dynamic nature of Shakespearean performance, but also invites users to experience the plays more actively (2003: 21). *Prospero’s Island* has been in development since 2003; whether it will ever be released, or if it lives up to such high expectations, remains to be seen.

As one might expect, the most popular Shakespeare game adaptations to date have by design not been educational. Shakespeare Country, a not-for-profit partnership between Stratford and Warwick District Councils and local businesses, commissioned Koko Digital to develop *Romeo: Wherefore Art Thou?* for their website in 2009. In the game, Shakespeare meets the classic *Super Mario Bros.* when players run and jump through ten levels of “Shakespeare Country” as Romeo – collecting roses and “chapters from Shakespeare’s plays” while avoiding wild boars, reanimated skeletons, spikes, pits, vines, and other nasty surprises – finally “rescue[s] Juliet from the balcony” (Koko Digital 2009). With simple but addictive gameplay enticing users



Figure 25.4 *The Typing of the Dead: Overkill*.
© SEGA Corporation

to browse the Shakespeare Country website, *Romeo: Wherefore Art Thou?* marked Shakespeare's first foray into the world of so-called "viral" games. Unsurprisingly, it quickly became an Internet hit, attracting 1 million players world-wide in its first week – a figure that rose to over 22 million ten months later – and international press attention. Another notable example is the Shakespeare downloadable content (DLC) available for *The Typing of the Dead: Overkill* (developed by Modern Dream Ltd and published by SEGA in 2013), a popular horror-slash-comedy PC game in which players shoot marauding zombies by typing words and phrases as they appear on screen with accuracy and speed. The Shakespeare DLC replaces the game's default dictionary with lines randomly drawn from Shakespeare's complete works, often with ironic and grimly amusing results (Figure 25.4). While the arbitrary selection of lines means the game cannot function as an unorthodox reading interface for Shakespeare's works, it may at least familiarize players with his words – and lend a sense of urgency to the process.

IS'T REAL THAT I SEE?

"Not only is our access to Shakespearean drama mediated by digital technology," W.B. Worthen aptly observes, but "our imagination of Shakespearean drama is shaped by the forms and moods of digital culture" (2007: 228). This relationship of mutual influence between Shakespeare and digital new media is exemplified in intermedial theatre, that is, reflexive "inter-exchanges" and "interactions" between "mediatised (digital) and live elements" in performance (Mancewicz 2014: 3). The nature and extent of such interactions vary from production to production, but each shares an element of reflexivity that sets it apart from so-called "multimedial" performances. Whereas new media and digital technologies form "an integral and reflexive part of staging" in twenty-first-century intermedial performances, *multimedial* productions simply employ them in a conventional manner, such as "projections in the background, set apart from the action, with which the actors do not engage in the course of performance" (Mancewicz 2014: 5).

One of the earliest intermedial Shakespeare performances was a production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* mounted at the University of Kent's Lumley Studio Theatre from 29 June to 1 July 2000. Variouslly dubbed *Y2K Dream* or *A Midcy-ber Night's Dream*, the production brought together experts from the University of Kansas's Institute for the Exploration of Virtual Realities and the Kent Interactive Digital Design Studio to develop a "digital scenography" (Reaney 2000). *Y2K Dream* was set in a "computer-based world inhabited and controlled by fairies," with the grove relocated to a "computer chess game"; Titania's bower "constructed in a word processor motif, with words from the play-text wafting as the fronds of an enormous willow tree"; and "an arena where the fighting lovers could battle in the midst of violent computer games" (Reaney 2000: 195, 197–201). In an interview with *The Guardian*, Mark Reaney described how, unlike a "pre-set video" or "special effects in film," the production was "a true live theatrical experience," with "technicians sitting in front of the stage" to control the virtual scenery "in real time" and "react immediately to the actors' movements," a process that "change[d] every night, just as proper live theatre does," with "no performance . . . the same as the next" (Gibbons 2000).

Virtual scenery, “television screens, digital projections and live electronic sound mixing” – as well as the actors interacting with them – are now “regular presences in mainstream theatre productions” of Shakespeare (Purcell 2014: 218), but intermediality may also function on a deeper, structural level. Intermediality, Jürgen Müller reminds us, does not simply mean “the addition of different media concepts, nor the act of placing discrete works in relation to particular forms of media,” but extends to “the integration of aesthetic concepts from different media into a new context” (quoted in Pavis 2003: 49). A pertinent example is Punchdrunk’s theatrical re-creation of the aesthetic idioms of first-person role-playing computer games (RPGs) like *BioShock* and *Skyrim* – immersion in the game-world, narratives driven by exploration and direct interaction – in their *Sleep No More*, a controversial, dialogue-less and non-linear adaptation of *Macbeth* produced in London (2003) and New York (2011). As with other Punchdrunk productions, *Sleep No More* “allows its audiences to wander freely around specially adapted sites,” exploring the claustrophobic world of the fictional McKittrick Hotel set in the 1930s, “encountering actors and installations as they happen to chance upon them” (Purcell 2014: 220). As an “interactive maze that owes more to video games . . . than Shakespeare” (Grant 2011), *Sleep No More*’s immersive, site-specific production marks a “new era of theatre” that is “borrowing conventions from video games, making invigorating performances in which the viewer becomes a player” (McMullan 2014).

SINGLED FORTH TO TRY EXPERIMENTS

Since the 1960s, when Trevor Howard-Hill painstakingly transcribed the First Folio texts on a mainframe computer, the digital world of Shakespeare has exploded in volume and variety through a period of constant experimentation and flux. There are some signs that the pace of change may be slowing: computers are only marginally faster, smaller, and/or lighter in each new model; and operating systems are moving more towards integration than innovation. Nevertheless, challenges remain. Restrictions on rights to the use of multimedia materials mean that there is little opportunity for the development of truly comprehensive performance editions or multimedia critical works (Carson 2006). Moreover, while major publishers have had some success with websites that are funded through a “paywall” subscription model, open-access projects, dependent on grant funding, are continually in danger of losing momentum and becoming subject to “bit rot” as their sites become dated. Yet some websites have been successful through steady maintenance and innovation (e.g., the *Internet Shakespeare Editions*, the *Open Source Shakespeare*, the *Map of Early Modern London*), while other digital experiments have taken advantage more of Shakespeare’s author-function rather than engaging with the works themselves, embracing the evanescence of the medium with no expectation of permanence in what become, in effect, performances.

Acknowledgements

For her astute editorial eye, we wish to thank Jenna Mead. For kindly granting us permission to use their images in this chapter, we wish to thank Peter Drew; Janelle Jenstad (on behalf of the *Map of Early Modern London*); Gabriel Egan (on behalf

of *Shakespearean London Theatres*); Joanne Tompkins (on behalf of Ortelia Interactive Spaces); Jennifer Roberts-Smith (on behalf of the SET Project); Oliver Clarke of Modern Dream Ltd; and Amanda Farr, Stefan McGarry, and Dean Trotman from SEGA Europe Ltd.

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PART V

SHAKESPEARE AND
CRITICAL PRACTICE





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CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

SHAKESPEARE'S TEXTS AND EDITIONS



Eugene Giddens

William Shakespeare's plays and poems have a textual history of almost unrivalled complexity. His works survive in multiple, often contradictory or spurious, editions; and around half of the plays were published after his death in versions possibly altered by the playwright himself, more often by another hand. Shakespeare wrote principally for the theatre, a popular form of entertainment, but one that in the Elizabethan period at least did not readily lend itself to the production of literary texts.

In 1616, the year of Shakespeare's death, Ben Jonson published his *Works*, an elaborate, 1,000-page folio volume of his early plays, poems, and masques. Jonson is traditionally seen as the first public playwright to make literary pretensions for his drama; and he was mocked for issuing "works," a term associated with great classical writers. A contemporary critic asked: "Pray tell me Ben, where doth the mystery lurke, / What others call a play you call a worke?" (*Wits Recreations* 1640: G3v). Playwrights from the period were typically "apologetic for" printed drama (Kastan 2008: 38). Although an early modern reading public certainly bought plays, such texts had an uneasy place in the literary canon.

This culture of devaluing plays in print was reinforced by economic and artistic constraints. An author received minimal payment, or none at all, for publishing a play. Following a Star Chamber decree of 1586, a maximum of 1,250–1,500 copies of a text might be printed at once, each selling for around six pence. In an age when paper was expensive and printing laborious, margins were tight (Taylor 2006: 59–60). Plays therefore occupied the more ephemeral end of the bookselling market, leading usually to a cheap product in terms of raw materials (paper, ink, and wrapping) and production values (proof-reading, correction, errata). Yet Shakespeare grew notoriously rich from being a shareholder in the Lord Chamberlain's and King's Men. The Globe Theatre could accommodate more viewers for a single showing of *Henry V* than the entire print run of a cheap quarto. The economics of playwriting placed the stage far above the page.

There is no compelling evidence that Shakespeare cared to see his plays in print. He clearly sought to have his narrative poems, *Venus and Adonis* (1593) and

Lucrece (1594), published; yet his name is absent from printed plays until 1598, even though by then several had reached print, including *Titus Andronicus* and *The First Part of the Contention* (*Henry VI, part 2*) in 1594. The anonymity of Shakespeare's early play-texts offers a strong contrast to the author-centric production of the poems. Further distancing Shakespeare from his published plays, many early editions have severely truncated texts that could not have come directly from an interested author.

Scholars and readers have been baffled that Shakespeare, the top of the English literary canon, did not seek to publish his works as literature. Contemporary critics, especially Lukas Erne, have therefore argued that Shakespeare in fact wrote for print and that readers keenly bought his plays (Erne 2013a, 2013b). Such arguments usefully correct a sense that print and playhouse were entirely antithetical, but they do not overturn a commanding weight of evidence suggestive of Shakespeare's indifference to publication.

PLAYHOUSE MANUSCRIPTS

Whatever their attitude to print, playwrights were firstly writers, even if they were, like Shakespeare, also actors or theatrical shareholders. There was a necessary trajectory from writer(s) to playhouse (and then possibly beyond). Textual history has therefore separated play manuscripts into three categories: author's "foul papers," theatrical books (promptbooks), and other copies. Foul papers might be rough or polished drafts, but they derive strictly from the author and are untouched by theatrical revision. Recovering such texts has long been the goal of editors seeking the "ideal of an author's fair copy of his work in its final state" (McKerrow 1939: 17–18). Such texts do still exist, at least for some dramatists, but not for Shakespeare. Theatrical texts would include those found in the playhouse, such as the copy licensed by the Master of the Revels (a legal requirement from 1544) or used as the promptbook, the script kept to police stage business. It has long been held that such "theatrical" texts would be relatively error-free to ensure the proper workings of a production. A third category – neither strictly authorial nor promptbook – includes revised or (mis)remembered plays, such as those jotted down by actors or others, so-called "memorial reconstructions," or those stripped down for parochial performance. Any of these texts, as Peter Blayney notes, "that can conceivably have existed could conceivably have found its way into print" (1997: 393).

The play manuscripts behind Shakespeare's printed texts have murky origins. Paul Werstine has attacked attempts to distinguish between authorial and theatrical texts, especially because "theatrical texts need not be [and were not] tidy" (2012: 113). Despite Werstine's good point, defining underlying texts has driven much textual scholarship. The fantasy for Shakespeareans across the centuries has been to uncover a manuscript in Shakespeare's handwriting. Most scholars now agree that one of the hands in *Sir Thomas More*, a play manuscript by six writers that was censored before completion, is Shakespeare's. But unfortunately that hand discloses the same types of errors and inconsistencies often blamed on anonymous scribes or copyists. There is no "fair" copy of Shakespeare, who does not seem to have been particularly careful in his composition practices. As Ben Jonson noted,

Shakespeare's unwillingness to clean up his own work – that “he never blotted out line” – was the problem “wherein he most faulted” (Jonson 2012: 7.521–22). No printed Shakespeare play derives from a perfect authorial manuscript, so it is to printed texts of varying degrees of authority and corruption that we must turn to construct the canon.

SHAKESPEARE QUARTOS

Shakespeare's earliest published plays appeared in quarto (abbreviated Q or 4°), where four pages are printed on each side of a sheet of paper, which, when folded, leads to eight pages of a book around five inches by seven inches in size. The format suits shorter works, and the typical Shakespearean quarto has around seventy to eighty pages, with about thirty-six to thirty-eight lines per page. Fifteen of Shakespeare's plays were in print by 1603, making him the most popular published dramatist of the Elizabethan era. But several of those were “bad quartos,” A.W. Pollard's 1909 term for severely truncated and corrupted texts. The first quartos (Q1s) of 2 *Henry VI* (1594), 3 *Henry VI* (1595), *Romeo and Juliet* (1597), *Henry V* (1600), *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1602), and *Hamlet* (1603) are very different from later versions. Despite attempts to redeem these early versions, not least in Erne's assertion (2013a) that they might have been performance scripts, they remain relatively unread.

These early quartos are certainly short. Q1 *Hamlet* (1603) is just over 18,000 words, whereas Q2 (1604) is over 31,000. Yet cuts alone do not explain all differences. Famously, many of Hamlet's speeches are mangled in Q1, such as: “To be, or not to be, I there's the point, / To Die, to sleepe, is that all? I all” (1603: D4v). *Hamlet* Q1 is probably a memorial reconstruction, and in this passage memory proved shaky. Such reconstruction, however, can offer important clues to staging, such as the old king's ghost entering “*in his night gowne*” (1603: G2v) in the bedchamber scene. The so-called “bad” quartos therefore often contain important theatrical information that is usually included in small measures in modern editions. Further, the loaded terms “bad” and “good” disguise the fact that Shakespeare authorized no play editions, and no printer, even of a good text, invested heavily to ensure a perfect text.

Many Shakespeare quartos name the theatrical company, instead of the author, as the maker of the play. *Titus Andronicus*'s early quartos never mention Shakespeare, for instance, but Q1 (1594) lists three playing companies: “the Earle of Darbie, Earle of Pembroke, and Earle of Sussex their Seruants.” Shakespeare's name was also never added to quartos of *Romeo and Juliet* – one of his most popular tragedies in print (1597, 1599, 1609, 1622) – until the First Folio (1623), yet the changing theatrical companies are given. Shakespeare's name is found on other later quarto editions, however, like Q2 *Richard III* (1598) and 1 *Henry IV* (1599). Q2 1 *Henry IV* has a particularly interesting statement, claiming to be “Newly corrected by W. Shake-speare” (1599); but, as David Scott Kastan notes, “the assertion is a marketing ploy rather than a bibliographic fact” (2002: 111). Q2 is printed from Q1, and Q3–8 all make erroneous claims to being “Newly corrected,” highlighting how publishers' title-pages might be misleading. The inclusion of Shakespeare's name on the second quartos of *Richard III* and 1 *Henry IV* does point

to a wider trend: an extraordinary number of quartos printed from 1598 to 1603 name the playwright. These include *Love's Labour's Lost* (1598), 2 *Henry IV* (1600), *Henry V* (1600), *The Merchant of Venice* (1600), *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1600), *Much Ado About Nothing* (1600), *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1602), and *Hamlet* (1603).

Just because Shakespeare did not, as far as we know, publish his play-texts, does not mean that there was no reading market. Possibly, the Lord Chamberlain's Men were keen to promote their plays around 1600, and publication was considered a vehicle for such marketing. The traditional view – “that print was not the proper medium for plays; most reached the printing house in a fortuitous and often surreptitious manner” (McKenzie 2002: 200) – has been challenged by research suggesting how dramatists and playing companies might market their repertoire through print (Brooks 2000). Yet if Shakespeare's company did this kind of promotion, it was not for long. Following the spurt of activity around 1600, demand for Shakespeare's texts dropped sharply. From 1603 until the First Folio of 1623, only four additional new plays (*King Lear*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Pericles*, and *Othello*) were printed. Spotting patterns in the printed market for Shakespeare's plays is therefore challenging. First published anonymously, then in the middle of his career to obvious demand, new texts by Shakespeare petered out after a brief period of popularity.

No sweeping view can be offered of Shakespeare's early quartos. An individual text's path to a publisher is now obscure, and whether it might have come from authorial papers or a theatrical company is often disputed. Even if a text discloses clear awareness of staging, that awareness could point to author's pen or wider company revision. There are exceptions, such as the first quarto of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (1634), a Shakespeare and John Fletcher collaborative play absent from the First Folio. As this play records actors' names and deploys “predictive” stage directions, giving notes in advance to “make ready” relevant props, it is usually seen as having a direct link to a theatrical promptbook. Such evidence is rare, however, and the history of early Shakespeare publication yields few ready answers.

Eighteen of Shakespeare's plays were printed in his lifetime, evidence which points to a limited interest in publication. Lukas Erne has qualified the sense that Shakespeare's plays were seen as ephemera in the early seventeenth century by giving several examples of early owners and annotators. But the fact remains that play-text quartos were cheap, sold without binding, and have had poor survival rates (as Erne's table of surviving copies shows; 2013a: 188–89). There was no regular trajectory during Shakespeare's career from stage to page, barring a few years around 1600 when several plays were published relatively quickly. As publishers (and, for second printings at least, book-buyers) determined what was printed, this blip was not necessarily occasioned by author or theatre company. Publishers could take any manuscript to the Stationers' Hall and register rights to a text (the equivalent of copyright), whether they had bought it from an author, a playing company, or a thief; and once a play reached the printing house it was produced without Shakespeare being on hand to sort out difficult passages. Such haphazard appearance in print has vexed generations of readers, especially when they compare other early modern playwrights – Ben

Jonson, John Webster, James Shirley – who took more care over publishing their plays. More secure ground, however, is offered by Shakespeare's first major collection of plays, the Folio of 1623.

SHAKESPEARE FOLIOS

John Heminges and Henry Condell, the editors of the First Folio *Mr William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* of 1623, knew Shakespeare well as fellow shareholders in the King's Men. They built upon Jonson's 1616 *Works* to produce a grand textual homage to their colleague. A folio (F) is made up of printed sheets folded once, doubling the page size of a quarto and resulting in a book as large as a modern complete works of Shakespeare, like the Riverside or Norton. Such a large book demanded a strong binding, leading to a total price of around £1, forty times the cost of a play in quarto.

Although Heminges and Condell were perfectly placed to assemble texts towards this enterprise, three major problems inhibited publication: 1) the Folio was expensive to produce; 2) Shakespeare had written considerably more plays than Jonson (thirty-six would eventually appear in the First Folio); and 3) Shakespeare had died in 1616, so the manuscript, print, and theatrical copies of his plays reflected, in many cases, long histories of revision. The first problem was solved by assembling a large conglomerate of bookselling investors. The publishers were printer Isaac Jaggard, William Jaggard (Isaac's father), Edward Blount, William Aspley, and John Smethwick. Joint investment helped spread the costs, including rights to those texts that had previously been published. Printing required two years, tying up resources and ensuring that expenses were incurred long before they might be recovered through sales. As Peter Blayney points out, the publishers were undertaking a substantial risk, as the similar Jonson folio – not published again until 1640 – probably had not yet broken even by 1621: "The publishers of the First Folio therefore had no direct evidence that a collection of English plays in folio *could* make a profit" (Blayney 1996: xxviii). Blayney estimates that around 750 copies were printed, which kept investment down (1996: xxxiii), but also ensured that margins were small, largely consumed by production expenses and buying out previous rights.

Shakespeare's folio might have been inspired by Jonson's, but it contains much more material, leading to densely printed pages. Although the preliminaries and list of actors (which Jonson includes for each play) are generously spaced, the designers of Shakespeare's folio relied upon tight typography and limited white space for the plays themselves, which are set in double columns, as opposed to Jonson's single. Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, for instance, has 132 lines crammed onto each page; Jonson's 1616 folio has around forty-five lines per page. The reading experience of Shakespeare's first collected works is cramped and inconvenient compared to that of most early modern literary folios. Penny-pinching is reflected not merely in design; little effort was put into correcting errors. Charlton Hinman (1963) determined that only around one-sixth of the pages received correction, and hardly any of the corrections resulted from checking the underlying manuscript. Although impressive as

a monument to Shakespeare, the First Folio did not receive the care that Jonson demanded in design or press correction.

Jonson supplied his texts directly to the publisher. Shakespeare, dead for five years when folio printing began, did not bundle his authorial papers, and “the copy supplied for the Folio was extraordinarily diverse in character” (Walker 1958: 7). The texts behind the Folio included “good quartos,” quartos supplemented with manuscript additions, and theatrical manuscripts, some with evidence of scribal intervention. Therefore the Folio plays cannot be placed in one basket: each must be evaluated for its quality and origins separately. *Timon of Athens*, for instance, was included only because the publishers had difficulty obtaining *Troilus and Cressida*, a play that was intended for the *Timon* slot but became available only later in the typesetting process. *Timon* might be considered a “bad” Folio text – unpolished, with confusions over character names, and given to perplexing lines. It does not reflect the consistencies required for a playable text, and it shows signs of hasty or incomplete revision, including the hand of another playwright, Thomas Middleton. In contrast, *The Tempest* derives from a theatre copy sophisticated by Ralph Crane, the King’s Men’s scribe during the 1620s. Crane added literary details to stage directions, as in “*with a quient deuice the Banquet vanishes*” (1623: B1): “a quaint device” is a report of the action, not a direction for it. Spanning such extremes, from corrupt foul papers to revised promptbooks, the eighteen plays that were printed for the first time in the Folio form an inconsistent collection.

The eighteen Folio plays that had appeared earlier in quarto editions are usually reprinted from those quartos, sometimes fairly closely. But the Folio sometimes adds theatrical information when reprinting quartos, as in the banquet scene of *Titus Andronicus* or at numerous smaller points in *Richard II*. It also censors blasphemous interjections, following a 1606 Act to prevent “Abuses of Players.” The Folio editors took inconsistent approaches to revising previous quarto texts. Sonia Massai has shown that texts such as *Romeo and Juliet* or *Love’s Labour’s Lost* received mild revisions, whereas 1 *Henry IV*, for instance, was altered more extensively. For *Much Ado About Nothing*, she finds an “annotating reader who was familiar with the play in performance” (Massai 2007: 157) and therefore willing to detail stage action. Sometimes the Folio text radically differs from available quartos. For instance, each of *Hamlet*’s surviving texts (Q1, Q2, and F) varies considerably from the others. Although Heminges and Condell famously claimed in their preface to the First Folio that previous quartos were “surreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of injurious impostors,” many of the texts in the Folio are derivative or themselves “deformed” (1623: A3r). The Folio is a fine monument to Shakespeare, assembled by his friends, but it does not have the final word on textual authority. Those pursuing the idea of fair authorial copy have long placed the quartos above the Folio as providing access to Shakespeare unaffected by theatrical alterations.

The reprinting of the Shakespeare Folio in 1632, the Second Folio, attests to strong sales of the 1623 edition. Shakespeare’s Second Folio has no independent bibliographical authority: it does not derive from new manuscripts or lost texts. It does, however, disclose the work of an “editor” or correcting hand who tried to fix mistakes. Edmond Malone is unfair in describing “the numerous misrepresentations

and interpolations by which every page of that copy is disfigured” (1790: 1.xviii). All early printed books were subject to such mistakes, and the Second Folio made emendations of lasting value to the editorial tradition, while also introducing new errors. It is difficult to overstate how similar F1 and F2 are, however, with F2 usually replicating incidental details (including punctuation and spacing) line for line. In terms of format, the Second Folio closely mimics the First, adding a prefatory poem by John Milton. It was printed on paper fine enough to be admonished by the famous anti-theatricalist William Prynne:

Some Play-books . . . are growne from Quarto into Folio; which yet beare so good a price and sale, that I cannot but with grieve relate it, they are now new-printed in farre better paper than most Octavo or Quarto Bibles, which hardly finde such vent as they.

(Prynne 1633: xx6v)

The Third Folio of 1663/64 introduced a major change by including a release of seven “new” Shakespeare plays. Only one of these, *Pericles*, is now widely considered to be by Shakespeare. The Fourth Folio (1685) continued to include these plays and is derivative from the Third. Interestingly, the Fourth Folio is not a line-for-line reprint. The publishers and printers achieved savings by introducing greater compression, so that *The Tempest*, which had required nineteen pages in F1-3, is reduced to seventeen pages in F4.

Each new seventeenth-century folio, while benefiting here and there from conjecture, moves farther from the source-texts in small ways. Some of Prospero’s closing words in *The Tempest* illustrate the slight nature of the changes.

First Folio:

I’le bring you to your ship, and so to *Naples*,
Where I haue hope to see the nuptial
Of these our deere-belou’d, solemnized,
And thence retire me to my *Millaine*, where
Euery third thought shall be my graue. (1623: B4)

Second Folio:

Ile bring you to your ship, and so to *Naples*,
Where I have hope to see the Nuptials
Of these our deare-belov’d, solemnized,
And thence retire me to my *Millaine*, where
Every third thought shall be my grave. (1632: B4)

Third Folio:

Ile bring you to your ship, and so to *Naples*.
Where I have hope to see the Nuptials
Of these our dear-belov’d, solemnized,
And thence retire me to my *Millain*, where
Every third thought shall be my grave. (1663: B4)

Fourth Folio:

I'll bring you to your Ship; and so to *Naples*:
Where I have hope to see the Nuptials
Of these our dear-belov'd, solemnized;
And thence retire me to my *Millain*, where
Every third thought shall be my grave. (1685: B3)

F2 makes the “nuptial” plural and capitalized, while modernizing “u” as “v.” F3 changes only the spelling of “Millaine.” F4 deploys stronger punctuation. Interestingly, “I'll” flip-flops in spelling, showing that compositors had their own personal preferences that might override the underlying copy. These minor shifts exemplify how intertwined the folios are in most passages. It is only in the eighteenth century that more radical changes begin to take place.

EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

Eighteenth-century Shakespeare is characterized by celebrity editing and conjecture. The massive folios of the seventeenth century became multivolume octavo and quarto sets, often with illustrations, a typical format for Shakespeare until well into the nineteenth century. The editing of Shakespeare's texts became especially concerned to recover “genius” from the hands of incompetent or “surreptitious” printers. A desire to return to an original Shakespeare, a state that is both partially recoverable and irrevocably lost, haunted textual scholarship and was characteristic of Shakespeare's eighteenth-century editors. Editing in this period was also deeply acrimonious. Samuel Johnson decried the combative mode of commentary in his era, where “The chief desire of him that comments an authour, is to shew how much other commentators have corrupted and obscured him” (1765: Preface).

Despite this competitive context, eighteenth-century editors steadily built upon each other's work, consulting previous editions to formulate their texts. As Johnson says of Nicholas Rowe, Shakespeare's first named editor: “He collated the old copies, which none had thought to examine before, and restored many lines to their integrity” (1765: Preface). Johnson is probably too generous. Andrew Murphy notes that Rowe “based his edition on the text of the Fourth Folio, occasionally making reference to other texts” (2003: 61). Rowe's 1709 edition did introduce strict act and scene divisions, which were not usually present in Shakespeare's original texts. Also innovative were Rowe's cast lists, now deemed essential for the modern reader.

Following Rowe's, Alexander Pope's 1725 edition, *The works of Shakespear*, became chiefly known for his heavy-handed regularization of verse and cuts to lines he regarded as inferior. Lewis Theobald's *Shakespeare Restored: Or, a Specimen of the Many Errors, as Well Committed, as Unamended, by Mr. Pope* (1726) lambastes a catalogue of Pope's alterations. Theobald's subsequent edition, *The Works of Shakespeare* (1733), was the first to reject more fanciful emendation in favour of collating early editions and offering less radical conjectures. In the editing of *Hamlet*, for instance, Theobald highlights lines omitted by Pope, who relied solely upon F1. Hamlet and Ophelia's exchange – “*Haml.* I mean, my Head upon your Lap? *Ophel.* Ay,

my Lord" – is restored, even though "the Poet deserved Whipping for low and indecent Ribaldry" (Theobald 1726: 86–87). In fact, Theobald had limited access to early *Hamlets*, as Marcus Walsh points out (1997: 138), and used Pope as his base text. Nonetheless, his (partial) collation of early as well as later editions became a defining feature of critical Shakespeare editions.

Johnson's *Plays of William Shakespeare* of 1765 marks a more genial turn in editing. Johnson's edition is based on the First Folio, yet thoroughly modernizes punctuation. His notes prominently credit the ideas of others in capital letters, and he prints the prefaces of his principal predecessors, creating a variorum of existing commentary. Edward Capell's edition (1768) was importantly the first to base textual decisions on the earliest copies (Murphy 2003: 86). Edmond Malone continued the trend of reaching back to the original texts, noting that: "it is obvious . . . that the first edition of each play is alone of any authority, and accordingly to no other have I paid any attention" (1790: xviii). Thus, by the end of the eighteenth century, the habit of editing from the most convenient recent edition was roundly discredited.

In the eighteenth century, Shakespeare editing also began to take a more international turn. Although rough versions of Shakespeare had appeared in German translation in *Englische Comedien und Tragedien* (1620), it was not until the mid-eighteenth century that line-for-line versions were attempted. In 1776–83 Pierre le Tourneur produced a translation into French, and in 1762–82 Christoph Martin Wieland and Johann Joachim Eschenburg constructed a contemporaneous German Shakespeare. Given that Shakespeare's English is perplexing to the native speaker, translation can be a difficult enterprise. Although these translations are now historical curiosities and have been superseded, they mark an important turn towards global Shakespeare, who "simply would not enjoy his current worldwide status if he had not been available in so many translations" (Hoenselaars 2012: 742). More famous and lasting translations include August Wilhelm von Schlegel and Ludwig Tieck's into German in 1833. It becomes integrated into the German canon, part of an international culture whereby "translations of Shakespeare . . . were so closely assimilated by a national literature that they became indissociable from it" (Homem 2004: 4). At around the same time the first American-printed editions appeared in Philadelphia in 1795 and Boston in 1802 (Murphy 2003: 145–47). These translations and global editions highlight how Shakespeare became an international author in the nineteenth century.

In Britain, Malone's edition was revised by James Boswell junior in 1821, and its "text became a staple of the nineteenth-century reprint trade" (Murphy 2003: 99). Another cornerstone text was the 1813 Johnson edition revised by George Steevens and then by Isaac Reed. Many new editions simply copied previous ones, and therefore had no independent authority. While texts became increasingly derivative, and relatively labour-free, technological changes also made books cheaper, leading to a widening market of Shakespeare accessible to those other than "gentlemen." Thomas and Henrietta Bowdler's 1807 *The Family Shakespeare* was reprinted and expanded many times in the century. The Bowdlers' aim was simple: "to render his plays unsullied by any scene, by any speech, or if possible, by any word that can give pain to the most chaste, or offence to the most religious" (1823: xvi). In the same year (1807) Charles and Mary Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare* reduced twenty plays,

mostly comedies and tragedies, to short prose narratives suitable for children. Censorship continued to affect school Shakespeare until at least the end of the twentieth century (Andreas 1991). Even translators of Shakespeare participated in this trend: François-Victor Hugo's famous and long-standing French translation (1859–66) removes bawdy passages.

The market for household Shakespeare also experienced a rise in illustration, gift, and novelty books, with lavish editions taking shelf space alongside family Bibles. Charles Knight's "Pictorial Edition" (1838–41) included hundreds of illustrations and was reprinted several times in Britain and America. The growth in nationalized education and libraries, together with a reading public eager for self-improvement, generated editions to suit every age and budget. One-shilling complete works began to appear in 1866 from publisher John Dicks. At this price, Shakespeare was available to everyone, and 700,000 copies were sold over the next three or four years (Brown 1965: 19). More luxurious or speciality editions also emerged. Extravagant texts were produced by the likes of William Morris's Kelmscott Press, which issued a limited 500 copies of Shakespeare's *Poems* in 1893, recalling the small print runs of the seventeenth century. Miniature editions (three by two inches or less), often in wooden cases, were popular, such as William Pickering's of 1825 or Frederick Warne's of 1888. These were more show-pieces than reading materials.

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries witnessed a flood of Shakespeare editions, from those available only to the very wealthy to those found in modest homes. The period also exercised great editorial freedom: from the relatively conservative derivative texts of the seventeenth century emerged a willingness to alter Shakespeare for artistic or moral reasons. This freedom often led to a Shakespeare startlingly different from the original texts; yet many of the period's innovations (rigid act and scene divisions, scholarly annotations, *dramatis personae*) continue to influence how Shakespeare is read today.

THE NEW BIBLIOGRAPHY AND MODERN EDITING

The nineteenth century also opened up the possibility of photographic facsimiles of Shakespeare's originals. J. Payne Collier's 1858 facsimile of Q1 *Hamlet*, rediscovered at the beginning of the twentieth century, offered global scholars and editors the opportunity to encounter an exceedingly rare original text. The Royal Ordnance Survey's facsimile of the First Folio in 1862 reminded editors of the most important starting-point for Shakespeare editing, removing any excuse for simply copying the texts of others. The nearly contemporaneous Cambridge edition (1863–66) and its single-volume derivative Globe Edition (1864) shared this goal to base Shakespeare on the authoritative texts, "providing the standard for Shakespeare editions through most of the twentieth century" (Gabler 2013: 87).

In the twentieth century, a rigorous turn to Shakespeare's originals became known as the "New Bibliography," a methodology led by R.B. McKerrow, W.W. Greg, A.W. Pollard, and others who sought to recover Shakespeare by examining early texts and the possible reasons behind alteration or corruption. The new bibliographers invented many of the analytical techniques used today, like studying compositors, paper, and the material conditions that might affect a book's text

(Werstine 2009). Some of their beliefs about recovering authorial originals were misguided, but their investigations of the early texts significantly changed the nature of Shakespearean editing. Through centuries of modernization, Shakespeare editions had become distant from the early printings. Practitioners of the new bibliography founded the Malone Society in 1905 to reverse this trend by disseminating more accurate originals.

One of the implications of this movement was the rise of old-spelling editions. Choosing between old-spelling and modernization continues to be a contentious issue in Renaissance textual scholarship. Most editors see modernization as essential for students, pointing out that surviving spelling and punctuation merely reflect scribal or compositor choices (Wells 1984). Old-spelling editions have therefore been rare. The Oxford *Original-Spelling Edition* (Wells and Taylor 1986b) took much flak from reviewers (Bevington 1987), was exorbitantly costly, and is now out of print. We shall probably have to wait some time before a major publisher backs another critical old-spelling Shakespeare. Another consequence of the influence of the new bibliography was that even student editions had to include textual apparatus and a rationale, creating a hybrid of easy (modernized) yet difficult (textually annotated) Shakespeare. Arthur Brown attacked such strange assemblies in 1956:

Any attempt to pour the dry wine of bibliography down [an undergraduate's] throat will only succeed in choking him, and any attempt to weaken the draught by watering it down will only give him a totally false impression of his capacity to absorb the stuff.

(Brown 1956: 18)

Since the mid-twentieth century, scholarly apparatus has grown astonishingly detailed, with monograph-length introductions and thousands of scholarly notes. For instance, the introduction to Suzanne Gossett's 2004 Arden *Pericles* runs to 163 pages. The first ten lines of *The Tempest* in Orgel's Oxford edition of 1987 receives 276 words of commentary, while twelve years later Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan's 1999 Arden edition provides 637 words explaining the same passage. Although such tallies reflect the proclivities of individual editors, they are also indicative of the policies of the respective series and of commentary "creep," whereby successive editions extend the critical notes of their predecessors. More striking is the variance in what exactly editors choose to gloss, reflecting how little research has been done into which words or phrases students find confusing (Giddens 2011b: 284–90).

Readers therefore encounter different levels of detail and topics for consideration depending upon their choice of edition. One consistent trend is a move away from textual analysis (arguments about the nature of the copy-text or source for the edition) and towards theatre history. Wells and Taylor's Oxford edition (1986a) sought to recapture the plays as they were performed, an aim which in many cases meant using the First Folio as their copy-text. Although there had been theatre editions since at least the Restoration, Wells and Taylor's case led to a new emphasis upon performance in mainstream critical editions. Peter Holland's Arden Shakespeare *Coriolanus* (2013) places theatre history at the centre of the edition,

for instance, and Cambridge University Press's "Shakespeare in Production" series allows performance to shape commentary.

More surprising variability comes in the text itself. Shakespeare is never just Shakespeare. Given that an editor might legitimately choose between a number of source-texts (Q2 or F *Hamlet* or *Romeo and Juliet*) or conflate several; that there are no recognized rules for punctuating Renaissance run-on sentences (long sentences or short? exclamation points or question marks?); that a particular passage may have different conjectured readings (is the famous crux of *The Tempest* "wife" or "wise"? – Orgel 1987: 4.1.123); and that many stage directions must be added (but what? and where?), it is rare for passages in two different editions to be the same. A reader of G.R. Hibbard's *Hamlet* (1987), based upon F1, will find: "*Enter the Ghost in his night-gown*" (3.4.95SD). Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor's 2006 *Hamlet* in volume one of the Arden edition (based upon Q2) has just "*Enter GHOST*" (3.4.99SD). Critical editions collate such differences – in the tiny text at the bottom or back of the edition – but such collation is notoriously cryptic and easy to miss. As publishers rush to finish highly marketable texts, editions also emerge that are inconsistent and, sometimes, contain major mistakes, as Eric Rasmussen's long series of reviews for *Shakespeare Survey* has shown.

The immaculate Shakespeare sought by the new bibliographers is irrecoverable. G. Thomas Tanselle points to an increasing "disaffection with critical editing as a supposedly authoritarian imposition of stasis on inherently unstable material" (1994: 4). Such disappointment gives rise to advocates of the "unediting" of Shakespeare, a term used by Leah Marcus (1996, following Randall McLeod) to describe a return to unmediated originals. McLeod (aka Random Cloud) noted in 1990 that "photography has killed editing. Period. (*Someone* has to tell the editors)" (72). That statement did not immediately prove true, but unediting nonetheless has been a growing trend, with two different outcomes. One comes in multi-text editing, a growing response to the impossibility of locating authority for plays with two or three originals. Wells and Taylor's *Oxford Shakespeare* broke new ground here in printing both Q1 and F1 *King Lear*. They were followed by Paul Bertram and Bernice W. Kliman's *Three-Text Hamlet* (1991), a strategy replicated by Thompson and Taylor's Arden edition (2006). These editions challenge students to juggle multiple source-texts, pushing aside the new bibliographers' insistence on finding fair authorial copy and instead validating the authority of revising authors, performers, scribes, and printers. Challenges to this approach note the impossibility of ascribing authority to texts that are themselves not originals: "There never has been, and never can be, an unedited Shakespearean text. Textual criticism and post-structuralism agree therefore: we have no originals, only copies" (Goldberg 1986: 213–14). T.H. Howard-Hill argues that:

Modern editions are consulted most often by readers who require access to a received or acceptable text, who are not competent to assay its editor's textual arguments, and who have no time or desire to sort through the complexities of conflicting original textual witnesses.

(Howard-Hill 1998: 61)

Marcus herself identified this challenge to unediting: "*Ars longa, vita brevis*: there is only so much primary textual investigation that any given scholar can be expected

to accomplish" (1996: 4). That point becomes magnified when student reading lists are considered: is it better for an undergraduate to examine the three texts of *Hamlet*, or *Hamlet*, *Twelfth Night*, and *Henry V* in modernized editions?

A second possibility for unediting emerges in digital media, which allow quick on-screen comparisons without flipping back and forth between physical texts (a particular challenge in the Arden *Hamlet*, as Q1 and F share a volume). Yet despite the ubiquity of the Internet, there is as yet no complete *critical* edition of Shakespeare online (Giddens 2011a). Brett D. Hirsch (2013) has supplied a list, updated by the Folger Shakespeare Library, of available digital editions of Renaissance drama. For Shakespeare, all of these are either incomplete or subscription-based, or both. More successful have been attempts to display older texts of Shakespeare, either original quartos and folios or nineteenth-century editions, stripped of notes or textual apparatus. The outstanding "Shakespeare Quartos Archive" (<http://www.quartos.org>) includes facsimiles of the early quartos. "Open Source Shakespeare" (<http://www.opensourceshakespeare.org>), by comparison, digitizes the 1864 Globe edition. Unfortunately, those interested in digital Shakespeare have to make do with such popular yet "good-enough" editions, as Katherine Rowe puts it (2014: 144), as if the new bibliography had never happened. The Readdle App "Shakespeare," with a text of mysterious origins, had reached one million downloads in 2010. Such free digital editions are replacing the printed texts over which editors carefully labour, so that "The Shakespeare textbook industry has collapsed" (Rowe 2014: 145). "Unediting" has therefore been forced upon us by the popularity of out-of-copyright Internet Shakespeare. Students have unrivalled access to free online editions, so rarely will ten students in a classroom make use of the same text, unless that is explicitly demanded by the instructor. Acts of collating variant versions, a process slow to emerge at the end of the eighteenth century, are now an everyday pedagogic experience.

There are positive signs of better things to come. More advanced functionality for a limited number of plays can be found in the Folger Luminary Shakespeare iPad App, which includes commentary from actors and academics. Peter Holland (2014) has shown that digital materials are changing the ways scholars interested in performance collaborate and think about Shakespeare. The *Internet Shakespeare Editions* have been going since 1996 and promise the kinds of critical materials one might find in a printed scholarly text – in fact Broadview Press is printing these digital-first editions; and the MLA's Electronic New Variorum Shakespeare project has been ongoing since 1996. But good scholarship is becoming a niche market, much as it was in print in the nineteenth century. Gone are the days when scholars' and readers' Shakespeare were conflated into one high-quality (and high-profit) endeavour. Shakespeare's texts have come full circle. They started as having little economic value as books, and to that status they have returned.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

SHAKESPEAREAN ARCHIVES

Context, categories, and the
containment of chaos

—♦—

Christie Carson

Archives of Shakespeare's text and performance have been greatly enhanced by the advent of digital technology. The resources I helped to create – the Cambridge CD-ROM: *Text and Performance Archive for King Lear* (Carson and Bratton 2000) and *Designing Shakespeare: An Audio Visual Archive, 1960–2000* (Carson 2003) – were guided by the desire to make archival material, which previously was constricted and constrained by libraries and theatre companies, more widely accessible for scholars and students. But, as the Internet has become increasingly pervasive and commercial, the pioneering and possibly naïve spirit of this early work has been superseded by large commercial ventures guided by the desire to commodify content, the result of which has been the closing off of open access. In one sense archiving has never been more prevalent or easy, given the uploading possibilities of Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, and so on. But the question remains, is this proliferation of “stuff” online the same as an archive? In terms of online availability of information more generally, there seems to be a pull in two opposite directions. The first is towards an automated full-text search model, moderated by algorithms that track popularity (the principle behind the ranking of the Google search engine is number of links to other sites). At the other end of the spectrum is the scholarly digital archive which is carefully described through metadata that give each object context as well as authority.

These two approaches to online data, the first assuming that no context is required and the second assuming that context is essential, have been drawn together by commercial interests in an attempt to create online convergence – so-called “Big Data.” The trouble with this commercial approach to creating a giant digital database is that it takes its models from the merging of companies that focus on drawing systems together to create something new. They do not look to the models long established by archivists and librarians which focus on the creation of standards of description (metadata) capable of bringing together a range of different data sets in a relational way. My work in the past has focused on drawing attention to the processes at work in the creation of archives, and I have encouraged other scholars to follow suit. I want to question here whether the processes we describe are now too far advanced to alter.

In 2005, in an article entitled “Digitising Performance History: Where Do We Go from Here?,” I was already writing:

Few, apart from Orwell enthusiasts, would have thought even ten years ago of archiving as a political act. Now that so many large and influential players are involved, constructing the past has become one of the key means of taking control of the future. As a result, I suggest that performance scholars risk giving the game away if they do not take an interest in how their work can and will influence the future through providing structured access to the past.

(Carson 2005: 5)

Since then the situation has only become worse. The parallel between the industrialization of production and distribution of cultural and intellectual products and the demise of the manufacturing industry of the 1970s is beautifully satirized in Sharon O’Dair’s chapter “All’s Well That Ends Orwell” in the book I co-edited, *Shakespeare and the Digital World* (Carson and Kirwan 2014). Thankfully, O’Dair does not leave me alone in feeling responsible; she writes: “We have slighted art and the literary, allowing others, including, at last, the mignons of neoliberalism and the digital, to slight them too” (2014: 123). As a mignon of the digital I feel suitably chastened and want to do my part to make amends. However, I must own and speak for my two roles in this environment, first as a theorist and second as a practitioner – roles which at times are at odds.

“I DO PERCEIVE HERE A DIVIDED DUTY”
(*OTHELLO*, 1.3.180)

The large theatre, ballet, and opera companies are all increasingly attracting international audiences through the broadcast of their productions online and in cinemas. This development appears at first to be a widening of participation in these art-forms; but imagine a digital world of the near future that, like Google Books, determines the parameters of what is available culturally. In the context of this discussion, think about how these productions would represent the current period of performance if they became the key route to archive creation. To tackle the complexity of the issues that have been raised by the sudden availability of a wealth of research material online, scholarly journals began to develop special issues to draw together expertise in the wide range of fields on which this area touches. *Performance Research* produced a special edition “on Shakespeare” edited by Peter Holland and William Sherman in 2005 (10.3). *Shakespeare Quarterly* (61.3) and, in particular, *Shakespeare Bulletin* (28.1), with its special edition edited by Carol Rutter, followed suit. All of this work intersected in interesting ways with the theory that was being published on the coming together of Shakespeare, editing, and Digital Humanities, including *Shakespeare Survey* 59, “Editing Shakespeare,” in 2006, and *Shakespeare* 4.3, the journal of the British Shakespeare Association, in 2008. It culminated in the volume I co-edited with Peter Kirwan in 2014, *Shakespeare and the Digital World: Redefining Scholarship and Practice*. The aim of this chapter is to draw together the strands of this ongoing debate with my own thoughts about, and experience in, this field.

In the digital environment, marketing and commercialization appear to have invaded every aspect of our lives. Yet the new watchwords in the social-networking world, *creativity* and *community*, seem to spring directly out of the theatre and the university environment. Despite the fact that many of the new services available offer some of the resources for which I myself was previously calling, there remains an essential role for theory to critique what is being lost, as well as gained, as the cultural landscape changes beyond what any of us could have anticipated just a few short years ago. Archiving has become a hot but contested topic in theoretical circles, so I shall begin by briefly mapping the existing debate, including my own former thoughts on the subject. In 2005 I observed:

Digital Technology has made it possible to document the movements of every actor in each rehearsal and performance of every production of Shakespeare created for the stage (the street, the church hall or the school auditorium, for that matter). But the question arises does the fact that it is possible make it a desirable thing to do?

(Carson 2005: 4)

By 2010 the debate had moved on from asking what *should* be archived to *how* it should be collected, maintained, and interpreted, particularly in terms of the involvement of our subjects of study – theatre practitioners. Peter Holland, in the special edition of *Shakespeare Bulletin*, writes about “the creation of the archive as art-work” (9) and discusses “the performativity of the archive itself” (10). But if the archive is a performance, who are its creators and who forms its audience? Once commercial concerns enter the field, such questions become complicated. In the same special issue, Bridget Escolme highlights the problems arising when archives deal with living subjects:

How does the scholar write a critique of the meanings produced by the living subject, who is part of an industry, the economic uncertainty and sensitivities of which might lead him or her to read intended scholarly neutrality as a Bad Review?

(Escolme 2010: 78)

She goes on to discuss the “delicate ethical obligations” of the scholar working with actors, and she highlights the scholar’s “obligations” as well as “the anxieties and uncertainties that still sometimes underpin the relationship between the theatre and the academy” (Escolme 2010: 78). Escolme critiques the approach of other performance scholars working with actors, and theorizes about what it means to be “good” within this realm. Like me, she has struggled with how it is possible to be both a good scholar and a good “critical friend” to actors and theatre companies. She writes:

I will end with a return to the Globe archives of actor testimonies and make some suggestions about how we might create and use archives, in ways that feel Good – ethical and compassionate – whilst still permitting rigorous critique of objects of study which are also human subjects.

(Escolme 2010: 79)

While I would like to be “good” to both colleagues and the creative artists with whom I have had the pleasure to work, I would also like to be a good scholar of a slightly different kind. My dual allegiance nationally, as a British-Canadian, but also my interdisciplinary background, as deeply embedded in drama as well as in English, make my navigation of these waters tricky. The loyalty I feel to mentors and colleagues who theorize in this area is tested when their ideas contradict my own practical experience.

Throughout the *Shakespeare Bulletin* issue, the contributors debate and critique Derrida’s famous work *Archive Fever* and Carolyn Steedman’s *Dust*, but I am inclined to agree with Kate Dorney, who writes: “the nub of it is this: Derrida never worked in an archive” (35). In her article “The Ordering of Things: Allure, Access, and Archives,” Dorney poses the question that I would like to attempt to answer here:

Theatre historians have always been happy to accommodate the opinions and anecdotes of theatre workers in the shaping of their histories – as Tom Postlewait and Jacky Bratton have shown, negotiating a way through those murky waters. So I end by asking: isn’t it time someone did the same for the archive and its workers?

(Dorney 2010: 35)

This statement encapsulates both my challenge and my divided loyalty. Bratton trained me in the tradition of theatre history Dorney describes; and I have worked with many of the literary scholars coming out of the Shakespeare Institute, including its former director Peter Holland. Nevertheless, it was the work I did in compiling the Cambridge CD-ROM: *Text and Performance Archive for King Lear* and *Designing Shakespeare* which gave me practical training in the fields of digital editing and performance archiving online. It is therefore like Dorney, as a practitioner of archiving, but also, like Escolme, as an interviewer and compiler of the testimonies of theatre practitioners, that I approach the implications of the current chaotic and contested online environment for the future of the archive and the future of research in this field.

As Dorney points out, “[a]rchives are created rather than born”; it is the archivists who are responsible for “[m]aking decisions about hierarchies, separating material, assessing material”; and, as with other forms of practice-based research, “it is hard to ignore our agency in the creation process” (2010: 23). But there is also a clear code of conduct, of ethics and of regulations that must be considered in this field, as Dorney outlines: “Repositories are equally mindful of the role the state plays in regulating the use of archival material via instruments like copyright, Freedom of Information and Data Protection” (23). It is this part of the bargain which seems to have been lost in the rush towards digitization of everything. The free flow of information online is a fact of life for my students, many of whom cannot conceive of restrictions being placed on use of this material as anything but a breach of their civil liberties. While I am very keen to provide access to information of all kinds, it is important to remember why restrictions exist. Again, I refer to Dorney’s description of the practical realities of the world of archiving:

We are obliged to scrutinize all recent documents (i.e., anything less than 100 years old) for information that might, to name a few of the more pertinent things: compromise national security or commercial viability, disclose sensitive personal data about a living individual or cause distress to their descendants after their death, or be prejudicial to the conduct of public affairs.

(Dorney 2010: 24)

These are all real concerns which in the online world are dealt with by commercial companies through payment walls and long and unreadable terms and conditions. In the open online world of YouTube, Facebook, and Instagram, however, personal details and experiences are given away freely by the users of these systems in exchange for access. These environments seem to give access to the practices of archiving for the individual user, but they ignore the responsibilities that professional archivists hold dear. The freedom of individuals to post images, videos, and descriptions of their own lives has quickly caused an explosion of the infringements of the rights of others who are bit players in these personal testimonials online. Where do the freedoms of one individual end and the rights of another begin? Who is safeguarding the long-term preservation and reuse of online material?

Dorney is very clear about her own role at the time at the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) as contemporary and modern curator: “I have the responsibility for the acquisition, care and research development of all aspects of performance – with the exception of dance – from 1945 to the present, across all object types” (2010: 26). As she puts it, she is primarily responsible for the “*stuff* of performance” (22). She likens what she does to the work of the librarian:

In some respects, the idea of primarily being a facilitator of access to material is a new model of curatorship, and one that is closer to the traditional role of the librarian or archivist where knowledge about systems of information storage and retrieval take priority over subject knowledge.

(Dorney 2010: 26)

The idea of the “facilitator” has been floated in pedagogic circles for quite some time. Writing in 2008 in the journal *Shakespeare*, I pointed out how the online world has helped blur the boundaries of established areas of expertise:

The position of the contemporary performance critic has for a long time seemed to be that of the chronicler. The critic could help to highlight a particular area of work or working practice, but the influence that we could have on performance practice was limited. [. . .] The movement of the theatre into the world of higher education has shifted the attitude towards the work of the critic and teacher in this field, given our experience of creating interactive educational dialogues.

(Carson 2008: 264)

Not surprisingly, my optimistic moment of theorizing has been superseded by experiences with publishers and theatre companies. My interactions have been, in my own words, “much more mundane and also a little uglier [than expected] as

traditional power relations and prejudices have slowly been reconfirmed in this new environment” (Carson 2005: 4). It is hard to know whether to laugh or cry in the face of so much fundamental change that has gone almost unnoticed by a new generation who cannot understand the lifelong struggles of so many professions that have been whipped into chaos in the online world. Dorney approaches the problem with humour:

We often joke that an alluring archive would be one that was re-housed, catalogued and sitting neatly on the shelves ready and waiting to be accessed. (If it was especially alluring, it would have performed all these functions by itself, without any help from the rest of us.)

(Dorney 2010: 23)

Whereas Dorney speaks in jest, I want to look at some examples of archives that have tried to achieve just this sort of allure to show how overwhelming the problems of the future of the archive really are.

THE LITTLE ARCHIVE THAT COULD (OR COULDN'T)

Three short examples of the way that archives are currently being compiled in line with Kate Dorney's jest will illustrate how difficult it is currently to conceive of a way forward that will preserve the skills and knowledge that have supported archives over the last century. She writes:

The archive is also an increasingly contested space in terms of its ability to be all things to all people: a space for scholars to pursue “serious” research; a place for the general public to find out more about their own personal history or a favourite topic; a place of access and education; but also a place in which things are guarded and kept safe, both from the ravages of time and rough treatment.

(Dorney 2010: 19)

Given that the universities are also being asked “to be all things to all people,” it is increasingly difficult to find a place of protection “from the ravages of time and rough treatment” (Dorney 2010: 19). In theory Dorney's collection holds only the “*stuff* of performance” (22), but increasingly parts of the collection are being made available online. This availability provides greater access but further complicates the question of where to place the restricted resources of archival staff time and money. Dorney is quick to point out that an organization's archive is often the first place to feel cuts during difficult times; even “if the documents are not dispensable, the staff may be” (19). This is the problem that is getting bigger.

To try to take practical action in the face of so much change, I organized a short work-study programme for students at Royal Holloway in June 2013. It was designed to address Escolme's call to “[m]ake archives of the work of small companies, companies outside the mainstream” (2010: 90). This Cultural Engagement project, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), saw ten students working in four small London theatres for three weeks. The field-work

was combined with talks by experts in copyright, archiving, digital databases, and cultural history (including Dorney). The work was fast and furious, and it unearthed a wealth of material which needs to be archived, as well as a deeply felt sense within the theatre community that more training about how and what to keep is needed. In essence, this short-funded project struck gold in terms of the research potential of the work; but it uncovered resources and a training gap that I was not able to follow up as a single scholar. While in two instances the project was able to help facilitate a meeting between the theatre company and Dorney at the V&A, in the other two cases it was only possible to have the students list the Shakespeare materials that exist – material I now know about but still cannot access or help to protect.

The one theatre company that did not fit into the original project but was keen to participate was Fooksbarn Theatre, the circus performance troupe that has been adapting great literary texts for a popular audience for over forty years. This company, which began in Cornwall in 1971 but had already toured world-wide by the beginning of the new millennium, still has a base in France, an hour south of Paris. While attending the Paris 450 conference in April 2014, I took the opportunity to visit the archive and spend the day with Paddy Hayter, the current artistic director and only surviving member of the original company. The day was an eye-opener in terms of the scale of the problems that face companies of this kind and the long-term holders of archival material like the V&A. The renovated farm which has been the base for the company for several decades is a throw-back to the collective ideals of the 1970s. Lunch was served to the current company of actors, the workshop participants resident at the farm, and a number of young, troubled youths brought from Paris to experience rural life, in a country-style kitchen where the food was delightfully basic and delicious. The cook was English and the food was a Continental organic mixture of salad and a satisfying casserole. As one might expect, we sat on wooden benches, and the meal was a time of great laughter and a sense of common cause. But there was an underlying air of anxiety and decay: one of the long-standing members of the company had recently died, and I made myself scarce while a service of remembrance took place just after lunch.

When I was presented with the archive itself, I was astonished at the ordered rows of volumes documenting every performance in every country of the world where the company has toured. The clippings included reviews in every language, as well as photographs of the productions themselves, but many more images of the process of keeping a group of performers clothed, fed, and entertained over years of being together on the road. In contrast to the recent Globe to Globe *Hamlet* tour (2014–16), which mirrors or even mimics the travelling players of old, Fooksbarn's archive illustrates the personal commitment of the group of people who have dedicated their lives to this company. I took notes on everything that was present; and I was kindly given the opportunity to take away copies of programmes, posters, CDs, and old cassette tapes.

The material “*stuff of performance*” was in abundance here; and yet it was not until I returned to Paris, where I visited the Victor Hugo house, that I was able to see the most tangible and spectacular evidence of the company's work. In an exhibit about Hugo's *L'homme qui ruit* (*The Man Who Laughs*), the company's adaptation of this work was featured in a room filled with beautiful costumes and masks. The designer of these extraordinary theatrical works of art had sat with me at lunch the

day before and had pointed out not only that this exhibit was currently in Paris, but that the company and its history had been documented on French television more than once. In addition, there was a website that archived all of the images of a particular photographer who had recorded the company's work over many years. Why, then, was my suggestion of a link with the V&A theatre collection, and perhaps more importantly the Shakespeare scholars of the world, so warmly accepted by Hayter? Was it perhaps the allure of the institution, the expertise it offered, as well as the draw of a place to deposit everything? The weight of the legacy felt by the final member of the group was palpable.

But where would the work of this company sit in a Shakespeare archive? The original company was formed by actors who had all studied at the Lecoq school in Paris. Initially, in their first ten years in Cornwall, they toured the region and their performances were based on the absurdist plays of Beckett and Ionesco. This phase was followed by adaptations of traditional children's stories such as *Punch and Judy*, *Jack and the Beanstalk*, and *Beauty and the Beast*. It was not until 1976 that the company first tackled Shakespeare in a play called simply *Midsummer Madness*, alongside a production of *Peter Pan*. An adaptation of *The Tempest* followed in 1978, then *Hamlet* in 1980, *King Lear* in 1983, and *Macbeth* in 1986. Once the company was based in France in the 1990s, productions of Shakespeare – such as their *Midsummer Night's Dream* in 1990 and *Romeo and Juliet* in 1993 – were alternated with French and other classic texts, including *L'Odyssée* (Homer) in 1995 and *Ne touchez pas à Molière* in 1996. The coming together of these two traditions can be seen in the 1998 season when the company produced its version of *The Winter's Tale* alongside Molière's *Don Juan*. A combination of visual spectacle and clowning techniques has made the company perennial favourites in many areas. The company has increasingly been invited back to the UK as part of the revival of the 1970s summer festival culture and, most recently, was part of the 2013 Globe to Globe season when it came to Shakespeare's Globe with an *Indian Tempest*.

While well known and loved in theatre circles, this company is not studied by Shakespeareans. When I told my colleagues at the conference in Paris where I was off to for the day, they largely looked at me with blank stares. This groundbreaking company, it seems – given my inability to do anything substantive about using the archive or finding someone or somewhere to rehouse it – will likely drop off the digital cliff, since its large and well-ordered archive is almost entirely in analogue formats. Although I was assured that the videos have been transferred to a digital format, I could not see much hope of these digital copies lasting any longer than the dusty cassette tapes. I felt it heart-breaking to walk away from this archive, because I knew that it was so clearly destined for oblivion unless a wealthy benefactor could be found. The company will likely not live beyond the retirement of its current artistic director, who will take with him the memory of the processes of the company as well as its products. This story is replicated again and again across the UK in small theatre companies that occasionally perform Shakespeare and may or may not archive their work regularly or systematically.

The second example of an archive which has been compiled by theatre practitioners is a series of interviews which were conducted by two actors, Dan Poole and Giles Terera, who spent four years travelling the world asking other actors and experts of various kinds about their thoughts on performing Shakespeare. This

collection of over 400 hours of video was used as the source material for a documentary entitled *Muse of Fire* (2013); however, some of the original interviews are now being made available to the public through the Globe Theatre's new online streaming service (globeplayer.tv). While in many ways this project mirrors my own attempt to capture the practices of designers in *Designing Shakespeare*, it is a much larger venture, although one that is vaguer in its aims. The result is a resource that provides a wealth of material that *could* be of use to performance scholars but will likely not be, given the format of its delivery. Although the interviews are being made very easy to access physically, given that they are free online, they are difficult to access intellectually, given that the only way to know what is discussed in each interview is to listen to them in full. Since most academics struggle to find a spare hour to do research, it is unlikely that many scholars will have 400 hours to spare any time soon.

As a point of comparison, the interviews that were conducted with the designers for my own research project were broken down into answers to specific, individual questions and presented online with a transcript that could be searched. While my project provides a much smaller sample of interviewees, they were all selected because of their relevance to the research aims of the project: interrogating the role of design in contemporary productions of Shakespeare. As a result, I was able to send the edited clips and transcripts of the interviews I conducted in 2002 to the developers of three new performance research archives: Cheek by Jowl's online archive; an online exhibition of John Napier's work; and a BBC Radio 4 edition of *The Reunion* exploring Peter Brook's 1970 production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. The standard non-proprietary file formats used, combined with the accompanying metadata, make these resources infinitely reusable over time. By contrast, the *Muse of Fire* interviews provide a rich pool of potential performance information in what is a rather overwhelming muddle (although only forty-five of the interviews were available at the time of writing). The sheer quantity of content, without any structure, coherence, or context, helps create greater confusion about what archiving is and whom it benefits. It is hard to imagine who will use these interviews or how, given that the only information provided concerns the actor's encounter(s) with Shakespeare. Some of the actors interviewed are very famous and, in a sense, an interview becomes another extension of these actors' online profiles – more *stuff* about these people rather than information on this subject, I fear. Fans of these artists often end up being the ones who count, order, and systematize online information of this kind; but what is their training to do so?

The *Muse of Fire* documentary, which was the intended creative product that came out of the actors' journey, was screened at film festivals. The video interviews are, therefore, the raw material of the process of making a film that maps a personal encounter with Shakespeare's work. The critic in me would like to point out that it is a very actorly journey which is quite English and male. There are almost as many directors as actors in the current selection available online, but none of them are academic specialists in Shakespeare's work. The idea of "good enough" knowledge, which has been debated at length in the field of computer science and statistical analysis, is made manifest here in Shakespeare and performance research. But there is another question implicit in this research. If anyone can have access directly to the accounts of great actors and directors, what use are critics, archivists, and

librarians trained in the study of this field? Do they (we) not become like the priests of a dying religion, the ones who want to stand between the ordinary person and information/the overarching authority or deity? Although I have always been a big supporter of accessibility by any means, the question remains: is this an archive or just a bunch of *stuff*? Unsorted, uncategorized, and stored on the site of a theatre that has no vested interest in sustaining this material, in the long run it seems a very precarious means of saving these conversations from “the ravages of time” (Dorney 2010: 19).

Muse of Fire offers access to a very personal account of a specific, time-limited journey. In some ways this is an honest and clearly authored presentation of material when contrasted by the account of my work that I inadvertently created as I was trying to access some information online. While looking recently for a book on the Bloomsbury website, I was offered what appeared to be a free download of the volume. When I clicked on this option I was led to the Academia.edu website, which asked me to sign in through either my Google or Facebook account. Intrigued by where this journey might take me, I chose Facebook as my entry point. I was required to make available to the site my friends list, including all of their email addresses and profile information. After some hesitation I decided to offer up my very small collection of Facebook friends. This step resulted in the generation of a draft personal profile which included the photo from my departmental website and a list of four articles that I had published (most of which were very old). I was then asked if I had a Google Scholar profile, which I did; but, not having visited this site in two years, I was prompted again with the question “did you write?” followed by links to two chapters that had appeared online in the interim. The fact that these two chapters were available online was a surprise to me, given that they appear in books, not journals. When I was finally presented with my completed Academia.edu profile page, I began thinking about Holland’s and Dorney’s notion of the unheard voices that are at work compiling the archive. But whose voice is at work here? It seems that machines are talking to other machines, deciding among themselves how my work will be presented to the world. I find this possibility rather worrying. Most troubling of all, once I had established the profile I was finally permitted to download the PDF document which I had imagined was all, or at least part, of the book that began this quest. I then discovered that I had given away my entire friends list for a one-page table of contents, the information which had been available on the initial Bloomsbury website where I started! If this sequence of events is the way of the future, then the individual in this process is quickly being lost in the conversation between machines.

SHAKESPEARE’S TEXTS ONLINE

Online availability of Shakespeare’s texts has never been a problem. From the moment the Internet was first made publicly accessible, the complete works of Shakespeare were seen as a test of the viability of the online world to deal with difficult material that was in demand by a range of audiences. Yet the first texts that were made available came out of computer science departments, and they generally replicated Victorian out-of-copyright editions of the plays, thereby disposing of a century’s worth of

scholarly editing. The coming together of large publishers with scholars to produce authoritative editions of the plays is not new either; but there was some initial debate about what sorts of texts could be produced most effectively for the widest possible audience. Writing on this topic in *Shakespeare Survey* in 2006, I pose a question with my title: “The Evolution of Online Editing: Where Will It End?” It is a question that remains unanswered.

Considerable progress has been made, however, and it seems to be in the direction that I suggest may well provide the greatest good for the greatest number. The early years of digital resource creation were accompanied by the development of the entire field of Digital Humanities, a field which now seems to have become quite centred on or around Shakespeare’s work. The challenge of creating a resource for the study of Shakespeare has always determined the parameters of the work and the target audience. In 2006 I was clear about the fact that critical engagement from a wide range of current experts in this field would be necessary before a truly groundbreaking series of resources could be created:

Until now this debate has taken place amongst a small group of specialists who have been absorbed by the immediate pressures of the projects they are working on. I count myself among this group but I have increasingly come to see that what is needed instead is a more inclusive, more dispassionate critical debate about the nature of these resources and their influence in the long term. This debate must include archivists, librarians and theatre companies if it is to truly address the potential that is offered by the digital revolution.

(Carson 2006: 179)

The planning meetings and focus groups I have attended in the years since I wrote this make it clear that the advice was not without merit. I have attended working groups that have debated the scope and delivery format of the *Shakespeare Quartos Archive*, Arden’s contribution to *Drama Online*, and *The Cambridge World Shakespeare Encyclopedia* project. These resources all have advisory boards, as well as theatrical and archival partners. The creation of combined print and online editions is complex. The development of these resources has crossed continents and involved years of planning. Nevertheless, looking at the three approaches taken indicates that there is still no consensus as to what a scholarly Shakespeare audience looks like.

In brief, the *Shakespeare Quartos Archive* has done a marvellous job of bringing together digital images of *Hamlet* in Quarto from a number of important international libraries. The quality of the reproduction and the complex methods provided to access and annotate the texts exceed anything else currently available. The website states:

Here you can view full cover-to-cover digital reproductions and transcriptions of thirty-two copies of the five earliest editions of the play *Hamlet*. You can view quartos separately, or alongside any number of copies. You can search, annotate, make public or private sets of annotations, create exhibits or character cue line lists, and download and print text and images.

The focus and specificity of the *Shakespeare Quartos Archive* are contrasted by the placement of the Arden Shakespeare digital editions within the multi-award winning *Drama Online* site, which draws together Methuen Drama's full list of contemporary writers with critical and contextual material on the plays, playwrights, and players. By placing Shakespeare's work within a much wider range of more recent dramatic texts, there is a conscious effort to create a sense of immediacy for the plays, or at the very least to point out that they are still performed alongside other sorts of drama. The site contains a range of images from the V&A collection to highlight the vibrancy of the British theatre tradition. The tools on the *Drama Online* site also include videos available to subscribers. For a scholar there is less to covet here despite the wealth of information available, although I understand that work is being undertaken to address these concerns.

The final project in which I have been marginally involved at the planning stages is the very ambitious *Cambridge World Shakespeare Encyclopedia*. This collection of 290 new essays on aspects of Shakespeare appears in print and online, edited by Bruce R. Smith. Using his work as a Shakespeare scholar of many years' standing, and combining that with his interest in phenomenology, Smith conceptualizes the Cambridge project and the digital world in the following way:

The ideal state of knowledge, it seems to me, is one that combines the accessibility and search capability of electronic texts with the multidimensionality of the books and manuscripts that the digital images represent. The relationship between the two kinds of texts is not really a matter of analog facsimile (as it would be with microfilm) or digital reduction (as it is with electronic images) but synecdoche.

(Smith 2014: 30)

Smith goes on to articulate how the digital world is now not a separate activity from "living in the world"; rather, it is part of the wider experience we all have of encountering information. He writes: "Just as a digital image can offer a synecdoche of what a reader has experienced before, so can it offer a promise of what the reader might experience away from the screen, in a vital future 'now'" (2014: 30). This sense of an interactive and iterative research-and-discovery process for users helps make a cross-over towards performance, through performance history and my own starting-point, the Cambridge plays-in-performance editions as they have been linked to the digital text. Now that the technology allows for the flights of fancy and delight that Jacky Bratton and I originally envisioned while working on the Cambridge CD-ROM for *King Lear*, it is possible to imagine a not-too-distant future when text, criticism, and performance can cohabit on the stage, in the library, and on the screen. But what about the archive?

CONCLUSIONS

The present moment seems to stand at a precipice of sorts, yet what will fall off and what will remain on the cliff's edge still seem uncertain. The wide availability of full performances of the plays in cinemas, on DVD, and online provides a new

world for performance scholars. In addition to the Globe TV player, which presents a sort of archive of the Globe to Globe Festival and the other performances at Bankside, there is the impressive and growing collection of full broadcast productions on *Digital Theatre*. This elaborate site now provides opera, ballet, and classical music in addition to the theatre performances that it was initially set up to offer. The performances are available to rent or own, in regular or HD format. There is also a growing sister or sub-site designed especially for educational use, called *Digital Theatre Plus*, which offers study-guides that feature interviews with scholars and theatre artists. There are no full texts of the plays available yet, but the increasing amount of educational material created by the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust makes it seem that this availability may not be very far away. This service can be made available through an institutional subscription which then allows entire classes, schools, or universities to have access to the content. The National Theatre (NT) is also increasingly making short videos available to accompany its already extensive educational resources. These often accompany the live broadcasts to cinemas of its shows, and stand in for the souvenir programmes of old.

Both of these sites have given my teaching a tremendous boost, since it is increasingly difficult to ask students to look beyond their computer screens for information. But when thinking about these resources as an archive, a number of issues arise:

- What happens to an archive when it is available to buy in separate parts?
- Where has the context of the original performances gone?
- What happens to this material when it is no longer commercially viable or current enough to act as publicity for the theatre company?
- Who will preserve the theatre history of the UK for future generations when these sites stop or change their focus?

To conclude, I refer to another performance critic who has turned his critical eye to the big questions we face. In *How Theatre Means*, Ric Knowles writes: “Meaning, then is best understood as a process, something that is provisionally produced by communities, technologies, and cultures engaged in various kinds of social, economic, technological, and pedagogic relationships with one another” (2014: 2–3). Knowles looks at the way the history of telling stories is the key to understanding the making of meaning:

Over history stories of conquest, colonialism, imperialism, and globalization are in large parts stories of struggle over meaning, as one cultural system seeks to dominate, control, and fix meaning, representing other meaning systems as imprecise, ignorant, primitive, weird, superstitious or just “other.”

(Knowles 2014: 3)

As a result I argue that the act of criticism, like the act of archiving, must remain separate from the meaning-making process of marketing, self-promotion, or self-justification. The importance of the archive is that it continues to make meaning in ways that are not primarily driven by commercial imperatives. The reflective nature of the practices of archiving and the inherently interdisciplinary importance of the “*stuff* of performance” must not be overlooked.

In the complex environments we now encounter as a result of digital technology, it is possible to watch and interpret Shakespeare texts and productions in many different places (the classroom, the study, the train, the gym) and on many different devices (a computer, tablet, phone, or cinema screen). In this world, is there not more need than ever for context and interpretation by an expert? It seems to me that the job of the archive must be about making meaning that can re-establish the context for information that increasingly is stripped from its origins through digital delivery. To take just one example, the films available for purchase online of the performances that came out of the 2012 Globe to Globe Festival stand in contrast to my own very special position as someone who was there for all thirty-eight productions. The fragmentation of the Festival into individual shows to download as films takes away the sum of the Festival, which was undoubtedly greater than its parts. An archive that allows for the reassembling of these fragmented bits is essential; and the role of the critic must be to provide a range of contexts that can help complete the important process of preservation for future audiences.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

SHAKESPEARE'S LANGUAGE

An eventful afterlife



Keith Johnson

BEFORE THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The 1623 Shakespeare First Folio contains a eulogy on Shakespeare written by Ben Jonson. In it, Jonson speaks of the poet's "well turned, and true filed lines" (line 68). Since that time, praise for Shakespeare's language has not always been so fulsome. Admiration there has always been, but also much criticism. This chapter plots the afterlife of Shakespeare's language: what people have said about it over time; and how Shakespeare language studies have developed, to the point that today there are very few Shakespearean linguistic stones which remain unturned. Those that do are the subject of a final section that looks to the future.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

It was not long after Jonson wrote his lines that views on language had changed sufficiently for some of Shakespeare's linguistic practices to have become unfashionable. The seventeenth century was a time of scientific advancement, and major efforts were made to develop a linguistic idiom suitable for the expression of scientific thought. In 1664 the Royal Society set up a committee to investigate ways of improving the English language. Writers like John Dryden were involved, too, as were philosophers like John Locke, whose 1690 *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* contained many prescriptions on how to make the language suitable for scientific endeavour.

The favoured style was a simple, unadorned one. "We generally love," Thomas Sprat said, "to have reason set out in plain, undeceiving expressions" (1734: 40). It was also important to avoid coarseness, and to be polite. Figurative speech was seen as particularly damaging to scientific endeavour, and Sprat wrote angrily about writers who used "vicious abundance of phrase" and "trick of metaphors" (112). Puns, too, which depend on multiple levels of interpretation, were regarded as damaging to scientific discourse, which requires unambiguity. Simplicity, lack of adornment, and unambiguity were good. Extravagance, figurativeness, and multiple levels of interpretation were bad.

Gary Taylor, an invaluable source of information about Shakespeare's various afterlives, including the linguistic, writes that "anyone who disliked puns, metaphors . . . fanciful schemes of speech could not care much for Shakespeare" (1989: 37). Indeed, many Restoration linguistic vices were Elizabethan linguistic virtues. Puns provide an example. They were Shakespeare's "fatal Cleopatra," and he revelled in them precisely because they provided multi-levels of meanings – the very characteristic that damages scientific discourse.

One of Shakespeare's most persistent seventeenth-century critics was Thomas Rymer. He particularly disliked verbosity. In *Othello*, Iago encourages Roderigo to wake up Brabantio noisily: "Do, with like timorous accent and dire yell/ As when, by night and negligence, the fire/ Is spied in populous cities" (1.1.75–77). In his 1693 *Short View of Tragedy*, Rymer is scathing, asking: "Would not a rap at the door better express Iago's meaning?" (1693: 5).

Adaptations of an author's work can reveal much about linguistic attitudes, and a number of seventeenth-century Shakespeare adaptations contain interesting alterations. William Davenant's 1673 version of *Macbeth*, for example, attempts to dispense with metaphorical language. Thus, in Macbeth's "Tomorrow, and tomorrow, and tomorrow" speech (5.5.18–27), "the last syllable of recorded time" becomes "the last minute of recorded time" and metaphorical "dusty death" becomes "eternal night." Coarseness was also avoided. Duncan's "What bloody man is that?" (1.2.1) becomes "What aged man is that?" – *bloody* as a swear-word came from the mid-seventeenth century.

Jonson – a grammarian as well as a dramatist – was sensitive to grammatical infelicities in Shakespeare. In his 1640 *English Grammar*, he objects to "the pronoun *his* joining with a noun betokening a possessor" – as *the prince his house*, for *the prince's house*. This is found in Shakespeare, for example, in 1 *Henry VI*, where we find *Charles his gleeks* (gibes) (3.6.9). Jonson – he whose First Folio eulogy praises Shakespeare so effusively – is quite intemperate on the topic, describing it as "monstrous syntax" (Waite 1909: xi). This mixture of linguistic criticism and overall reverence is very common. Dryden too criticizes Shakespeare's grammar and finds that "his whole style is . . . pestered with figurative expressions" (Scott 1808: 239). But "I love Shakespeare," he confesses in his *Essay on Dramatic Poesy*. Despite "his serious swelling into bombast . . . he is always great" (Mitford 1836: 241).

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

This mixture of reverence and linguistic criticism continued in the eighteenth century. Alexander Pope has Shakespeare in mind when he says in *An Essay on Criticism* (1711) that "Great wits may gloriously offend" (line 152), and some of the glorious offences he has in mind are linguistic. Samuel Johnson is the same. "The stile of Shakespeare was in itself ungrammatical, perplexed and obscure," he admits in his 1765 *Preface to Shakespeare* (Raleigh 1908: 42). But in his *Dictionary*, where he is looking for quotations from "writers of the first reputation," he takes much from Shakespeare (Johnson 1747: 31).

The eighteenth century also liked plain, simple expression. Steele particularly admired Macduff's reaction (in Davenant's adaptation of *Macbeth*) to the murder

of his children: “What, both children! Both, both my children gone” (cited in Archer and Lowe 1888/89: 237). The linguistic dislikes of the two centuries were also similar, with verbosity high on the list. Thus when in *Love’s Labour’s Lost* (1.1.77) Berowne says, “Light, seeking light, doth light of light beguile,” Johnson’s editorial comment is “The whole sense of this . . . is . . . that ‘a man by too close study may read himself blind,’ which might have been told . . . in fewer words” (Raleigh 1908: 86). Profanity was another issue in an age which valued politeness. Thus, Johnson’s judgement on *The Merry Wives of Windsor*: “The great fault of this play is the frequency of expressions so profane, that no necessity of preserving character can justify them” (Raleigh 1908: 95).

Eighteenth-century Shakespeare editions often pick up on grammatical offences. Hence, Mark Antony’s double superlative in “This was the most unkindest cut of all” (*Julius Caesar* 3.2.181) becomes in Pope, “This, this was the unkindest cut of all.” When the Chorus at the beginning of *Henry V* proclaims, “let us . . . / On your imaginary forces work” (1.1.17–18), Johnson comments, “*imaginary* for *imaginative*, . . . Active and passive words are by this author frequently confounded” (Raleigh 1908: 126).

A particular eighteenth-century obsession was poetic diction, and Shakespeare sometimes offends. In *The Rambler*, Johnson takes exception to this Lady Macbeth passage, today often admired:

Come, thick night,
And pall thee in the dunest smoke of hell,
That my keen knife see not the wound it makes,
Nor heaven peep through the blanket of the dark
To cry, “Hold, hold!”

(1.5.49–53)

First there is *dun* (meaning “dingy brown”), which Johnson said was “an epithet now seldom heard but in the stable.” Then he complained that a knife was “an instrument used by butchers and cooks in the meanest employments.” As for that highly imaginative phrase *peep through the blanket*, Johnson can only ask, “who, without some relaxation of his gravity, can hear of the avengers of guilt peeping through a blanket?” (Raleigh 1908: 204).

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Shakespeare had truly become part of the cultural fabric of England. As one of Jane Austen’s characters puts it in *Mansfield Park* (published in 1814), “[Shakespeare] is a part of an Englishman’s constitution. . . . His celebrated passages are quoted by every body” (Chapman 1934: 338). It is said that William Hazlitt quotes Shakespeare no fewer than 2,400 times; and in a letter Charles Dickens admits to falling into iambic pentameters in his prose, partly due to the influence of Shakespeare. Shakespeare also played his part in pedagogy, with speeches given as practice texts for budding orators in America as well as England (Taylor 1989: 197).

Shakespeare's nineteenth-century standing was high, but the linguistic criticism continued. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, like Samuel Johnson, objected to Lady Macbeth's *blanket*, suggesting *blank height* instead. William Cobbett complained about the "bombast and puns and smut" (1815: 192). Meanwhile Shakespeare editors expurgated tirelessly; it was the age of Thomas Bowdler and bowdlerization.

At the same time, the dramatically increasing numbers of Shakespeare editions were becoming more scholarly and more linguistically aware, heralding a more systematic approach towards Shakespearean language studies. A Shakespeare Society was founded in 1840, followed in 1873 by the New Shakspeare Society (NSS). The societies attempted to apply the scientific methods of the natural sciences to language study. As Frederick Fleay, one of the NSS's principal scholars put it in 1874: "if you cannot weigh, measure, number your results, . . . you are merely a guesser." Not unsurprisingly, the use of such scientific methods applied to literature attracted controversy, and the debates became personally abusive. Thus, Frederick Furnivall (pro-scientific methods) referred to Algernon Swinburne (anti-scientific methods) as *Pigsbrook* (*swine* + *burn*). Swinburne responded by calling Furnivall *Brothelsdyke* (*fornix* in Latin is "brothel") (Gosse 1917: 249).

The scientific methods were often put to a thoroughly Victorian purpose, to identify evolutionary processes in the development of Shakespeare's language. This involved establishing the chronology of the plays. Fleay found linguistic methods "very valuable" here, counting such items as "the number of lines with double endings" and "the number of lines with more or less than five measures."

Another figure closely involved with the NSS was Edwin Abbott, whose highly popular 1869 *Shakespearian Grammar* was a milestone in Shakespeare language studies. The book has a characteristically Darwinian evolutionary element to it, showing progression in the way the language developed. But to Abbott's credit his conclusions are not wholly in favour of the present. Thus, he argues that "for freedom . . . and for vigour . . . Elizabethan is superior to modern English." It is true that Abbott finds "every variety of grammatical inaccuracy" in Shakespeare; but he happily puts this down to an excess of "vigour" (16).

The *Grammar*'s title-page proclaims that it is "for the use of schools," and Abbott has a final section containing linguistic questions for students, all based on act 3 of *Macbeth*. For example, of the line "So weary with disasters, tugged with fortune" (3.1.113) he asks: "parse and explain *tugged*. How does the meaning differ from the modern meaning? Compare" (442). The questions are worthy of modern-day linguistics students, and indeed the section indicates the extent to which the study of Shakespeare's language was making inroads into the nation's education.

Abbott's *Grammar* illustrates the nineteenth century's passion for scholastic categorizing. So too do the period's lexicons, glossaries, and concordances. These include Alexander Schmidt's *Shakespeare-Lexicon: A Complete Dictionary of All the English Words, Phrases and Constructions in the Works of the Poet* (1875). This is also the era of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), important to Shakespearean language studies because citations from him are massively used. In 1846, Mary Cowden Clarke published her *Complete Concordance to Shakspeare*. It was a very thorough piece of work, in many details substantially similar to modern concordances produced with the benefit of electronic technology.

Another major concordance appeared in 1894, John Bartlett's *New and Complete Concordance*. By the time the century turned, Shakespearean language studies had truly arrived.

THE TWENTIETH AND TWENTY-FIRST CENTURIES

A full account of Shakespeare's linguistic reputation and of the growth of Shakespearean language studies in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries would be a lengthy undertaking. Here we can provide only a general picture in relation to the various linguistics areas.

Lexis

Given Shakespeare's canonical status, there is a natural desire to see him as a prolific linguistic inventor. Here is English journalist Bernard Levin writing in 1983:

If you cannot understand my argument, and declare "It's Greek to me," you are quoting Shakespeare; if you claim to be more sinned against than sinning, you are quoting Shakespeare; if you recall your salad days, you are quoting Shakespeare.

(Levin 1983: 167–68)

His long list of Shakespeare inventions includes *tongue-tied*, *hoodwink* (as a verb), *eyesore*, and *bloody-minded*.

The Elizabethan period was indeed one of great lexical invention. David Crystal (2008) calculates that Shakespeare was responsible for some 1,700 of these, a very high number for a single author. But there have been many exaggerated claims, including some of Levin's. It turns out that *tongue-tied*, *hoodwink*, *eyesore*, and *bloody-minded* were all in use before Shakespeare's day. They are not his inventions at all.

One reason for the exaggerations is Shakespeare's over-representation in the *OED*. Charlotte Brewer (2007) and Giles Goodland (2011) provide useful recent accounts of this much discussed issue. Several levels of over-representation are in fact involved. One is of celebrated authors. An important characteristic of the dictionary is that it contains quotations, contextualized examples of words in use. Part of the *OED*'s stated aim was to be a "treasure-house" of the English language, and hence "all the great English writers of all ages" were the first port of call for the quotation-seeking lexicographer (Brewer 2007: 126). Shakespeare is at the very top of the *OED*'s quotations sources. The large number of Shakespearean concordances and glossaries help make him particularly attractive in this respect. A consequence of this treasure-house aspiration is that lesser-known authors tend to be ignored. Jürgen Schäfer (1980) compares the *OED*'s representations of Shakespeare with Thomas Nashe, a lesser-known contemporary. The conclusion is that Nashe is under-represented; and the under-representation of some authors doubtless led to the exaggerated attribution of neologisms to the better-known.

The poetic genre is also over-represented, and there is an additional bias towards written as opposed to spoken language. These emphases alone must place a huge

question mark over many neologism claims. Thus Shakespeare may have been the first to use the word *lip* as a verb (meaning “to kiss”) in *Othello* and *Antony and Cleopatra*, but it may well be that someone else spoke it before he wrote it. Over-representation of Elizabethan literature, coupled with under-representation of earlier ages, is yet another major issue. Many Shakespearean firsts lose that status when earlier texts are given more scrutiny.

Scholarship in the last few decades has made many more texts available for scrutiny, and the resulting evidence has helped rectify some of the exaggerations. There is no doubt that the availability of digital texts and the development of electronic search methods are two of the major advances in Shakespeare studies in recent years. A healthy number of corpora and concordances are now available, including *The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts*, the *Toronto Lexicons of Early Modern English*, and *Early English Books Online*. The OED has itself taken on board the need for more evenly distributed representation, and one consequence is that words which were given first citations by Shakespeare as late as 1989 no longer have this status in the 2012 online edition. For example, in his stage performance *Being Shakespeare*, the British actor Simon Callow cites the word *mewl* as a Shakespearean neologism: in Jaques's “Seven Ages” speech from *As You Like It* (2.7.144), where the infant is described as “Mewling and puking in the nurse's arms.” Callow can be forgiven for this error, since this is indeed the first citation in the 1989 OED. But in the 2012 online edition the first citation is antedated to 1425. Shakespeare's new words are diminishing by the year.

The nature, as well as the number, of Shakespearean neologisms has been the subject of scholastic attention. Terttu Nevalainen, along with others, considers three word-formation strategies. One which Shakespeare uses a lot is compounding, a process natural to Germanic languages. Nevalainen mentions one way of classifying compounds, in terms of the parts of speech involved: noun + *-ed* verb participle is a particularly common Shakespearean one (as in *heart-struck* and *wind-shaken*). Vivian Salmon (1970) classifies compounds according to function. Many describe the natural world, as in *lazy-passing clouds* (*Romeo and Juliet*, 2.1.73). They are also common expressions of personal abuse, as when Lysander in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is described as a *lack-love* and a *kill-courtesy* (2.2.83). The second strategy Nevalainen discusses is functional shift, also called conversion. This occurs where a new part of speech is added, as when (to repeat an earlier example) *lip* is changed from a noun into a verb. In an interesting neurolinguistic experiment reported by Philip Davis (2006), the effects of Shakespearean-style functional shifts on the brain activity of readers are measured by electroencephalography (EEG), and these effects are found to be “distinct and unique.” Nevalainen also looks at a third strategy, affixation, and her 2001 work includes a useful list of common Elizabethan prefixes and suffixes. Shakespeare, she notes, has his favourites among these, and for some she proposes reasons for his preferences. She also shows the extent of linguistic choices which the Elizabethan spirit of innovation made available. She considers, for example, Shakespeare's apparent invention of the noun *insultment* in *Cymbeline* (3.5.141); the OED definition is “the action of insulting.” She also points out various other options open to him: *insult*, *insultation*, *insultance* (in use in Shakespeare's lifetime), or just *insulting*.

The overall size of Shakespeare's vocabulary has also been the subject of much discussion, and again there has been considerable exaggeration. As with neologism estimates, what counts as a word is a major issue here. Crystal (2008) illustrates this point with the word *nation* and associated forms like *national*, *nationally*, *nationhood*, *nationalize*, and *nationalization*. Do these count as separate words or as different realizations of one underlying form? One word or six? Semantic concerns are also relevant. Thus Shakespeare uses the word *carbuncle* to refer to a "boil" or to a "precious stone." One word or two?

Otto Jespersen (1905) was a voice of moderation among the exaggerations. He argued that vocabulary estimates often under-represent the vocabularies of other writers. This conclusion is also reached by Ward Elliott and Robert Valenza. Using a variety of statistical tests, they conclude that "if anyone's vocabulary dwarfed others in size, it was John Milton's, and maybe Edmund Spenser's, not Shakespeare's" (Elliott and Valenza 2011: 45). To appreciate the extent of Shakespeare's lexical achievement, we must do more than count words. Whitney F. Bolton uses a type/token analysis of lexis in the history plays. He concludes that "the real versatility of Shakespeare's vocabulary lies in the variety of his diction" (1992: 89). In comparison with other authors, Shakespeare uses a very large proportion of his words a few times only.

Among the growing number of linguistic resources now available are several Shakespeare dictionaries, including those of Charles T. Onions (1986, first published 1911), and David and Ben Crystal (2002). Jonathan Culpeper (2011b) reviews those available and argues for "a new kind of dictionary for Shakespeare's plays" (his chapter's title). Among the characteristics he would like the new dictionary to possess is inclusion beyond hard words, or even content words: he recommends coverage of all items. He notes, for example, that the word *Ah* is often not covered in dictionaries, although it is a common word in Shakespeare, with various uses. His dictionary would also describe meanings in terms of contextual usage, rather than in etymological terms.

Starting in the first half of the twentieth century, there have been numerous imagery studies, such as those of Wolfgang H. Clemen (1951) and Caroline F.E. Spurgeon (1935); more recently, there have been studies in Shakespearean metaphor, like those of Ann and John O. Thompson (1987) and Maria F. Fahey (2011). There have also been very many studies of particular lexical fields in Shakespeare, including the legal (B.J. and Mary Sokol 2000) and particularly the sexual. José Oncins-Martinez (2011) refers to a number of metaphor studies based on Cognitive Metaphor Theory, and he includes a fascinating account of Shakespeare's war-sex metaphors.

With the recent increased availability of digital texts, it has become possible to make computationally supported statements on authorship attribution issues. Lexis is the main focus of such studies, although other areas like spelling and metre can also provide authorship evidence. Hugh Craig and Arthur F. Kinney (2009) are representative of the stage that attribution studies have now reached. The methods of analysis are sophisticated, involving much more than simple word-frequency counts. Nevertheless, it does remain of interest to hear that Shakespeare seems fond of the words *gentle* and *beseech*, and that his characters tend to use *hath* rather than *has*.

This last example shows that attribution studies are now as interested in common, function words as they are in semantically fuller ones.

Grammar

With few exceptions, no comprehensive Shakespearean grammar was produced between 1869, when Abbott's appeared, and 2002. But since 1990 there have been a number of grammars of early modern English (or EModE), the name given to that period of the language from about 1500 until 1700. These include the work of Manfred Görlach (1991), Charles Barber (1997), Terttu Nevalainen (2006), and Matti Rissanen (1999). In the early twenty-first century, two Shakespeare grammars appeared almost together: those of Jonathan Hope (2003) and Norman F. Blake (2002).

Hope's *Shakespeare's Grammar* was commissioned by the Arden Shakespeare to replace Abbott's book, which, as Hope points out, consists of discrete sections dealing alphabetically with grammatical categories and not really adding up to a coherent account. Hope aims to rectify this omission, and he is more detailed and explanatory throughout. He also has stylistic-overview sections preceding the main parts of his grammar. These give an account of the stylistic and literary effects associated with the structures covered. Thus, the overview of the Noun Phrase (NP) section illustrates the stylistic range of NPs in EModE, and how Shakespeare uses them to literary effect.

There is one feature of Abbott which Hope retains: a pedagogic dimension. As we saw earlier, Abbott has a final section asking linguistic questions. As well as providing useful information to editors and linguistic specialists, Hope also aims to inform the non-linguist. The NP section mentioned above, for example, goes into some detail about the linguistics of the structure, explaining what heads, pre-heads, and post-heads are.

Blake's *Grammar* is wider in scope than Hope's, having chapters on "Discourse and Register" and "Pragmatics." For example, in a fascinating and lengthy consideration of *King Lear*'s opening scene, Blake focuses on forms of address. His treatment of traditional grammatical concerns is similarly detailed. Thus, he lists fifty-six prepositions used by Shakespeare, enumerating uses at length (for instance, fourteen uses of *for* and thirteen of *to*).

As well as these full grammars, there have been numerous studies dealing with specific areas. An influential collection of papers – Vivian Salmon and Edwina Burness (1987) – contains a section devoted to grammar studies. More recently there have been studies dealing with grammatical variation in EModE. These include the work of Nevalainen and Helena Raumolin-Brunberg (2003). They focus on fourteen areas, including the use of *do* in affirmative statements; replacement of *ye* by *you*; and the *-th* versus *-s* verbal suffixes. Their studies have a clear socio-linguistic dimension, taking account of such variables as geographical region, social order, and gender. It illustrates their approach: both *-th* and *-s* verbal endings were in use at the time; hence Portia in *The Merchant of Venice* says that "The quality of mercy is not strained./It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven [. . .] It blesseth him that gives, and him that takes" (4.1.181–84). The *-s* form spread southwards from the north, and Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg plot this geographical spread.

They also show how women were quicker to adopt the new -s form, a tendency they found in relation to more than half the areas considered. Incidentally, their work underlines the central role of corpora in recent historical linguistic studies. They use the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence* (CEEC), a 2.7 million-word collection of 6,000 letters written between 1417 and 1681.

While such work views grammatical forms from a socio-linguistic perspective, with Hope the perspective is often rhetorical and literary. He argues, for example, that “Shakespeare is generally interested in activating inanimate things, rather than de-animating them” (2010: 143), and he links this *inter alia* to a preference for -ing participles in certain contexts. His detailed example relates to lines in the Prologue of *Henry V* (27), where, among other things, the phrase *receiving earth* tends to present the earth as an active agent, which an alternative like “pierced earth” would not do.

In his grammar, Blake shows why grammatical studies are important for today’s editors and readers. He gives an example from *Macbeth*, where the Witches together chant: “Fair is foul, and foul is fair,/ Hover through the fog and filthy air” (1.1.10–11). “No edition which I have consulted,” Blake says, “comments on the word ‘hover’ or how it is to be understood” (2002: 11). It might be a verb or a noun; if the former, it could be an imperative or a present tense with the subject *we* missing; or is the subject “Fair is foul, and foul is fair”? Blake runs through the possibilities, illustrating convincingly how the study of grammar is important to the understanding of Shakespeare.

Pragmatics

Because interest in pragmatics as a linguistic area is rather recent, there have been relatively few pragmatic studies of EModE, but the number is increasing rapidly. Jonathan Culpeper and Merja Kytö (2010) analyse spoken interaction of the time, and the focus is often on pragmatics. For example, they discuss the use of *why* as a pragmatic marker, to signal (among other things) a self-evident conclusion. Thus when, in *Julius Caesar*, Cassius says of Caesar “Why, man, he doth bestride the narrow world/ Like a Colossus” (1.2.136–37), *why* adds support to what Brutus has just said about Caesar’s overweening ambition. The use of *why* as a pragmatic marker is surprisingly common in Shakespeare. In *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, for example, there are forty-eight instances of *why*. The majority (70 per cent) are not interrogative adverbs or relatives (as one might predict), but pragmatic markers.

A particularly well-trodden area for pragmatic attention is the *thou* versus *you* distinction, both in EModE and in Shakespeare. A number of factors have been studied in relation to this distinction, a major one being status or class. Joan Mulholland (1967) concludes that the upper classes generally use *you* to each other, and inferiors use *you* to superiors. Charles Barber (1981) focuses on act 1, scene 4 of *Richard III* to illustrate the use of *thou* to express emotions like anger or contempt. He also talks of the “intimate or affectionate *thou*,” the “sardonic or contemptuous *thou*,” and the “mock-polite or ironical *you*.” Some of these emotions are transitory, and thus one might expect a speaker to use *thou* at one moment and *you* the next. This fluidity is something that tends not to happen in languages like French

and German, where switches from their equivalents of *you* to *thou* incline to mark major relationship shifts which, once made, remain relatively impervious to change. In Shakespearean situations involving stormy love-relations it is interesting to plot frequent *thou/you* switches, for example in act 2, scene 1 of *The Taming of the Shrew*, where marriage is being discussed.

Though it is possible to identify conditions under which characters are likely to use *thou* or *you*, Katie M. Wales shows that in EModE shifts often “occur within the same sentence, so that contextual changes are often hard to justify” (1983: 114). Among her conclusions are that temporary shifts from *you* to *thou* are more frequent than shifts from *thou* to *you*, and that *thou* forms are far outnumbered by *you* forms.

The term “conversational implicature” is used to describe what George Yule calls the “additional unstated meaning that has to be assumed” if a conversation is to progress (1996: 128). A major concern of pragmatics is to study how speakers and hearers attach meanings to sentences which go beyond what is actually said. Malcolm Coulthard (1985) considers the implicatures at work in a truly remarkable scene in *Othello* (act 3, scene 3) where Iago manages over the space of a few lines to persuade Othello that his wife, Desdemona, is being unfaithful to him with his trusted lieutenant, Cassio. Part of Iago’s strategy is to answer – or fail to answer – questions in such a way as to suggest he is being evasive: “As if there were some monster in thy thought too hideous to be shown!” (3.3.111–12). This evasiveness leads Othello to seek implicatures.

A further area of interest to pragmatics is politeness. There have been studies like that of Carol Replogle (1973) which have focused on specific areas in Shakespeare (in Replogle’s case, honorifics). Roger Brown and Albert Gilman (1989) look at the politeness strategies of characters in Shakespearean tragedies, in particular exploring three factors considered important by Penelope Brown and Stephen C. Levinson (1987): the power relationship holding between speaker and hearer (P); the distance relationship between them (D); and what they call “ranked extremity” (R), the magnitude of what is being considered. Their study confirms the importance of (P) and (R). Regarding (D), Brown and Levinson’s theory predicts that more distant interactants will be more polite to each other. But Brown and Gilman find that “the more the speaker likes the hearer . . . the more polite the speech; the less the liking, the less the concern and also the politeness” (1989: 193). Pragmatics, incidentally, is also interested in the phenomenon of impoliteness, another area in which Shakespeare excels. Culpeper (2011a) explores this topic at length. Although his focus is not on Shakespeare, he does provide some interesting examples of Shakespearean rudeness, as when Prince Hal addresses Falstaff: “Why, thou clay-brained guts, thou knotty-pated fool, thou whoreson, obscene, greasy tallow-catch” (1 *Henry IV*, 2.4.230–32). Incidentally, there are examples here of compounds used for abuse, and *why* acting as a pragmatic marker.

Pronunciation

In the 1950s there were two large-scale studies of pronunciation, one focusing just on Shakespeare alone (Kökeritz 1953) and the other covering a broader historical period (Dobson 1957). Of particular recent interest is the performance of Shakespeare using

Original Pronunciation (OP). The guiding linguistic spirit here is David Crystal, who was involved in a 2004 Globe Theatre production of *Romeo and Juliet*, a project he describes in 2005. There are two websites – <<http://originalpronunciation.com/>> and <<http://www.pronouncingshakespeare.com/>> – which discuss OP and provide examples. Among its possible values for today’s listeners is that OP may reveal puns which have been lost by changes in pronunciation since Shakespeare’s time. For instance, we may wonder how Touchstone in *As You Like It* makes the melancholic Jaques laugh for an hour. Perhaps the effect results from Touchstone’s line: “And then from hour to hour we rot and rot” (2.7.27). In EModE, but not today, *hour* and *whore* were homophones.

Spelling and punctuation

The general tendency of editors over the centuries has been to modernize Shakespearean spelling. A major attempt to halt this practice was made in Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor’s (1986) *Original-Spelling Edition* of the complete works. Among their justifications for a return to original spelling is the fact that the modernizing process “requires an act of interpretation” (xxxvi). In *The Tempest*, for example, characters are described as being *oppress’d with trauaile* (3.3.15). Many modern editors have *travel* for *trauaile*, but Elizabethan spelling would also make *travail* possible, an interpretation of which, Wells and Taylor feel, modern readers should be aware. They also provide examples of puns and rhymes which reveal themselves if original spelling is used.

Today, a major function of punctuation is grammatical, marking off grammatical units. But another, more common in the Renaissance, was rhetorical, indicating pause length and providing actors with signals relevant to the recitation of lines. Anthony Graham-White (1982) has explored the punctuation of a drama written in the 1550s, *Gammer Gurton’s Needle*, concluding that the marks did indeed help actors pace their speeches. David Crystal suggests that some present-day directors see punctuation in the same way. He relates how in 2005 he attended rehearsals of *Troilus and Cressida*. “I can affirm,” he writes, “that there were many discussions between director and actors over precisely how much value to attach to a comma” (2008: 69).

To show how punctuation has been altered over time, Donald F. McKenzie (1959) has looked at differences between one Quarto and the First Folio of *The Merchant of Venice*. He finds no fewer than 715 punctuation changes. Commas were added, semicolons changed into full stops, question marks into commas. In another study, Michael J. Warren (1977) considered three Shakespeare soliloquies – from *Cymbeline*, *Julius Caesar*, and *The Tempest* – comparing First Folio and five modern editions. The trend has been to increase the amount of punctuation. Wells and Taylor provide examples of how this increase may impede the natural flow of the text. Other recent accounts of punctuation include Vivian Salmon (1986) and Crystal (2008).

Metre

Metre is another field which has been subjected to detailed scrutiny in the past half-century. George T. Wright (1988) provides comprehensive coverage of the area,

looking at Shakespeare's work in the light of contemporary practices, and showing his use of metre to express meanings.

It has long been recognized that Shakespeare's work is full of metrical irregularities, and past editors (like Pope in the eighteenth century) have tended to regard these as mistakes to be corrected. Recent scholars often regard irregularities as deliberate attempts to achieve particular effects. Peter Groves, for example, looks at the shortened pentameter in a line from *Richard II*: "Stay, the King hath thrown his warder down" (1.3.118). Past editors were inclined to correct this abbreviation by adding a word like *but* at the beginning to make the line a regular pentameter. Groves argues that the irregularity may be a deliberate attempt to surprise. It is, he says, "a little like treading in the dark on a step that isn't there" (2011: 120). He considers a variety of other types of surprise that verse irregularities can produce. He has also suggested that metre (like punctuation) can be an indicator to actors about performance. His 2013 book is subtitled "A Guide for Readers and Actors," suggesting that the interest in such work is more than just academic; it can be relevant to how plays are acted and appreciated. Although iambic pentameters are Shakespeare's major mode of expression, he also of course uses rhymed verse and prose. Brian Vickers (1968) provides a detailed account of his use of the latter.

Rhetoric

The past fifty years have seen a number of studies of rhetoric, like those of Brian Vickers (1970) and Sylvia Adamson (1999), with some focusing specifically on Shakespeare (for example Stanley Hussey 1982; Russ McDonald 2001). The rhetorical traditions in which Shakespeare was writing – particularly the Ciceronian and the Senecan – have all received attention. Particularly interesting are attempts (like McDonald 2006) to characterize the distinctive style of the later plays.

There are clear signs that many celebrated public speakers have used Shakespeare as a rhetorical model, but unfortunately there is little documentation. Churchill is a case in point. His wartime comments about British airmen – "never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few" – have clear resonances with the Agincourt speech of Henry V about how "We few, we happy few" (4.3.60) fight for the nation against overwhelming odds. The Folger Shakespeare Library has a website (<<http://www.shakespeareinamericanlife.org>>) which looks at the influences of Shakespeare on American life, including the rhetoric of politicians.

An understanding of the significance to the Renaissance of rhetorical notions like copiousness and artifice is particularly useful for today's reader, since some of these notions now have negative connotations. For example, for us artifice often means artificiality and lack of true feeling. But in the Renaissance, as McDonald says, it was "not a term of opprobrium . . . but of praise. . . . Readers and playgoers were expected to notice and to admire the skill with which artistic materials were arranged and presented" (2001: 24).

THE FUTURE

For this section, a number of specialists were approached and asked what they felt the future held for Shakespeare/EModE language studies. The following comments are

based on the responses received from David Crystal, Jonathan Culpeper, Jonathan Hope, and Terttu Nevalainen.

Nearly all agree that the most likely major development will be an increase in the availability of digitalized texts from the period. As Hope puts it: “Over the next few years . . . we can look forward to having effectively the full corpus of print from the period freely available to all.” This availability will affect many areas of Shakespearean language research. It will increase our ability to distinguish general characteristics of the period from specifically Shakespearean ones. It is also likely to lead to a greater understanding of genre development and paths of language change (points made by Hope and Nevalainen). Another result will be a very considerable increase in antedatings (Crystal, Hope). More attention is likely to be given to Shakespearean word-formation strategies (Nevalainen), and these may well necessitate the development of “more robust methods of lexical enquiry” (Crystal). Culpeper expresses the view that in many areas more attention will be placed on larger units of meaning, along the lines of recent work (mentioned earlier) by Hope (2010), and Hugh Craig and Arthur F. Kinney (2009). Regarding pronunciation, Crystal points out that the vast majority of plays have not yet been considered in OP terms. By the 2023 anniversary of the First Folio, he anticipates that all Shakespeare’s plays and poetry will have been explored in this way. Crystal is at present involved in producing an OP dictionary. Hopefully, within a few years this will see the light of day, together with the new kind of dictionary which Culpeper proposed in his 2011 paper.

In some areas of study, the more that is done, the more there is revealed to do. So perhaps it is with Shakespearean language studies. The past century has seen huge advances. But the future still promises what Hope calls “exciting times.”

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CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

SHAKESPEARE AND PHILOSOPHY



Peter Holbrook

Since all the World's great fortunes and affaires
Forward and backward rapt and whirled are, . . .

Sir John Davies, *Orchestra, or, A Poeme of Dauncing* (1869: 199)

This chapter aims to outline Shakespeare's relation to "philosophy," conceived here non-technically; indeed much as many of Shakespeare's peers would have understood that word, as a total and fundamental vision of reality. Partly it will argue for the importance of what I shall call the *dynamic* perspective in Shakespeare: one that places experience, in particular the flow of experience, at the centre of his work. In a nutshell, I suggest that Shakespeare apprehends the world in terms of change, flux, and ongoingness, and that the ceaseless flow of experience constitutes a kind of ultimate category of his art.

This argument will have the effect of rendering problematic Shakespeare's relationship to the Platonizing and Christian tradition in Western thought, the tradition that assumes some fixed vantage-point beyond time and space from which to render an account of experience. I do not think that tradition is of much help in taking the measure of Shakespeare's works. Conversely, I think that the stance of such philosophers as Niccolò Machiavelli, Michel de Montaigne, Thomas Hobbes, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Friedrich Nietzsche, Karl Marx, Arthur Schopenhauer, Henri Bergson, and Alfred North Whitehead – thinkers who, in their various ways, develop a vision of reality as essentially mutable and unstable – is closer to the spirit of Shakespearean writing. Indeed, granting a certain (Platonizing) sense of the word "philosophy," Shakespeare might well be regarded as hardly philosophical at all, in fact best understood as a kind of anti-philosophical writer. Intuitions of this kind are a venerable part of the critical tradition: thus John Dryden's judgement – that Shakespeare "needed not the spectacles of books to read Nature" (1961: 80) – makes of Shakespeare a naturalistic or empirical author, unencumbered by learning and abstract philosophical speculation. As we shall see, this view of Shakespeare does find some explicit support in his texts.

Certainly it is true that the plays' overt engagement with philosophy is often rather sardonic or unconvinced. Pretensions to wisdom, philosophical attitudinizing, are often the object of comic deflation and satire. An example that immediately comes to mind is the treatment of the ascetic "little academe" (1.1.13) in *Love's Labour's Lost*, a philosophic enterprise which, as a result of the lightning bolt of erotic desire, is over before it has begun. Another is Don Leonato's dismissal of Stoic imperturbability: "[T]here was never yet philosopher / That could endure the toothache patiently, / However they have writ the style of gods, / And made a pish at chance and sufferance" (*Much Ado About Nothing*, 5.1.35–38). Shakespearean comedy exploits the gap between high-minded ideals and what actually happens; and it is Shakespeare's grasp of *experience*, as against ideals – his holding the mirror up to nature – that criticism has justly celebrated. When John of Gaunt urges Bolingbroke to "teach [his] necessity to reason thus" (*Richard II* Additional passage C 10) – that is, to do his best to persuade himself that banishment from England is nothing more taxing than a pleasant jaunt abroad (imagine "thy steps," sermonizes Gaunt, as "no more / Than a delightful measure or a dance" [Additional passage C 23–24]) – Bolingbroke's retort voices the characteristic Shakespearean *realism*:

O, who can hold a fire in his hand
By thinking on the frosty Caucasus?
Or cloy the hungry edge of appetite
By bare imagination of a feast,
Or wallow naked in December snow
By thinking on fantastic summer's heat?

(1.3.257–62)

It is Shakespeare's adherence to human reality – his rejecting the airily idealistic or romantic ("Men have died from time to time, and worms have eaten them, but not for love" [*As You Like It*, 4.2.99–101]) – that we value.

There are, we should note, darker versions of this Shakespearean instinct for reality, too: when Iago sneers that "The wine [Desdemona] drinks is made of grapes" (*Othello*, 2.1.251–52) – that is, she is no better, probably a good deal worse, than other women – we encounter a villainous realism that consists in bringing other people down to one's own nasty level. Perhaps the main examples of this gulf between the ideal and the actual occur in the comedies, which drive home how hopelessly *unphilosophic* (in the sense of irrational, contradictory, mastered by passion) lovers actually are. "Man is a giddy thing, and that is my conclusion" (*Much Ado About Nothing*, 5.4.106–7), owns Benedick after he has been exposed for having fallen in love with the very woman he once disdained as "my Lady Tongue" (2.1.257). In *A Midsummer Night's Dream* such giddiness reaches a pitch of absurdity, all the hapless lovers in that play being swept up in the merry-go-round of desire. "[R]eason and love keep little company nowadays" (3.1.136–37), Bottom observes. In so far, then, as Shakespeare seems to see reality as continually undercutting ideals, he appears a distinctly *unphilosophical* writer: humanity *cannot* live philosophically, by the light of lofty axioms. The critical tradition has esteemed Shakespeare for this down-to-earth common sense, an empiricism at odds with

what we might consider the cloud-cuckoo-land idealism and abstraction of much that goes by the name of philosophy.

This “realist” understanding of Shakespeare is singled out for praise by a modern philosopher who repeatedly and passionately declared his allegiance to Shakespeare: Nietzsche. Nietzsche hailed Shakespeare as an *anti*-Platonist because his drama highlighted the dominion of the body and the passions in human life. The poets, Nietzsche wrote zestfully, “and especially Shakespeare, are enamoured of the passions as such” (1982: 140–41). Shakespeare – and this above all explained the power of his works – “[spoke] out of a restless, vigorous age . . . half-drunk and stupefied by its excess of blood and energy – out of a wickeder age than ours” (1982: 141). The plays corrected the mendaciously high-minded, moralizing view of humanity implicit in the whole philosophical–religious tradition descended from Plato and the Scriptures. Shakespeare celebrated the passions, not least the evil ones, because, as an artist, he appreciated how necessary they were if life was to retain any glamour or piquancy. It was precisely the immoral, destructive emotions, Nietzsche thought, that made life exciting and artistically engaging – and, therefore, meaningful. *Macbeth* was not a parsonical warning *against* ambition but a delicious and noble celebration of it; and Macbeth’s fall, because of his “passion” for power, merely “the sharpest spice in the hot draught of this joy” (1982: 239).

Nietzsche’s evaluation of Shakespeare as a poet of the passions is bracing, but to an extent also traditional. In the seventeenth century Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, noted that Shakespeare “presents passions so naturally . . . as he pierces the souls of his readers with such a true sense and feeling thereof, that it forces tears through their eyes” (1974: 43); and Samuel Johnson memorably claimed that a perusal of Shakespeare would enable the most unworldly “confessor [to] predict the progress of the passions” (1832: 471). For Samuel Taylor Coleridge, too, Shakespearean thought was inseparable from intense emotion:

our own great poet has placed the greater number of his profoundest maxims and general truths, both political and moral, not in the mouths of men at ease, but of men under the influence of passion, when the mighty thoughts overmaster and become the tyrants of the mind that has brought them forth. In his *Lear*, *Othello*, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, principles of deepest insight and widest interest fly off like sparks from the glowing iron under the loud anvil.

(Coleridge 1972: 15)

In all of these ways, Shakespeare comes off as markedly *un*philosophical, committed more to experience and feeling than to reason. Nietzsche, of course, is a decidedly cynical philosopher – indeed, a philosopher who redefines philosophy *as* cynicism, as the attempt to look through or below high-minded ideals to the unlovely reality they veil; and in this regard his authorial persona, in its jokey malevolence, more than a little resembles that of Iago. But Nietzsche’s cynicism has a precedent in the thought of an English philosopher roughly contemporaneous with Shakespeare. Hobbes was twenty-four years younger than Shakespeare, and it is intriguing to speculate whether or not he may have seen or read works by the older writer. It seems possible he may have, given his other literary interests (translating Thucydides and Homer, for

example), and given Shakespeare's prestige by the time of the publication of the First Folio, when Hobbes would still have been in his thirties.

Like Nietzsche's, the overall effect of Hobbes's materialist philosophy – “that which is not Body, is no part of the Universe” (Hobbes 1968: 689) – is profoundly disenchanting. As John Danby noted long ago, characters like Edmund, Goneril, Regan, and Cornwall essentially inhabit the world of *Leviathan*, in which it is taken for granted that the “generall inclination of all mankind” lies in “a perpetuall and restlesse desire of Power after power, that ceaseth onely in death” (Hobbes 1968: 161; quoted in Danby 1948: 39). If Hobbes ever read *King Lear*, he must have seen in parts of that play his own bleak philosophy reflected back to him. After all, his “goddess,” no less than Edmund's, is “Nature” (*King Lear* Folio text: 2.1.1). Moreover, Hobbes's philosophy, like Nietzsche's, effects a radical downgrading of reason from its exalted status in classical and Christian thought into a purely formal or instrumental category. It is, in effect, the handmaiden of the passions which (as the source of motion) are the essence of life itself: “For the Thoughts, are to the Desires, as Scouts, and Spies, to range abroad, and find the way to the things Desired” (Hobbes 1968: 139). Here passionate will or appetite is primary, reason an ancillary faculty: a view of reason which, in its deflationary effect, is not perhaps so very far from Shakespeare's own frequently ironic perspective on the sort of rationalistic hubris in the “little academe” of Navarre. In Hobbes, as much as in Shakespeare, “man is a giddy thing,” the plaything of his passions.

The view that will is primary, and thought or rationality secondary, and that ceaseless restlessness and striving are fundamental to the human condition, is central also to the philosophy of Schopenhauer. For Schopenhauer the principal fact about the world is its blindly irrational will to maintain itself in existence. Indeed, the world is nothing but this will to reproduce itself infinitely. Sciences such as “*anatomy* and *physiology*” (1969: 298) reveal how the will-to-life of living creatures functions; and poets show:

how the will conducts itself under the influence of motives and of reflection. . . .
The more correct, the more strictly in accordance with the laws of nature, the presentation of his characters proves to be, the greater is [the poet's] fame; hence Shakespeare stands at the head.

(Schopenhauer 1969: 298; this passage is discussed in Stewart 2010: 95)

Conscious free will is illusory: human beings (and this is what Shakespeare brings home to us) must act “in accordance with” nature's laws, have indeed no choice but to obey “the genius of the species,” which “wages war with the guardian geniuses of individuals,” for “the species . . . has a closer and prior right to us than has the individual”; consequently, “its affairs take precedence” (Schopenhauer 1969: 556). Desire or the will is “always ready ruthlessly to destroy personal happiness in order to carry out its ends; indeed, the welfare of whole nations has sometimes been sacrificed to its whims” (1969: 556). Schopenhauer illustrates the point by reference to *Richard Duke of York* (or *3 Henry VI*), 3.2 and 3.3, in which the helpless and precipitous desire of Edward IV for Lady Gray brings about war with France as well as the alienation of his erstwhile ally, the Earl of Warwick. For Schopenhauer, no less than

for Hobbes, the impersonal, unceasing dance of desire is primary – and also the fount of both comic and tragic art:

A person's being in love often furnishes comic, and sometimes even tragic, phenomena, both because, taken possession of by the spirit of the species, he is now ruled by it, no longer belonging to himself; in this way his conduct becomes inappropriate to the individual.

(Schopenhauer 1969: 554)

But if it is true that Shakespeare often adopts a sceptical, and humorous, attitude towards philosophizing, is indeed the poet of the passions, this is hardly the whole story of his relation to philosophy. The works themselves bespeak an interest in ideas old and new (as in his reading in Montaigne, or his engagement with the political controversies of the Roman Republic). If we adopt a broad understanding of philosophy as a vision of the ultimate character of the world, Shakespeare was certainly philosophical. The writing is full of *ideas*, and frequently dramatizes philosophical stances (as in the contrasting attitudes towards the nature of the gods in *King Lear*). When Edmund addresses Nature as his “goddess,” or when Hamlet praises Horatio as a man who “in suff’ring all . . . suffers nothing” (i.e., Horatio “is not passion’s slave” [3.2.64, 70]), or when Troilus asks “What’s aught but as ’tis valued?” (*Troilus and Cressida*, 2.2.51), we encounter, in turn, atheistical, Stoic, and relativistic positions in outline. (For a still illuminating account of Shakespeare’s “general reflections on life,” and their resemblance to philosophic statements found in Greek tragedy, see Collins 1904: 82, 82–85.)

Yet even in these instances we may feel that the perspectives matter not so much in themselves but as clues to character: Shakespeare is preoccupied not so much with these stances’ truth or otherwise as he is with the *effect* holding them has on a person’s conduct. (If, with Richard III or Edmund, one supposes power to be the signal fact about the world, one will behave accordingly, that is, ambitiously and ruthlessly.) Finally, the very pluralism of the perspectives in Shakespeare’s plays – such as the range of meanings, positive and negative, attached to “nature” in *King Lear* – suggests the difficulty of attributing one or other “philosophy” to him. The plays are debates among various ways of thinking about the world, and Shakespeare is indeed “*myriad-minded*,” as Coleridge said (1907: 13). So once again the notion of a distinct Shakespearean “philosophy” seems more than a little dubious.

All of this evidence amounts to a caution against the assumption that there must be a core Shakespearean “philosophy” if only we could find it. But is it so untenable to detect an overall conception of things in Shakespeare? He does, after all, occasionally represent the philosophically minded sympathetically and respectfully. We must not overdo the notion that Shakespeare simply pokes fun at intellectuals. His most beloved character, Hamlet, is a thinker and a reader – as is Brutus in *Julius Caesar*, who, like the Prince, is an enemy of tyranny (significantly, both are depicted with books, in 2.2 and 4.2 respectively). In both of their plays Shakespeare associates mental torpor with servitude. Hamlet’s objection to the drunkenness of Claudius’s court derives not so much from priggishness as from the intuition that tyrants like their subjects distracted by bread and circuses. “He thinks too much,” warily observes the budding monarch Julius Caesar of the republican Cassius: “such men are dangerous”

(1.2.196). For Hamlet, thought is the essence of a free and dignified existence: “What is a man / If his chief good and market of his time / Be but to sleep and feed? – a beast, no more” (Additional passage J 24–26). In both plays, thinking and freedom are one.

The conviction that the plays embody and articulate a modern ideal of freedom and individuality has been a key way in which they have been understood and celebrated (see Holbrook 2010). Hegel famously asserted that Shakespeare’s characters were the “free artists of themselves” (1975: 1228): the dramatist, in portraying such figures, captured a new flowering of subjectivity in the spiritual history of mankind. Seeing the plays as bound up with freedom reveals their dialogical character, which was mentioned above, the way in which they take the form of disputations between conflicting outlooks. The plays require audiences to engage with these debates: which view of life (Falstaff’s or Hal’s? Cleopatra’s or Caesar’s?) do we find most attractive or suasive? This *dialectical* quality is what, perhaps, connects them most obviously to the philosophical tradition which, since Plato, has had a special attachment to the form of the dialogue. However, the dialectical nature of Shakespearean writing goes further still – has indeed something of the spirit of Hegel’s own conception of dialectic.

Shakespeare seems to have a peculiar sensitivity to the ways in which phenomena are shifting, contradictory, and complex – interrelated rather than merely and statically distinct. Hegel defined dialectic as “the comprehension of the Unity of Opposites” (1929: 67); or, as he put it elsewhere, dialectic “consists solely in seizing the opposed moments [of any phenomenon] in their unity” (1929: 165). Philosophy’s task is to grasp the whole in its complexity (rather than to focus on this or that isolated aspect of reality at the expense of the remainder). One-sidedness is the enemy of speculative thought. Dialectic, on the other hand, is free of all “party-pleading”; its aim is “to study things in their own being and movement and thus to demonstrate the finitude of the partial categories of understanding” (Hegel 1892: 148–49).

The Italian thinker Benedetto Croce explained Hegel on this point via a Latin tag: “*mors tua vita mea*” (1915: 10). For the *unphilosophical* temperament, each idea is not only distinct from, but also mortally opposed to, its antithesis: “An opposite concept is slain by its opposite” (1915: 10). Dialectical thought, instead, holds not to the motto “your death is my life” but to *concordia discors*, unity in tension: “life is a struggle,” summarizes Croce, “but nevertheless a harmony” (1915: 10, 16). The goal is to attain that stance from which one may repudiate “false distinctions and oppositions” (Croce 1915: 56); that is, grasp the truth in apparently separable, even contradictory, positions. Reality is not to be cut up into pieces, “lacerated by the abstract intellect”; the aim instead is to grasp it in its “complete unity,” as an “organic whole” (Croce 1915: 52, 53). Further, that aim requires putting *movement* and *time* into philosophy: “the destruction of false distincts and opposites,” Croce wrote, necessitates “the exaltation of history” (1915: 68).

Only by reviewing the whole spiritual story of mankind throughout the ages could one understand how each perspective or shape of consciousness contained its own truth, as an integral part of human development. For Hegel, concepts have a way of moving towards each other; and his wish was to find the life and movement in reality rather than to see it statically and artificially. Hegel, for Croce:

[sought] to find a form of mind, which should be mobile as the movement of the real, which should participate in the life of things, which should feel “the pulse of

reality,” and should mentally reproduce the rhythm of its development, without breaking it into pieces or making it rigid and falsifying it.

(Croce 1915: 214)

Such a holistic, non-simplifying, dynamic approach to human experience is the kind of mind-set criticism has frequently attributed to Shakespeare. Shakespeare had, asserted Dryden, of all men “the most *comprehensive* soul” (1961: 79, my emphasis); and Keats’s “*Negative Capability*” (1958: 193) was another way of expressing the conviction that Shakespeare always gives complexity its due, rather than attempting to foreclose it by endorsing one point of view over another. In both judgements what is held up for admiration is the way that Shakespeare is not given to *one-sided* conceptions of life, but is instead a protean figure (see Grivelet 1975), inhabiting each and every perspective on experience. Neither Falstaff nor Hotspur, Caliban nor Prospero, Thersites nor Troilus capture the whole of Shakespeare’s dialectical vision of life: only when the outlooks of all these characters are taken together do we approach Shakespeare’s “philosophy.” In the nineteenth century the German man of letters Otto Ludwig argued that contrast was the essence of drama, and that the most fruitful contrast was that existing in the soul of the hero. It was Shakespeare, argued Ludwig, who had made the most constant and varied use of contrast (1922: 73). It is this vision of reality as inherently contradictory that makes Shakespeare the most philosophical of authors in Hegel’s sense of the word.

In effect, Shakespeare sees the world not so much in terms of immobile and static substances, “things” standing distinct from one another, but rather as a whole process: it is the tension *between* opposites that matters. Antony is *both* a constant Roman *and* a ridiculous ruffian; Cleopatra, a “maid that milks / And does the meanest chores” (4.16.76–77) *and* a dazzling queen; Hamlet an ineffective “John-a-dreams” (2.2.570) *and* a charismatic and heroic humanist prince; Lear, “a foolish, fond old man” (4.6.53) *and* a towering king. An emblem of this characteristic double vision of the plays occurs in *The Winter’s Tale*, when Leontes and Polixenes react to the tale of Perdita’s preservation:

They looked as they had heard of a world ransomed, or one destroyed. A notable passion of wonder appeared in them, but the wisest beholder, that knew no more but seeing, could not say if th’importance were joy or sorrow.

(5.2.14–18)

A similarly ambivalent, and characteristic, moment occurs in Olivia’s speech about unrequited love: “She sat like patience on a monument, / Smiling at grief” (*Twelfth Night*, 2.4.114–15); and in the fusion of “smiles and tears” in the First Gentleman’s picture of Cordelia (*The History of King Lear*, Quarto text 17.19).

Shakespeare is alive to the complex, mobile character of existence: rather than seeing any phenomenon as simply itself (and nothing else), he notices how it merges into, or involves, its opposite. “Shakespeare’s view,” claimed A.P. Rossiter in a famous lecture, “is the double-eyed, the ambivalent: it faces both ways” (1961: 292). Of the history plays, Rossiter wrote that their method was “*dialectical*,” “recogniz[ing] the coextancy and juxtaposition of opposites, without submitting to urges . . . to obliterate or annihilate the one in the theoretic interests of the other” (1961: 62). Rossiter

found “ambivalence” to be a key quality in these plays, but it is really a Shakespear-ean quality overall. The word meant, for Rossiter:

that two opposed value-judgements are subsumed, and that both are valid (i.e., for that work of art or the mind producing it). The whole is only fully experienced when both opposites are held and included in a “two-eyed” view; and all “one-eyed” simplifications are only falsifications; they amount to a denial of some aspect of the mystery of things.

(Rossiter 1961: 51)

Likewise, Hegel insisted that dialectic was:

recognised in many ways in common proverbs. Thus *summmum jus summa injuria*: . . . to drive an abstract right to its extremity is to do a wrong. In political life . . . extreme anarchy and extreme despotism . . . lead to one another. . . . Pride comes before a fall: Too much wit outwits itself. . . . [T]he extremes of pain and pleasure pass into each other: the heart overflowing with joy seeks relief in tears, and the deepest melancholy will at times betray its presence by a smile.

(Hegel 1892: 150–51)

This “two-eyed” quality of Shakespeare’s art was summed up in an epigram by the French existentialist author E.M. Cioran: “Shakespeare: the rose and the ax have a rendezvous” (1980: 5). The aphorism conveys what Cioran found essential in Shakespeare: ambivalence, contradiction, a grasp of reality that does not rationalize – and, hence, falsify – experience. This, thought Cioran, was why reading Shakespeare, along with such writers as Dostoyevsky, constituted an antidote to the gross simplifications and deceptions of ideology or of systematic philosophy: “Shakespeare,” he wrote, “never ‘served’ anything” (1980: 18). In other words, his is not that “poetry that has a palpable design upon us,” to use Keats’s phrase (1958: 224); it holds fast to experience and the movement of life itself, rather than serving (or aspiring to become) a static, and therefore lifeless, metaphysical system or world-view. Shakespeare combines, in the comprehensive sweep of his vision of life, both beauty and horror, the “rose” and the “ax.”

A desire to free philosophy from dogmatism and one-sidedness, and to grasp reality not as fixed but as creative and full of life, characterizes the thought of both Bergson and Whitehead. Both broke with a mechanistic science and with an Aristotelian metaphysic that took substance as foundational. Both saw flux as essential. As Bergson put it: “Movement is reality itself” (2007: 119). Thought and language deceive us into mistaking events and processes for substances. Like Hegel, Bergson thought that true philosophy was concerned not with Being but with Becoming. What he wished to avoid was the nightmare of a universe of endless repetition. “[W]e reason and philosophise,” he complained, “as though change did not exist” (2007: 108). The problem lay in thought itself, the way concepts spatialized time, turning an indivisible flow or stream into a succession of points. We say “now” or “then” as if they are independent states of affairs; but in actuality there is no “then” that is not already a “now,” no “now” not already “then.” Time and experience are *pure duration*, not to be thought of in the way we conceptualize space. For practical purposes we need

to think in terms of solid things. But actually “things and states,” says Bergson, “are only views, taken by our mind, of becoming.” In fact “There are no things . . . only actions” (1998: 248).

Bergson is horrified at the vision of a universe of death, of stagnant, mechanical repetition. The intellect portrays such an uncreative universe because it is concerned with our ability to manipulate matter for given ends, and so “instinctively selects in a given situation whatever is like something already known. . . . [It] is concerned only with the aspect of *repetition*” (1998: 29). What analysis cannot grasp is “the absolute originality and unforeseeability of forms” (1998: 29). To the extent that metaphysics and analysis generally have sought to replace the fact of experience itself with abstract, spatialized, non-temporal concepts, they have introduced us to no more than the “shadow” of the “world”; and that shadow, Bergson says, is “cold as death” (2007: 106). What he proposes instead is a vision of reality as “unceasing creation, the uninterrupted up-surge of novelty” (2007: 7). Further, he remarks (in a direct inversion of Plato) that it is to the artists and poets, those concerned with experience, not the philosophers, that we must turn for a true picture of reality: “For hundreds of years, in fact, there have been men whose function has been precisely . . . to make us see what we do not naturally perceive. They are the artists” (Bergson 2007: 112). It is the artists who unveil reality, which is “the continual elaboration of the absolutely new” (Bergson 1998: 11).

One might even say that Bergson’s philosophy, with its commitment, as he puts it, to “conceiving the radically new and unforeseeable” (2007: 8), is essentially a philosophy of romance, in the sense that we use that word for the world of Shakespeare’s late plays, in which tragic ends are but the prelude to comic beginnings, and in which “things dying” go hand in hand with “things new-born” (*The Winter’s Tale*, 3.3.110–11). Time, in *The Winter’s Tale*, boasts of his “power / To o’erthrow law, and in one self-born hour / To plant and o’erwhelm custom” (4.1.7–9). For Bergson, similarly, the future is not given – not contained in the past, not simply, as he puts it, “a rearrangement of the old” (2007: 8, 15).

For Whitehead, no less than for Bergson, the key thing was to preserve freedom, adventure, and novelty; and “the flux of things” was the “one ultimate generalization around which we must weave our philosophical system” (1978: 208). The “actual world” is “a process, and . . . the process is the becoming of actual entities” (1978: 22). Moreover, these entities are themselves processes, not beings as such. As he wrote, “*how* an actual entity *becomes* constitutes *what* that actual entity *is*. . . . Its ‘being’ is constituted by its ‘becoming’” (1978: 23). As one commentator has put it, for Whitehead, “Transient experiences are the ultimate reality” (Lowe 1968: 38).

In Whitehead’s system, every “thing” (or rather occasion or event) enters into countless relations with other processes past, present, and future. Relatedness is fundamental: “you cannot abstract the universe from any entity . . . so as to consider that entity in complete isolation. . . . In a sense, every entity pervades the whole world” (1978: 28). The world is an endless profusion of relations and complexes; and their very growing together rules out repetition. As time passes, there are simply more data available to enter into the creation of other things: “The method of nature,” Whitehead asserted, “seems to be by the production of novelty – some totally unexpected turn of origination” (quoted in Price 1954: 193).

Like Bergson, Whitehead had a profound interest in the arts and literature. Art is the model by which we should understand the universe itself. Creativity he dubbed the “general metaphysical character which underlies all occasions” (Whitehead 1985: 220). Whitehead admired Shakespeare’s own creative “exuberance,” picturing the poet much as he imagined reality generally, as a continual upsurge of creative energy: “I believe once he had clearly imagined a scene, the words came of themselves, in a rush” (quoted in Price 1954: 63). Instead of thinking of the universe as composed of static substances that can be understood apart from all other things, we need to think of it as a continuum. Everything in the universe is on a par with everything else and entering into relations with everything else. The universe is creatively alive with ceaseless movement and new interconnections.

The attitudes we find in Bergson and Whitehead are not unknown in the Renaissance, and they provide a good way to approach Shakespeare. The view that finds time and mutability the central fact of human existence is apparent, for example, in Machiavelli: “human things are always in motion” (1996: 123). The ancient world, and the Renaissance, had their own process philosophers (Heraclitus, for example, who is cited by Montaigne). Montaigne’s description of the unstable nature of reality is now classic:

The world is but a perennial see-saw. Everything in it – the land, the mountains of the Caucasus, the pyramids of Egypt – all waver with a common motion and their own. Constancy itself is nothing but a more languid rocking to and fro. . . . I am not portraying being but becoming.

(1991: 907)

The self “staggers confusedly along with a natural drunkenness” (Montaigne 1991: 907). The *Essays* themselves repudiate dogmatism and oversimplification because they are “a register of varied and changing occurrences, of ideas which are unresolved and, when needs be, contradictory, either because I myself have become different or because I grasp hold of different attributes or aspects of my subjects” (1991: 908). The self, in Montaigne’s version of it, is simply a continual whirligig of passions, ideas, and appetites.

Shakespeare, in the interpretation of him I am developing here, had a vision of reality akin to that we find in Montaigne, Bergson, Whitehead, and the other process-minded philosophers to whom I have had recourse. The comedies, for example, depict human beings as wholly at the mercy of new and unexpected desires, impelling them willy-nilly. Moreover, Shakespeare seems to have found something peculiarly lovely in transience itself. We find a staggeringly beautiful image of transience right at the beginning of *The Merchant of Venice*, in the passage in which Salerio, attempting to explain to Antonio the cause of the latter’s melancholy, suggests that perhaps his friend is anxiously preoccupied with what might happen should his ships split open on “dangerous rocks.” Salerio wonders how he himself would feel if he had merchant ships near rocks:

Which, touching but my gentle vessel’s side,
Would scatter all her spices on the stream,
Enrobe the roaring waters with my silks,

And, in a word, but even now worth this,
And now worth nothing.

(1.1.31-36)

This astounding and gorgeous image – of a sea enrobed with silks and scattered over with exotic spices – is of course a picture of waste, the destruction of far-fetched luxury goods. But it is also (all the more ravishingly) an image of transience: what was previously an immense fortune is in a trice “worth nothing.” Part of the appeal of Prospero’s speech in *The Tempest* about the masque he stages for Ferdinand and Miranda is simply this spectacle’s impermanence, the way the sudden vanishing of the “actors” underscores how “The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces, / The solemn temples, the great globe itself, / Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,” and “Leave not a rack behind” (4.1.152-54, 156). It is hard not to feel that these lines, with their clear invocation of the theatre and of playing, do not express some basic vision – philosophy, if you will – of the dramatist. The line drawing out the idea of “melting” – “melted into air, into thin air” (150) – seems to savour this notion of the “insubstantial,” the word Shakespeare uses to describe Prospero’s “pageant” (4.1.155). Throughout his career Shakespeare appears to have been attracted to such will-o’-the-wisp beauty: the *Sonnets* are perhaps the pre-eminent document.

The *Sonnets* also record change and movement, in particular the movement of the mind. In sonnet 27 the speaker pictures himself lying in his bed, “The dear repose for limbs with travel tired,” but soon enough “begins a journey in [his] head,” a “zealous pilgrimage” his mind makes to the object of his love (1,3,6). As he gazes on darkness, he sees the beloved’s shadow, “like a jewel hung in ghastly night” (11). The beloved is “present-absent” (4), to use the suggestive phrase from sonnet 45 – an idea picked up in sonnet 47, where the beloved, though “away,” is “present still” (10). What all of this verse suggests is a way in which phenomena never simply “are,” as discrete, static units of being. Rather, they are inhabited by difference, change, becoming. The beloved is not simply situated in one particular location or moment: he is also shadowed, “present-absent,” in other times and places. In sonnet 53 Shakespeare imagines the beloved as endlessly multiplied in representations of himself: the Young Man’s beauty has the effect of making all kinds of other phenomena, both before his time and currently – Helen’s cheek, Adonis, “the spring and foison of the year” (9) – copies or images of himself. “What is your substance,” the speaker asks, “whereof are you made, / That millions of strange shadows on you tend?” (1-2). The Young Man is not simply himself, in one region of space-time; he is, rather, “in every blessed shape we know” (1-2).

It is suggestive that Shakespeare should use in sonnet 53 the philosophical word “substance” – with its connotation of a distinct, enduring, logically separable entity – for it is a strange “substance,” the poem contends, that can be here, there, and everywhere at once, bound up and implicated in so many millions of other entities. (He uses it again in sonnet 44, though there in the sense of stuff or material in contrast with “nimble thought” [7].) Similarly, in sonnets 50 and 51 Shakespeare imagines moving forward on a horse, a simple case of motion through space. But, in sonnet 50, as that onward movement takes place – “How heavy do I journey on the way” (1) – his mind doubles back to the beloved: he is proceeding both forward and backward simultaneously. For this poem, to think of the speaker as simply

moving forward across the earth is the dulllest literalism: he is simultaneously, as a mind-traveller, turning backward.

Mobility enters most crucially, of course, into Shakespeare's conception of character: personality is a field of potential – an "event" or "occasion," to use Whitehead's language – rather than a motionless substance. This is not to say that there is infinite potential in each case: there is no question of a Cleopatra becoming an Isabella, or a Desdemona a Cleopatra. Characters in Shakespeare have definite forms, just as entities do in Whitehead; but in Shakespeare's characterization there is too a large potential for development, and as a result a certain contingent interaction with the environment. In Macbeth's encounter with the Witches, Romeo's with Juliet, Angelo's with Isabella, we see a vague potential suddenly crystallized. Thinking of each character as a mere "substance" is failing to see how Shakespeare raises the spectres of other futures in the absence of these decisive encounters: a dutiful Macbeth, a worthy Angelo, an insipidly romantic Romeo.

When Cassius begins to probe Brutus's feelings about Caesar in *Julius Caesar*, Brutus asks him, "Into what dangers would you lead me, Cassius, / That you would have me seek into myself / For that which is not in me?" (1.2.65–67). Cassius replies:

... good Brutus, be prepared to hear.
And since you know you cannot see yourself
So well as by reflection, I, your glass,
Will modestly discover to yourself
That of yourself which you yet know not of.

(1.2.68–72)

Shakespeare here conceives of personhood as a quest: Brutus has "yet" to realize his potential as an opponent of tyranny; Cassius is fundamental to that realization. It is Brutus's long interview with Cassius that makes him who he is (or, rather, will be). Here personhood is the result of interaction with another: for who, as Cassius asks, can see his or her own face? "[T]he eye sees not itself / But by reflection, by some other things" (1.2.54–55). As Cassius observes, Brutus needs Cassius in order to see who he himself is, which is in effect what he might become. It is only through such a process, Cassius insists, that Brutus will grasp his "hidden worthiness," will "see [his] shadow" (1.2.59, 60). Like the Young Man, Brutus is attended by shadows: rather than a fixed, stable entity, he is accompanied by the "shadow" of the person he might and should become.

I am suggesting that Shakespeare had little innate sympathy for the metaphysics of substance, at least not unless "substance" is redefined as attended by shadows, relations, possibilities. In Shakespeare's world, so often all that is solid melts into air. Shadows are ubiquitous. Timon is horrified by a melting, shifting world corrupted by the relativizing power of money. In such a world, separable and enduring qualities cannot exist: gold can turn anything into its opposite. Wealth makes even the "wappered widow" as appealing as an "April day" (*Timon of Athens* 4.3.39, 42); there is no value that money cannot cynically redescribe. Gold can make

Black white, foul fair, wrong right,
Base noble, old young, coward valiant. . . .
This yellow slave

Will knit and break religions, bless th'accursed,
 Make the hoar leprosy adored, place thieves,
 And give them title, knee, and approbation
 With senators on the bench.

(4.3.28–38)

There is nothing so ugly or vile, Timon claims, that the diabolical (or dialectical) power of money cannot render beautiful and noble.

Karl Marx loved this speech of Timon's (quoting it in *Capital*) because it drove home his point that "money . . . like the radical leveller that it is, does away with all distinctions" (1867: 85). Shakespeare, Marx commented, portrayed money as "the visible divinity, the transformation of all human and natural qualities into their opposites" (1992: 377). Timon's speech is undoubtedly a piece of searing socio-economic critique, but it also expresses a certain metaphysical wonder: nothing is simply and uniquely what it is, but everything is attended by "millions of strange shadows" (sonnet 53). Everything is a becoming or potential that can be remade into its opposite. The protean power of money is, of course, also the power of poetry and art: the "carrying-over" power of metaphor, the ability to give to "airy nothing," that is, to mere potentials, "a local habitation and a name" (*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 5.1.16, 17). What Theseus attributes to poetry is the capacity to "bod[y] forth / The forms of things unknown" (14–15): art trades not in inert substances but in possibilities. In this sense art is (to use Falstaff's wonderful word in 2 *Henry IV* for describing the effects of good wine) "forgetive" (4.2.96): creative and wonder-working. It is this art – profoundly alive to change and possibility – that we value in Shakespeare.

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CHAPTER THIRTY

POLITICAL APPROACHES TO SHAKESPEARE



Hugh Grady

Shakespeare was keenly interested in the workings of political power. It is no exaggeration to say that power is one of the most prevalent themes of his overall *œuvre*, along with death and eros. It is *the* major intellectual issue of the histories and Roman plays, and a major if unevenly distributed one in the tragedies and romances. Only in the comedies is it subordinated; but even there, as the examples of *As You Like It* or *Much Ado About Nothing* demonstrate, it is not entirely absent. If we include sexual politics as an aspect of political power, it is a major theme in the comedies as well. There are, of course, several ways to look at what constitutes Shakespeare's political context. Since this collection contains separate chapters on Shakespeare, gender, and sexuality – and others on race, colonialism, and ecology – the present chapter will undertake a narrower and more traditional discussion of the political, leaving those other issues to be discussed elsewhere in this volume.

Shakespeare's thinking about political power in this narrower sense seems to have shifted throughout his career, arguably unfolding in stages, differing somewhat from the early histories to the second tetralogy to the great tragedies and then to the romances, but always elusive and difficult to pin down. From his earliest works we see in florid display his dialogic method – or in Keats's famous phrase, his “negative capability” – his talent for identifying and vigorously representing opposing or disparate viewpoints in a single work. There is now a huge literature attempting to identify and explicate the relevant themes of and contexts for these topics. The attempt to define Shakespeare's political dimensions has in fact been the major work of the last thirty years of academic Shakespeare studies, and the present chapter is written as part of that effort. Accordingly, I shall pursue a historical perspective, tracing the development of “political” approaches to Shakespeare from his own day to the present moment. If we have learned anything from the recent critical past, it is that works of literature – and especially established iconic works such as those penned by Shakespeare – are always received in a social context with political dimensions. This is not to say that other kinds of critical approaches – those concentrating on, say, generic and formalist issues – are not valuable parts of our critical understanding of works of the past. But it is to say that they are incomplete without further contextualization in the societies in which the works were first produced and in those which then

interpret them. In the end I shall return to the development of these recent political approaches to Shakespeare. But we also need to understand that Shakespeare's plays have been, among other things, political documents from their beginnings; and, judging by critical and performance history, the plays' political dimensions have been of great interest to his commentators for a long time.

SHAKESPEARE'S POLITICAL CONTEXT

Shakespeare created his works in the capital city of a modernizing monarchy very much interested in controlling public opinion, but lacking many of the tools used by subsequent authoritarian regimes to do so. For example, there was no national police or even a national army in the modern sense, and of course no mass media as we know them. There was, however, an extensive network of spies. These were mostly interested – in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (roughly the first half of Shakespeare's career as playwright) – in detecting Catholic threats to the Queen's safety, an issue which continued into the reign of King James, as instanced by the notorious Gunpowder Plot which aimed at assassinating James and much of his Protestant Parliament.

There was also an official censor, the Master of the Revels, who had to review and license dramatic works to be publicly exhibited. Playwrights could and did get in trouble with the authorities over the content of their plays. In the reign of King James, for example, not only Thomas Middleton (for his implicitly anti-James *The Game at Chess*) but also Ben Jonson and Thomas Nashe (for their now lost play *The Isle of Dogs*, which reportedly criticized the government) were the objects of official displeasure.

There is no record of Shakespeare himself being brought up before authorities for any perceived transgressive qualities of his works, but there is strong if indirect evidence that in two instances his plays were changed in response to official displeasure. Both had to do with his second historical tetralogy (consisting of *Richard II*, 1 *Henry IV*, 2 *Henry IV*, and *Henry V*), a series of works penned from ca. 1595 to 1599 which are major vehicles for Shakespeare's exploration of politics.

The first instance involves the name of the famous comic character of 1 and 2 *Henry IV*, Sir John Falstaff. There is good textual and contextual evidence that the character was originally named Sir John Oldcastle, but that this name was changed after some kind of well-placed protest. Our texts of the Epilogue of 2 *Henry IV* (24–30) preserve the following explanation to the audience about such a name change:

One word more, I beseech you. If you be not too much cloyed with fat meat, our humble author will continue the story with Sir John in it, and make you merry with fair Catherine of France; where, for anything I know, Falstaff shall die of a sweat – unless already a be killed with your hard opinions. For Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is not the man.

Shakespeare had, knowingly or not, entered into the minefields of religious controversy among Protestants in late Elizabethan England. The historical Sir John Oldcastle had been executed under King Henry IV as a Lollard heretic – a tendency seen by many Elizabethan Protestants as prescient of their own ideas. There was a chapter devoted to Oldcastle as a Protestant martyr in one of the most popular religious

works of the day, John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (1563, 1570, 1576, 1583) – popularly known as *The Book of Martyrs* – and this explains Shakespeare's statement that "Oldcastle died a martyr." But Shakespeare seems to have made amends by changing the name, and the two history plays featuring Falstaff were among his most popular productions.

The second instance involves Shakespeare's 1595 play *Richard II*, lacking a scene in its first three quarto editions (of the deposition of the title character) which did appear in later editions printed after the death of Queen Elizabeth. While there is no extant explanation for the change, there is strong circumstantial evidence. Elizabeth had famously remarked, six months after the unsuccessful attempt by the Earl of Essex to depose her in early 1601, "I am Richard II, know ye not that?" (Chambers 1923: 2.323; Montrose 1996: 72). It is a matter of historical record that Essex had paid Shakespeare's company to revive the play *Richard II* on the eve of his failed coup attempt, and the players were questioned about these events at the Earl's trial in February: they testified that they had merely performed as requested and been compensated, and they were not further troubled in the matter. But, given this history, it seems quite plausible that a possibly offensive scene had been deliberately deleted in contemporaneous printings of the play, only to be restored after Elizabeth's death.

It is also highly probable that a desire to please King James (and his stated goal to unite England and Scotland into one country) was behind the depiction of an ancient united Britain in *King Lear* and in the heroic treatment of King James's Scottish ancestors in *Macbeth*, among other examples that could be cited – although neither of these masterpieces should be reduced to that one social aim, which exists among many others (including some that appear to criticize the monarchy for audiences inclined to interpret them that way).

In short, Shakespeare's plays were written in a highly political context, and he had to please those in authority while still courting a popular audience which harboured much less reverence for authority in some of its members. All told, Shakespeare seems to have steered his way quite successfully among the many possible obstacles this situation posed for him, and emerged at the end of his career relatively unscathed. His works can be and, as we shall see, have been interpreted as fulfilling both sides of disparate views on the role of theatre vis-à-vis society articulated by his contemporaries. On the one hand, the playwright and poet Thomas Heywood claimed in 1612 that the end of drama in his time was:

to teach the subjects obedience to their King, to shew the people the untimely ends of such as have moved tumults, commotions and insurrections, to present them with the flourishing estate of such as live in obedience, exhorting them to allegiance, dehorting them from all trayterous and felonious stratagems.

(quoted in Montrose 1996: 44)

But the theatre was seen by other contemporaries as a potentially dangerous and subversive institution. There was a large anti-theatrical faction that included the civic leaders of London and many but not all of the Protestant reformers who have come to be known as Puritans. They opposed the theatre on many grounds, especially for its supposed incitement of its audience to various sexual and criminal temptations; and they complained that in the large crowds were many prostitutes, pickpockets,

idle apprentices, and students, so that the theatre facilitated vice. In contrast, many aristocrats and the court itself sponsored and encouraged the theatre for its entertainment value in their own lives and social functions. But some in the anti-theatrical party found in the very act of socially inferior actors impersonating kings and aristocrats something evil in itself. London preacher William Crashaw declared in 1610, for example:

As for Plaiers. . . they play with Princes and Potentates, Magistrates and Ministers, nay with God and Religion, and all holy things: nothing that is good, excellent or holy can escape them.

(Chambers 1923: 4.254)

For these, the very act of actors' impersonating the powerful – and especially the sacred office of the monarch – was inherently subversive, as David Scott Kastan has argued in an influential article (1986). Similarly, some viewed the theatre as itself an incitement to defy the accepted social hierarchy of the day. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London were explicit about the danger to social order represented by the theatres, in a petition of 1597 to the Privy Council:

Amonge other inconveniences it is not the least that they give opportunity to the refuze sort of evill disposed & vngodly people, that are within and abowte this Cytie, to assemble themselves & to make their matches for all their lewd & ungodly practices; being as heartofore wee have fownd by th'examinaton of divers apprentices & other seruantes whoe have confessed vnto vs that the said Staige playes were the very places of theire Randevous appoynted by them to meete with such otheir as wear to ioigne with them in theire designes & mutinus attemptes, beeing also the ordinarye places for maisterles men to come together & recreate themselves.

(Chambers 1923: 4.321)

The controversy over the political and moral consequences of early modern theatre had gone on before Shakespeare, and continued well after his death. There was a temporary settlement when, upon taking power in 1642, Parliament closed the London public theatres for the duration of the Puritan Commonwealth. But that period ended with the Restoration of the monarch – and the reopening of the (much-changed) theatres in 1660.

THE BEGINNING OF SHAKESPEARE'S AFTERLIFE

In the years between his death (1616) and the beginning of the Civil War period in England (1642), Shakespeare's works underwent a period of relative neglect, as is common in the case of many other great artists. His fellow actors had, of course, collected his play-texts and published them posthumously in 1623, in the great First Folio, thereby preserving approximately half of the complete plays which did not exist in any other published texts. But critical taste in the era evolved towards the tenets of neoclassicism; and in general Ben Jonson, with his neoclassical proclivities, began to be preferred over his friend and rival Shakespeare. During the Civil War

and Commonwealth period, literary issues were largely subordinated as a matter of course to the burning political questions of the tumultuous times, although it was said that King Charles I passed the time awaiting his execution reading Jonson and Shakespeare, showing that – as John Dryden reported in retrospective comment – the monarchist party continued to value these works (1963: 595). Of course, the closure of the theatres by the Puritan government suggests that Milton's pro-Shakespeare opinions were not widely shared among his fellow Commonwealth supporters.

The establishment of Shakespeare's reputation as the great national poet and pre-eminent creative figure, however, is primarily a story of a steady evolution taking place in England in the wake of the Restoration and then the so-called Glorious Revolution of 1688. This is the period that saw the development of what is arguably the world's first truly public sphere in a new bourgeois civil society during a period of rapid economic expansion. Among many, many cultural, political, and social innovations was the development of the institution of literature as a subject to be discussed in the new fashionable coffee-houses and in the new newspapers and periodicals of the era. Shakespeare's plays, along with those of his colleagues Ben Jonson and John Fletcher, had been among the first revived after the reopening of the theatres under Charles II (often adapted and rewritten in conformity to the new neoclassicism); and they continued to be discussed in the new public-sphere institutions of the era. Inevitably, the discussion at times intersected with the political rivalries now embodied in the two-party system (Whigs versus Tories) which began and evolved in the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution. Literary circles were normally political circles as well, and Shakespeare, as he developed into a national icon, naturally became the contested property of all political tendencies.

Shakespeare's evolution into the status of "greatness" – in defiance of many of the strictures of neoclassicism which had been reinforced by the prestige of the French seventeenth-century culture of the *âge classique* – was, as noted, a gradual matter which can be traced decade by decade in Michael Dobson's *The Making of the National Poet* (1992). One milestone in the long process was the belated erection of a bust of Shakespeare in Poets' Corner of Westminster Abbey in 1741; and something like a cult of Shakespeare was in force in the celebratory three-day Shakespeare Jubilee mounted in Stratford by the famous actor David Garrick in April 1769.

In the years immediately after the Restoration, however, Shakespeare was revived on the stage, primarily, as Dobson has argued, as a safe refuge from the charged political atmosphere created between 1678 and 1682 by the notorious Titus Oates through his feverish accusations of a Popish plot to destroy the Church of England and return it to the Roman faith (Dobson 1992: 62–72). On the one hand, a number of luridly anti-Catholic plays were produced in the period; and, on the other hand, some plays were banned for seeming too anti-monarchical and/or too anti-Catholic. Many plays incited disturbances at their performances by politically partisan audiences. According to Dobson, an attempt to distance the theatre from the political turmoil was behind the several adaptations of Shakespeare produced in the period; but these, too, often had political subtexts. Dryden's reworking of *Troilus and Cressida* was organized around the political message epitomized in its closing couplet: "Then, since from homebred Factions ruine springs,/ Let Subjects learn obedience

to their Kings” (quoted in Dobson 1992: 75). Nahum Tate’s notorious happy-ending rewrite of *King Lear* (1681) was also, in the views of both Dobson (1992: 80–85) and Bate (1989: 61–62), a blatantly Royalist pro-monarchist statement, a political position about which Tate was much more explicit in his subsequent rewrite of *Coriolanus*, *The Ingratitude of a Common-Wealth: Or, the Fall of Caius Martius Coriolanus* (1682).

Yet Shakespeare was hardly the exclusive property of the Royalist side of British post-Restoration politics, particularly during the long period of Whig ascendancy (1715–60). “Whig” interpretations of Shakespeare began to appear soon after the Glorious Revolution, perhaps earliest in the form of a “Whig” *Julius Caesar*, which through some deft editing and additions presents an unambiguously heroic and republican Brutus. This version dominated the stage throughout the eighteenth century (Dobson 1992: 94). But the development of “gentlemanly” magazines – pre-eminently Richard Steele’s *The Tatler* and its successor *The Spectator* – created a new medium for literary discussion in the new coffee-houses of the day; and, as mentioned earlier, helped constitute a new kind of public sphere of relatively free discussion under the political hegemony of the Whig Party. Such a development was in fact a large part of the formation of moderate “Whig” ideology, which soon adopted Shakespeare, not so much as its political champion but, as Gary Taylor has argued (1989: 58–64), as a golden mean (between contemporary dramatic practice and austere French classicism) constituting the moderation and compromise that were the essence of the new ideology.

Shakespeare in effect embodied English (and Whig) moderation in this era; and he became more pre-eminent as well. Taylor reports that the seventeenth-century linking of Shakespeare to the two other Renaissance Folio dramatists, Ben Jonson and John Fletcher, began to give way in *The Tatler* and *The Spectator* to singular references to Shakespeare (Taylor 1989: 58–64). He now stood alone at the summit of English drama and poetry. In that position, his appreciation was soon caught up in the passions of a developing English (and British) nationalism and disdain for all things French, epitomized in the Anti-Gallican Society, founded in 1745 with the announced aim of discouraging the import of French goods into England, but also opposing French cultural influence in general. Sometimes the praise of Shakespeare – whose tragedies were pointed examples of greatness achieved in defiance of the “rules” for tragedies promulgated by French neoclassicism and embodied in the much-admired classical tragedies of Pierre Corneille and Jean Racine – was tinged with this anti-French sentiment, as can be seen in the concluding remarks on Shakespeare in a Maurice Morgann classic 1777 book-length essay, “An Essay on the Dramatic Character of Sir John Falstaff”:

When the hand of time shall have brushed off his present Editors and Commentators, and when the very name of *Voltaire*, and even the memory of the language in which he has written, shall be no more, the *Appalachian* mountains, the banks of the *Ohio*, and the plains of *Scotia* shall resound with the accents of this Barbarian: In his native tongue he shall roll the genuine passions of nature; nor shall the griefs of *Lear* be alleviated, or the charms and wit of *Rosalind* be abated by time.

(Morgann 1963: 233)

POLITICS, SHAKESPEARE, AND THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Shakespeare became a major property of the German-speaking world as a nationalist-tinged challenge to what had been a culturally hegemonic French neoclassicism, beginning with critic and playwright Gotthold Ephraim Lessing in 1767. Combatting what he argued was an arid, overly rationalistic neoclassicism, Lessing championed Shakespeare's works as restoring a sense of enchantment in a disenchanted, post-Enlightenment world, and as an embodiment of a new sense of the aesthetic destined to restructure the perception and consumption of all subsequent forms of art. Lessing was soon joined in the celebration by many other German-speaking literary celebrities. August Wilhelm Schlegel (1846) in particular elaborated the new sensibility into a treatment of Shakespeare's works far more developed than any contemporaneous criticism of Shakespeare in England.

Shakespeare thus became an issue of a developing German nationalism, which put an even stronger emphasis on the idea of a national culture than usual because of Germany's political fragmentation (at least until the unification of 1871). In turn, this appropriation inspired English Romantics to try to build on the German ideas, but to bring Shakespeare back to his own country. To be sure, the Romantics built as well on the late British Enlightenment, when a native character criticism took shape with such writers as Maurice Morgann, Elizabeth Griffith (1775), Henry Mackenzie (1780), and William Richardson (1774). These writings were symptoms of a new individualism developed in the Enlightenment and closely connected to the development of modern liberal humanism, as discussed by Peter Holbrook in his 2010 *Shakespeare's Individualism*. It became in turn, as Holbrook argues, the chief target of T.S. Eliot's conservative Shakespeare criticism of the early twentieth century. Methodologically, this ideology led to the critical practice which dominated Shakespearean criticism throughout the nineteenth century, the character criticism epitomized by Coleridge, William Hazlitt, and many subsequent followers.

Both Coleridge and Hazlitt – the two leading English Romantic Shakespeare critics – were greatly influenced not only by the rise of individualism but also by the new German appreciation of Shakespeare. Accordingly, they shared a large number of critical assumptions and procedures. But they developed them according to quite different political values. Coleridge began his Shakespeare criticism in earnest only after he had evolved – he is perhaps the prototype for this long-standing cultural cliché – from his youthful radical idealistic phase into a party-of-one kind of Tory or Conservative. Hazlitt, in contrast, remained politically pro-republican and anti-monarchist his entire career, more radical than liberal, argues Bate (1989: 160). In this period of his life, in his strong reaction against the excesses and terror of the French Revolution, Coleridge in effect appropriated Shakespeare as a member of his conservative political tendency, emphasizing on more than one occasion the prominence of kings and the monarchy, the critique of political disorder and disobedience, and related ideas. In 1811, for example, he compared Macbeth and Napoleon Bonaparte in a public lecture reported in a Bristol newspaper:

Mr. Coleridge at the commencement of this lecture drew a comparison between the characters of Macbeth and Bonaparte – both tyrants, both indifferent to

means, however barbarous, to attain their ends; and he hoped the fate of the latter would be like the former, in failing amidst a host of foes, which his cruelty and injustice had roused against him.

(quoted in Bate 1992: 137)

Hazlitt, in contrast, saw a different kind of implied politics in Shakespeare, and he was keen to supplant Coleridge's views on this subject (as he writes to his friend William Gifford):

Do you with Mr Coleridge, in his late Lectures, contend that not to fall down in prostration of soul before the abstract majesty of kings as it is seen in the diminished perspective of centuries, argues an inherent littleness of mind?

(Hazlitt 1906 as quoted in Bate 1989: 175)

Hazlitt probably had in mind, as Bate argues, Coleridge's claim that *Richard II* is at heart a patriotic, monarchist play that would "fall dead on the hearts of all Jacobized Englishmen" (quoted in Bate 1989: 175). Despite all they shared of the Romantic aesthetic, these two major figures in the history of Shakespeare criticism attempted to appropriate Shakespeare for opposite political causes (Foakes 2010: 153–58).

Hazlitt had come to see Shakespeare's depiction of kings as a political issue, and he argued specifically that in *Henry V* Shakespeare had illustrated the inherent corruption of a system of one-man rule. After maintaining that the young King is deliberately leading his followers to a violent and deadly war with France on no better basis than political expediency, Hazlitt writes:

Such is the history of kingly power, from the beginning to the end of the world; – with this difference, that the object of war formerly, when the people adhered to their allegiance, was to depose kings; the object latterly, since the people swerved from their allegiance, has been to restore kings and to make common cause against mankind.

(quoted in Bate 1989: 174)

It was the heart of Hazlitt's critique of Coleridge in 1819 to take the latter to task for his new defence of monarchy (Bate 1989: 175).

The Victorians built on this Romantic base, but pushed Shakespeare studies towards a new kind of professionalism which was at first practised by gentlemen-scholars largely outside the academy (Grady 1991: 28–63). The New Shakspeare Society promulgated what many would agree was a dubious procedure (relying exclusively on necessarily subjective scansions as the only stylistic test) to detect the hands in at least several of Shakespeare's plays of passages written by other authors. For many Victorians – influenced by Romanticism to see art and literature as the last bulwarks of the human spirit against the levelling impulses of commercialism and the corrosive positivism of much Victorian science – such threats to the integrity of Shakespeare's texts were little less than sacrilegious. The noted poet Algernon Charles Swinburne took the lead in fighting back with his vituperative book-length study of Shakespeare's versification, *A Study of Shakespeare* (1880), approaching Shakespeare with a reverence that testified to the effects of the Romantic revolution on the understanding of

art and Shakespeare. For Swinburne, Shakespeare's art represented the very mystery of creation, a mystery destined never to be grasped by an imperializing science, and he reached rare levels of high dudgeon in his denunciation of the disintegrators.

While this debate generated much more heat than light, it testified to the status of Shakespeare as a cultural icon, a social construct which attracted and focused the competing interests and parties of cultural creation: Victorian culture wars, as it were. We can hear more strains of this chorus in Matthew Arnold's claim that "Shakespeare or Virgil – souls in whom sweetness and light, and all that in human nature is most humane and eminent" – would have found the Puritan fathers to be "intolerable company" (1971: 45).

KARL MARX AND THE SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST MOVEMENTS

As we have seen, the nineteenth-century Shakespeare was in many ways a German Shakespeare; and one of the most notable of all political appropriations of Shakespeare was that of the German Karl Marx, the famous social, political, and economic theorist. Marx was a Shakespeare enthusiast, according to his daughter Eleanor, making it a practice to reread the complete works every year. He references Shakespeare's works often in the course of his voluminous writings. We can see the relation clearly expressed in a central passage of the now celebrated *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*, in a summary given after two citations from *Timon of Athens* from a German translation (4.3.26–45 and 4.3.384–95):

Shakespeare excellently depicts the real nature of *money*. . . . Shakespeare stresses especially two properties of Money: (1) It is the visible divinity – the transformation of all human and natural properties into their contraries, the universal confounding and overturning of things; it makes brothers of impossibilities. (2) It is the common whore, the common pimp of people and nations.

The overturning and confounding of all human and natural qualities, the fraternization of impossibilities – the divine power of money – lies in its *character* as men's estranged, alienating, and self-disposing *species-nature*. Money is the *alienated ability of mankind*.

(Marx 1964: 167–68; emphasis original)

Similarly, Marx quotes *Timon* again at a climactic moment of *Capital* (1967: 132–33).

As both Crystal Bartolovich (2012) and Christian Smith (2012) have argued, in both cases Marx is, in effect, a Shakespearean – borrowing ideas from a source, or at least reinventing concepts found in the earlier writer which he then acknowledges as prescient. For both Shakespeare and Marx, money is not merely an economic convenience, but the chief structural component of societies of morally inverted values and practices.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Marx was made the more or less official philosopher of the German Socialist movement. (The situation in Britain, with its native socialist and communal traditions, was more complicated and less explicitly Marxist in the period.) But Marx's love of Shakespeare was shared by several of the more literary-minded socialist writers in many countries. When the success of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia led to the organizing of a separate, more militant,

and more doctrinaire international Communist movement, Shakespeare survived the partisan debates and became a favoured author of the Communist movement as well, even after Joseph Stalin decided that only one literary technique, “socialist realism,” was to be permitted. Shakespeare became the great realist and harbinger of a “progressive” modernity that ultimately led to Enlightenment and Communist philosophy and practice (Ostrovsky 2006).

This continued to be the prevailing, official view even as unrest began to grip some of the countries of Eastern Europe during the Cold War; and discussions of Shakespeare became a vehicle for critical probings of the Communist regimes of the period (Nicolaescu 2012: 134–53; Habicht 2006). The work of Jan Kott, a Polish Communist who gradually became disillusioned with the Communist regime, was central in this development. In the work originally known in Poland as “Shakespearean Sketches” but translated later as *Shakespeare Our Contemporary* (1966), Kott developed a notion of a Grand Historical Mechanism in which one tyrannical regime succeeded another, and he saw this illustrated in several of Shakespeare’s tragedies and histories. While the notion had affinities with the Marxist concept of reification worked out by Georg Lukács, it was primarily a historical allegory of the fate of Poland and the other Eastern European countries, as liberation from Nazi domination turned into a new domination by the Soviet Union. In turn, Kott was attacked by more orthodox Eastern European Communist Shakespeareans for supposedly distorting the nature of Shakespeare’s politics (Nicolaescu 2012: 134–43).

SHAKESPEARE AND THE NAZIS

The great prestige of Shakespeare in Germany naturally led to attempts in the 1930s and 1940s to interpret him by the light of National Socialism. *The Merchant of Venice*, with its controversial treatment of a Jewish money-lender, was one fruit ripe for the picking, and the play was produced approximately fifty times in Germany between 1933 and 1944 with anti-Semitic, racist interpretations of Shylock – no others being allowed (Habicht 1989: 116). As in Eastern Europe under Soviet domination, producers at times turned to Shakespeare as a “non-political” subject, and occasionally dissident themes emerged, along with many propagandistic, party-line productions. The tradition of claiming Shakespeare as a German writer facilitated his appropriation by the Nazis, although attempts were also made to claim him as racially Nordic. *Gymnasium* teachers were directed to interpret the plays as embodying the values of State and *Volk*, and to give the tragic protagonists – even Iago and Richard III – heroic treatment in order to follow themes of Nazi ideology (Habicht 1989: 112–15).

THE POLITICS OF SHAKESPEARE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Two broad developments of the early twentieth century shaped the contours of a new phase of Shakespeare criticism which dominated a developing Shakespeare studies until very late in the century: the developments of Modernist aesthetics and of the modern research university with its new departments of English. These trends had converged by the 1940s to create an academicized and Modernist Shakespeare, distinctly different from the Romantic Shakespeare of the previous century (Grady 1991).

Neither of these developments had obvious political ramifications, but both soon displayed political dimensions. Academicization produced an ideology of professionalism which deliberately distanced itself from the overt political dimensions of the discussions of Shakespeare in the public sphere in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Academic critics claimed professional competences that called into question the value of public-sphere discussions. But the universities in which the new academic critics plied their trade were, relative to the general population of the societies they purported to serve, élite and privileged institutions with a mission of educating national élites. On the whole they tended to produce the kind of cultural conservatism epitomized by Matthew Arnold, in the form, say, of the genteel Anglicanism of the American New Critics or the celebration of tradition, order, and hierarchy in E.M.W. Tillyard's widely known *The Elizabethan World Picture* (1946).

Modernism as an aesthetic practice, however, seemed notably protean politically, attracting proponents from both the political Left and Right, often with little in between. In Anglo-American Shakespeare studies the critics who drew most from and developed a Modernist critical practice tended to sympathize with the Right. This was the Modernism particularly associated with T.S. Eliot, who, in his highly influential seminal works "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock" and *The Waste Land*, depicted modern societies void of humanity and meaning (a proposition, of course, that found many sympathizers on the Left) and in need of a return to the values of past societies in some new, undetermined form. Eliot became the biggest influence on Shakespeare criticism of the 1920s through the 1960s, in spite of the small volume and detail of his writings on Shakespeare. The values and attitudes he projected were adopted by a wide array of practising critics. For Modernist critics following Eliot's lead, the age of Shakespeare was reconceptualized as a cultural golden age, an age of an organic society the loss of which had maimed the twentieth century but cast a new light on the surviving documents of a better time. This concept occasionally became specific, as in G. Wilson Knight's paean to Royalism, *The Sovereign Flower* (1958). More often it was a subtext, all the more powerful for being a nearly omnipresent undercurrent rather than an explicit party line.

There were cases where Shakespeare was more explicitly presented as a crucial figure in a conservative political interpretation. Allan Bloom's 1987 jeremiad *The Closing of the American Mind* indicted the American higher-education system of its day for teaching, as he saw it, an empty moral relativism and failing to expose students to the positive values associated with the great books of Western civilization. Of course, those great books included the works of Shakespeare, who is mentioned nine or ten times in passing for a variety of purposes, but often as a representative of the pre-Enlightenment "organic" society. This book is often said to have set off the "culture wars" of the 1990s and beyond. Perhaps unexpectedly, a left-wing response to the conservative Shakespeare became a major feature of subsequent academic Shakespeare studies.

THE CRITICAL PRESENT

Despite the conservative weight of its institutional affiliations, academic literary criticism has within it some important vectors productive of change. The pattern is often like the one noted by T.S. Kuhn in his famous 1962 work *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, which describes alternating periods of "normal science" (when newly

established paradigms are further developed and tested) followed by periods of “paradigm shift” in which new ideas are brought forth to challenge these established procedures. In English studies, the norms of positivist research call for the advancement of knowledge, and the mere repetition of previous insights is frowned upon. Changing cultural and aesthetic practices outside the academy proper, especially in the more open spaces of the avant-garde art world, almost always find their way into professional criticism as well. For example, Modernism was one of the forces that challenged positivism and helped revolutionize literary studies from the 1920s through the 1960s, and it is not hard to detect Postmodernist impulses in the criticism of our own day (Grady 1991: 190–246). Further, we have certainly seen the phenomenon of critical methods exhausting themselves – coming to be viewed as “dated,” and therefore being abandoned by critical practitioners – while other methods, previously eclipsed, often experience periods of revival. Finally, it must be noted that the generation who brought a more left-wing political thrust to Shakespeare studies in the 1980s and subsequently had come of age during the radical Vietnam War and Black Power era.

The changes came somewhat belatedly to Shakespeare studies, years since (as Patricia Parker has noted) “Derrida, Foucault and the others first burst upon the consciousness of English-speaking readers almost a generation ago” (Parker 1985: vii). In 1988 E.A.J. Honigsmann claimed in a round-up article for *The New York Review of Books* that changes in Shakespeare studies had now asserted themselves with great rapidity, and thus “changed the face of Shakespeare studies . . . more suddenly than ever before” (32). There had clearly been dams in place holding back these developments, including the inherent conservatism of academic life with its strong investment in seniority and the system of specialization – features which in Shakespeare studies had produced a very large number of practitioners living in a relatively isolated academic world. But these dams were clearly surmounted in the mid-1980s, when suddenly new left-wing political approaches appeared and rapidly became the leading methods of Shakespeare studies.

In Britain, the new, politicizing trend was called “cultural materialism” and had a noticeable Marxist provenance, although other theorists like Foucault were also influences. In America, the favoured term became “new historicism” (Stephen Greenblatt [1988] also used “cultural poetics” as a methodological self-designation). The American approach included Marxist influence but was more eclectic than the British, with notable borrowings from Foucault (again) and the cultural anthropology of Clifford Geertz. But the two approaches had common general critical strategies of distinctly left-wing, even Marxist, provenance:

- to transform academic literary criticism into a practice with political dimensions and progressive tendencies;
- to relocate the work of art in its historical context, as a social document in intertextual relations with a wide variety of other socio-political texts (and thereby to subordinate issues of form and genre to issues of power and social context);
- to show that, similarly, Shakespeare criticism (as well as literary criticism in general) was always already implicated in the culture and ideologies of the moment of their composition; and
- to undermine received, ideological ideas of a universal, unchanging “human nature.”

Political approaches to Shakespeare thus became, for the first time in the history of academic criticism, overtly political, and a chapter like the present one becomes possible, even mandatory.

In the most recent years, the ardour of this critical movement has clearly cooled; and, while its effects are still evident in the generally progressive tenor of most critical writings, the trend has been to a renewed academic professionalization which has amounted to a return to more traditional historicist and textual studies. Theory is no longer new and insurgent, and neither is the idea of a political Shakespeare. The field seems in search of new directions without being quite sure what they are, at least so far.

To be sure, in a field as large and varied as Shakespeare studies, there still remain many scholar-critics committed to the values and practices of the 1990s – and to updating them for a new era. “Presentists” have called for less emphasis on the historical context of the work, and more on understanding Shakespeare’s presence – and political uses – in our own time (Grady and Hawkes 2007). Marxist, race, post-colonial, ecological, gay, and gender studies are still being pursued with vigour and creativity. But these activities seem to occupy a smaller portion of work in the field than they did earlier. Concomitantly, the new, subtextual ideology of academic professionalism occupies more space than it did in the 1980s, 1990s, and early 2000s. I hope I have shown, however, despite numerous claims to the contrary, that taking a political approach to Shakespeare’s work – to any literary work – is hardly something new that suddenly erupted within a previously apolitical literary culture in the late twentieth century. Shakespeare has always been a political subject, and he will continue to be in the future, under any number of possible guises.

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CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE

RELIGION, SECULARITY, AND SHAKESPEARE



Arthur F. Marotti and Ken Jackson

The subject of Shakespeare and religion can be investigated from either historical or transhistorical points of view. In the first case, one can study specific intellectual, cultural, or socio-political contexts within which Shakespearean drama was or is situated. In the second, one can treat Shakespeare as a religious or, in some cases, a secular or non-religious thinker engaging either universal religious or general ethical questions that resonate in any period. In recent years, there have been three basic approaches. The first is that of such scholars as Stephen Greenblatt (1988, 2001) and Louis Montrose (1996), who accept the “secularization thesis” (Sommerville 1992) and argue that Shakespeare converted religious into secular dramatic material, appropriating what Greenblatt (2001: 253–54) calls the “charisma” of traditional Christianity for aesthetic ends. The second is that of historicist scholars who situate the thematic material, and, sometimes, the dramatist’s own supposed beliefs in the complex context of early modern English religious change and conflicts. The third is that of scholar-critics who treat the playwright as a significant ethical and religious thinker whose insights can be expressed in post-modern philosophical and theological vocabularies.

In the early modern cultural world in which Shakespeare lived and wrote, religion was the *lingua franca*. Emphasizing “the common Christian culture” of the time, Judy Kronenfeld states:

In Reformation England there still existed a universe of discourse in terms of which even religious and political opponents could converse, if not agree, a universe of discourse that even the powerful and privileged and the lowly unfortunate could share.

(1998: 12)

The religious interpretation of experience, of history, of nature, and of topography was normative (Walsham 2011; Jensen 2013), but also subject to debate. Popular culture was saturated with religious interpretations of current events (Lake and Questier 2002), for people believed in both general and special providence, especially after the religious cultural revolution that removed such popular means of contact

with the supernatural world as saintly mediation and prayers for the souls in purgatory (Walsham 1999). There was increased emphasis on God's ongoing involvement both in human history and in particular life-events, the latter alluded to in Hamlet's "There's a special providence in the fall of a sparrow" (5.2.165–66), a quotation that Felicity Heal observes "echoes closely a passage from Calvin's *Institutes*" (2015: 77). Examining Shakespearean drama in the context of wisdom literature, however, Michael Witmore emphasizes "the complete absence of providence" in *King Lear* (2015: 210).

Following the widespread early modern translations of Scripture into various European vernaculars, the language of the Bible was part of everyday life; and it is not surprising that Shakespeare's plays are riddled with biblical language and situations (Shaheen 2011; Hamlin 2013; Streete 2009). Hannibal Hamlin, for example, analyses early modern English biblical culture in order to understand the ways biblical allusion can work in Shakespeare's dramas, demonstrating how Shakespeare uses not only the specific language of the Geneva and Bishops' Bibles, but also the biblical language and the prescribed rituals of *The Book of Common Prayer*, the latter of which Timothy Rosendale (2007) discusses as a foundational text for the literature of the period. Hamlin reveals Shakespeare's ironic, parodic, and sceptical uses of biblical material, for example, in his portrayal of the logorrheic Falstaff, a figure Kristen Poole has examined in her study of early modern radical religion (2000: 16–44).

RELIGION AND THE PROBLEM OF THE SECULAR

For most of the twentieth century, Shakespeare was seen either presciently to anticipate secular modernity or to facilitate secularization by aesthetically appropriating religious material. It could be assumed by some scholars that Shakespeare adopted a secular point of view outside of religion and converted religious morality into general ethical norms (Budick 2013). The issue of faith, which runs throughout many Shakespearean dramas, is uprooted by Richard McCoy (2013) from its religious ground and replanted in the soil of secular aesthetic experience. Jeffrey Knapp (2002) portrays plays and sermons as didactic competitors; however, Brian Cummings argues that "Secular Shakespeare . . . is a historical fabrication with its roots in a modernist ideology" (2012: 674). John D. Cox (2007) has argued that one cannot distinguish between sceptical materialism and a hidden God in Shakespeare's writing. The process of secularization itself proved to be more problematic than many assumed. The publishing phenomenon of Charles Taylor's *A Secular Age* (2007) made clear that it is impossible to read the modern world in terms of a strict "religious" versus "secular" binary, given the undeniable fact that the modern world embraces what he regards as an expanding hyperpluralism. In early modern studies, Cummings has used Taylor's analysis to urge us beyond the religious/secular binary:

to rethink the secular means to rethink the religious. [If the secular is not as secular as we thought] [t]he religious, perhaps, is not quite as "religious" as we thought, and intersects with the world in its totality, not in some hermetically sealed sphere of its own.

(Cummings 2013: 14)

Hannibal Hamlin flatly states: “The idea of pure secularity of Elizabethan-Jacobean theatre is no longer tenable” (2012: 223). The two related master narratives of early modernity and modernity, that of progressive secularization and that of the “disenchantment” or “desacralization” of the world, have been recently and seriously challenged (Walsham 2008; Gregory 2012). Despite this challenge, most literary scholars still accept them.

Looking for a cultural space that transcends the binary of the religious and the secular, David Scott Kastan discusses Shakespeare’s use of the Venetian setting in *The Merchant of Venice* and *Othello* as an environment of “cosmopolitanism” (2014: 82–117). While this conclusion is attractive to modern readers, it directs our gaze away from the interesting religious cross-currents in these plays and the topic that Kastan himself highlights, the limits of cultural and religious “inclusivity” in any early modern polity. In making Judaism and Islam visible in these plays, Shakespeare gestures towards (unassimilable?) religions outside European Christianity (see, for example, James Shapiro’s 1996 work on the former). Alison Shell’s discussion of the pre-Christian paganism of many of Shakespeare’s plays points, at once, to its alien character and to the syncretism that has translated and absorbed cultural material from a non-Christian world. She argues, however, that Shakespeare “treated all religions, including the Christian doctrine of his time, as subservient to artistic unity and closure” (Shell 2010: 235). Others have been resistant to this way of thinking. Phebe Jensen (2008), for instance, has demonstrated that Shakespeare’s festive material in his dramas needs to be viewed in the context of contemporary popular uses of traditional religiously saturated forms of festivity as forms of resistance to the Protestant assaults on older religious practices and rituals. She takes issue with the secular interpretations of festivity found in the work of Michael Bristol (1985), François Laroque (1993), C.L. Barber (1959), and Robert Weimann (1978).

Drama, like other forms of imaginative writing or intensive play, entails a non-pathological “derealization” of the external world, primarily in order to involve the audience in the fictional reality constructed through the play-action. Religious meditation (in both its mystical and non-mystical forms), religious ceremonies and rituals, the sacramental view of the world, all destabilize the perception of the everyday world in the interest of creating a religious experience of reality. In a medieval religious drama such as *The Second Shepherds’ Play*, the final scene in Bethlehem is meant to alter the audience’s perception of the play’s naturalistic fifteenth-century northern English life-world to see it as less “real” than the timeless religious milieu of the Incarnation. The metaphor of the theatre as dream, evoked in Pedro Calderón’s *La vida es sueño* (*Life Is a Dream*) as well as in Shakespeare’s *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, and *The Tempest*, paradoxically “derealizes” both the world and the stage, opening up both to other-worldly reality. The effect can be religious, as it is in medieval mystery plays or in Bottom’s dream in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* (which evokes St Paul’s epistemological “through a glass darkly”), or, as in Luigi Pirandello’s *Sei personaggi in cerca d’autore* (*Six Characters in Search of an Author*), secular and metadramatic (Cope 1973; Abel 1963). Shakespearean drama shows evidence of movement from one to the other, but it refuses to make a break with a religious perception of reality. Whatever their confessional allegiances, neither Shakespeare nor his audiences could imagine a theologically empty world.

SHAKESPEARE AND RELIGIOUS CONFLICT

Scholars have interpreted Shakespearean drama in the context of Reformation and post-Reformation theological ideas and conflicts: studies by scholars such as Debora K. Shuger (2001) are, at root, either intellectual-historical, situating literary texts within a political and social-historical context, or theological and philosophical. Theatre companies were forbidden to deal not only with the subject of “the governance of the estate of the commonweal,” but also with “matters of religion” (Hughes and Larkin 1969: 115). Nonetheless, contemporary religious issues could be treated in indirect ways. For example, the failed 1605 Catholic terrorist plot to blow up Parliament and the whole political élite, including the royal family, became part of the political paranoia of *Macbeth* (Wills 1995). Shakespeare’s plays may not stage religiously motivated regicides; but, as the assassinations of Henri III and Henri IV of France and William of Nassau in the Low Countries illustrated, contemporary examples of the killings of rulers could be seen as religiously motivated.

One of the religio-political points of dispute between Protestants and Catholics, particularly between the English state and the papacy, concerned the relationship of monarchy to the (direct or indirect) temporal power asserted by popes (Tutino 2010). Against the background of the international conflict over the divorce of Henry VIII from his first queen, the papal excommunication of Queen Elizabeth in a bull of 1570, and the later polemical dispute over the Oath of Allegiance demanded by King James in the wake of the failed 1605 Gunpowder Plot, the question of a transnational authority’s overriding the sovereign claims of a particular nation’s monarch was a live one in early modern culture. It is reflected, certainly, in Shakespeare’s *King John*, a play about a monarch whom some English Protestant writers, such as John Foxe (in his *Book of Martyrs*) and John Bale (in *The Troublesome Raigne of King John*), praised as an heroic anti-papalist or proto-Protestant martyr. In this history play Shakespeare dramatizes a confrontation between the English king and the Pope’s legate in which the relationship between royal sovereignty and papal temporal power is at stake (3.1.61ff.). Of course, the conflict between monarchical and papal authority was current in the 1590s, when the persistent threat of a second papally sanctioned invasion by Spain was imminent. Beatrice Groves has argued recently that, in this play and in the wake of the 1588 Armada, Shakespeare surprisingly defended political dissent and challenged “the idea that conformity is the ultimate test of loyalty” (2015: 110). Kastan maintains that, while Shakespeare denies his King John the heroic, proto-Protestant qualities ascribed to him in post-Reformation England, he does not offer a Catholic counter-narrative (2014: 58).

SHAKESPEARE’S RELIGIOUS AMBIGUITY AND THE RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY OF AUDIENCE RESPONSES

Some historical studies discuss religion in Shakespearean drama in terms of the dramatist’s supposed beliefs and intentions as well as in relation to the responses of his religiously mixed audiences in the real-life circumstances of local and national politics and social history. Arguments have been made for and against Shakespeare’s Catholicism, Protestantism, ecumenism (Sterrett 2012), or religious indifferentism. The dominant opinion, articulated by David Scott Kastan, is that “Shakespeare’s faith

cannot be recovered" (2014: 30), but Kastan suggests that the dramatist was probably what Christopher Haigh terms a "'Parish Anglican,' Protestant in name only" (1993: 37). David Bevington says Shakespeare was "fascinated with philosophical and religious controversy, among other matters, and not least of all with skeptical uncertainty about the role purportedly played by divinity in human affairs" (2015: 36). David Loewenstein (2015) argues that Shakespeare's radical questioning of religion was articulated in *King Lear*, in which he entertains an agnostic view of reality that daringly challenges a providential view of the world. Shifting the usual grounds of discourse, Jean-Christophe Mayer states: "religion for Shakespeare was not so much a matter of systematic allegiance as one of *constant* debating and questioning," and "the cultural and religious universe around Shakespeare was fast-moving, ever-changing and largely hybrid" (2006: 5). Peter Marshall contends that "[t]he impulse to discussion and debate was . . . at the heart of the religious culture of Shakespeare's age," so that staging and questioning controversial material (despite the ban on dealing with religion in the drama) were only an extension of a widespread social practice (2015: 52).

Some scholars have considered the relevance of religious material to various Shakespearean audiences. Despite Puritan anti-theatricality (and ignoring the religious heterogeneity of actual audiences), Huston Diehl (1997) argues that the stage could serve to reinforce English Protestantism. Robert Watson (1997) reads *Othello* as Protestant propaganda. In some plays, Shakespeare seems to have appealed to Protestant nationalist prejudices. The "Black Legend" image of Spanish Catholic colonizers as brutal torturers and genocidal murderers hiding behind the mask of Christianity was reinforced by the 1588 Armada and the English translation of Bartholmé de las Casas's *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (*Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, 1542); it was a strong presence in the English imagination (Maltby 1971). Shakespeare created a comic figure in *Love's Labour's Lost* named Don Adriano de Armado (Woods 2013: 64); and he exploited anti-Spanish feeling in creating the character of Iago, who was named after the patron saint of the Spanish *Reconquista*, Sant'Iago Matamoros (St James the Moor-killer) (Griffin 1998).

Stimulated partly by the revisionist historical work of scholars such as Eamon Duffy (1992) and Christopher Haigh (1993), who re-examine early modern English Catholic history and its occlusion in the dominant Whig master-narrative of progress from medieval religious authoritarianism, by way of the Reformation, to modern liberal democracy, Shakespeare scholars have revived the topic of Shakespeare and Catholicism. Some of them have focused on Shakespeare's supposed personal beliefs, and have seen them as encoded in the plays (Wilson 2004; Asquith 2005); others have registered the impact of (suppressed) traditional Marian devotion on his plays and on those of his contemporaries (Espinosa 2011; Buccola and Hopkins 2007); others have used the new historiographical research to complicate our sense of the mixed religious signals in the plays and the mixed reactions of original (religiously diverse) Shakespearean audiences (Marotti 2003: 224; Lake 1999; Heal 2015), some of whose members might have heard Kent's statement in *King Lear* – "Freedom lives hence, and banishment is here" (1.1.180) – as an allusion to the experience of Catholics at home and abroad, and others not.

Phebe Jensen (2013) argues that, in some venues, such as the Catholic household in Yorkshire in which a special performance of *King Lear* took place, confessionally

homogeneous audiences might have had a Catholic response to particular plays. The first and second Folio editions of Shakespeare found in Catholic institutions – one in the Jesuit school at St Omer (Schuessler 2014) and the other in the seminary at Valladolid in Spain – suggest (with some qualifications) Catholic receptivity to and pedagogical theatrical uses of Shakespeare's plays, despite the clear censoring of parts of the latter copy (Kastan 2014: 64–67). Noting the presence of residual Catholic culture in Shakespeare's England, Elizabeth Mazzola points out how, in Shakespeare's conflation of Catholic and Protestant codes, "one semiotic system yields two different realities. The old ways of knowing the world are applied to a now-sharply different terrain" (1998: 105). This representational duplicity occurs throughout the Shakespeare canon: for example, in the portrayal of Joan la Pucelle in 1 *Henry VI* (Woods 2013: 30–45); in the presentation of the Ghost in *Hamlet*; in the mixture of religious signals in *Othello*; and in the statue-scene in *The Winter's Tale* (5.3).

While it may be futile or critically foolish to concentrate on the elusive dramatist's own religious identity, it is useful to examine his fusion of biblical language and events, Catholic cultural material, and Protestant doctrines in his plays, as well as his avoidance of the more partisan religious propagandizing of contemporaries such as John Webster and Thomas Middleton. With his collaborator John Fletcher, Shakespeare avoided full-on Protestant triumphalism in the portrayal of the reign of the second Tudor monarch in *Henry VIII*. Instead of portraying monks, nuns, and Catholic priests as villains, hypocrites, or objects of derision – as they appear, for example, in the dramas of Christopher Marlowe, Middleton, and Webster – such plays as *The Comedy of Errors*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Measure for Measure* present these religious figures as sympathetically humanized. David N. Beauregard (2008), who locates Shakespeare's religious identity somewhere on the spectrum from outright recusancy to church papistry to religious scepticism accompanied by a deep sympathy for Catholic culture, argues that Shakespeare had a Catholic mind-set; was influenced by the Rheims translation of the New Testament; and dared to present on-stage some of the very features of Catholicism that were most repugnant to Protestant reformers: for example, purgatory, the sacrament of penance, intercessory prayer, admirable friars and nuns, and the miraculous.

When Shakespeare used terminology associated with the "old religion," he expressed various points of view in line with different dramaturgical needs. For example, he used the terms "miracle(s)" and "miraculous" in his plays in both serious and ironic or comic ways. First, he was aware of mainstream Protestant belief that miracles claimed after the biblical period were false, an attitude the Bishop expresses in his explanation of the supposed reformation of Henry V after a youthful period of wildness: "miracles are ceased" (1.1.68), the same expression found in *All's Well That Ends Well* (2.3.1). Gonzalo's proclaimed "miracle" of the "preservation" of the survivors of shipwreck in *The Tempest* (2.1.6–7) is the result of Prospero's practice of natural magic, overlaid in this play with religious language, as in Ferdinand's calling his match with Miranda the result of "immortal providence" (5.1.192) rather than of her father's manipulation. Alexandra Walsham observes that:

What the Reformation may be said to have done . . . was to help to expand the category of the preternatural and to collapse the miraculous into the natural, the

latter being increasingly the medium by which God chose to communicate his messages to humanity at large.

(Walsham 2008: 509)

Edgar's message to his blind father in *King Lear* after the old man thinks he has fallen off Dover cliff, "Thy life's a miracle" (4.5.55), uses an old vocabulary to acknowledge human value and worth. Nonetheless, the playwright mocks the profligate use of the terms to refer to quite ordinary human experiences and events: in 2 *Henry VI*, the King exposes the fraud of a peasant who claimed to have had his life-long blindness cured through the help of a saint at St Alban's shrine (2.1.62–65); and in *Troilus and Cressida*, the satirical Thersites' imagining of the prospective mutual destruction of the "wenching rogues" for whom he has contempt as a "miracle" (5.4.31–32) makes cynical use of the religious expression. The trickery in *Much Ado About Nothing* that causes Beatrice and Benedick to discover their mutual affection the latter calls "[a] miracle" (5.4.91). In *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, Falstaff refers to his escaping suffocation in the laundry basket in which he was confined "a miracle" (3.5.108).

Although mocked in some of Shakespeare's earlier plays, wonders and miracles are rehabilitated in late romances such as *Pericles*, *The Winter's Tale*, and *The Tempest*. Michael O'Connell (2000) argues that Shakespeare, whatever his personal religious belief or non-belief, clung to an "incarnational aesthetic," whereas Alison Shell reminds us that "Shakespeare does not treat Catholic nostalgia in an univocally positive manner" (2015: 91). In her essay "Sacrament and Theater: Shakespeare's Lawful Magic," however, Jennifer Waldron (2013: 55–84) has argued that Calvin and his followers defined an alternative incarnational aesthetic, insisting on the body as God's temple of the spirit and as a medium of contact with the divine (cf. Groves 2007: 184–87). Clearly, Shakespeare exploits the full range of possible meanings and interpretations of this language. Analogously, the angelic vision of Queen Katherine in *Henry VIII* (3.1) is a religious anachronism, but it is taken seriously rather than mocked.

Doctrinal issues are refracted in the texts of a number of Shakespeare plays. For example, the religious debates about the relative importance of faith and good works or the theology of grace in its various Lutheran, Calvinist, and Catholic forms are alluded to in the cynical Lucio's statement in *Measure for Measure*: "Grace is grace despite of all controversy" (1.2.24–25) (Cummings 2012: 677–78). Protestant/Catholic disputes about the proper forms of prayer are reflected dramatically in such plays as *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Richard II*, *Hamlet*, *All's Well That Ends Well*, and *King Lear*; and irenic hopes for religious reconciliation are expressed in late plays such as *Cymbeline* and *The Winter's Tale*. Joseph Sterrett focuses on "the use of unheard prayer in all of Shakespeare's key genres," a phenomenon that "marks a disruption in the system of social and spiritual exchange, exposes an emptiness that asks to be filled through some process of reconciliation" (2012: xxvii, xxxv). Sarah Beckwith's (2011) approach to Shakespeare's late plays highlights the dramatist's exploration of the dynamics of forgiveness in terms of the transition from the medieval sacrament of penance to post-Reformation social emphasis on confession and communion. She sees the dramatist as practising a sacramentalist dramaturgy that kept in touch with a pre-Reformation past rejected by many of his contemporaries.

SHAKESPEARE'S RELIGIOUS THINKING

Political theology, a topic that has recently received new attention (Hammill and Lupton 2012; Rust 2009), is foregrounded in one of Shakespeare's most religiously saturated plays, *Measure for Measure*, a drama Deborah K. Shuger (2001) has situated within a complex web of politico-theological discourses. Julia R. Lupton, however, has extended the scope of political theology into the modern era, and effaced the boundary between the literary and the religious in treating Shakespeare as a religious thinker. What would have been work in the interdisciplinary frame of philosophy and literature in the past has become, in some cases, religious interpretation, with the understanding that "religion" can be broadened beyond the borders of confessional doctrines. Lupton calls religion "a form of thinking" (2006: 147), and this definition means that we can discuss Shakespeare's religious thinking without trying to identify his possible confessional commitment. Drawing on the work of Giorgio Agamben, she sketches an area of the "profane" between the religious and the secular, treating the Shakespearean theatre

not as a *secular* theater so much as a *profane* one . . . a theater of travesty and sacred parody, of mixed congregations and over-free assembly, a post-Eucharistic stage where communion and community found themselves in a constant state of revulsion and reinvention.

(Lupton 2009: 252)

She defines the space of the profane as "a zone that is neither properly religious . . . nor fully secular. . . the reclaiming for common use of sacred spaces and sacred times, a process Agamben distinguishes from secularization" (Lupton 2009: 249).

A sceptical attitude towards thoroughgoing rationalism is expressed in *All's Well That Ends Well* by Lafeu (2.3.1–6), whose observation is far-reaching:

They say miracles are past, and we have our philosophical persons to make modern and familiar things supernatural and causeless. Hence is it that we make trifles of terrors, ensconcing ourselves into seeming knowledge when we should submit ourselves to an unknown fear.

Along with Hamlet's comment to his Stoical friend – "There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, / Than are dreamt of in our philosophy" (1.5.168–69) – this statement suggests a space in Shakespearean drama between theistic belief and sceptical rationalism, a philosophical and religious openness, a Keatsian "negative capability."

But these formulations may indeed tend towards the "Romantic," the Shakespeare of the great Anglocentric tradition who seemingly spoke only of enthralling wonders beyond reason. To counter this impression, Lupton and other critics seek to engage this "profane" Shakespeare through perhaps the least Romantic of biblical heroes: Job, Abraham, and Paul. For instance, Job and Abraham make their troubling presences known in that most troubling of plays, *Timon of Athens*. Those that seemingly fear an old "transcendental" gesture in Shakespeare criticism need look only to current discussions of this play (Lupton 2011: 134–59; Jackson 2015). Similarly, one sees in Lupton's call for a "Paul Shakespeare" that is "adaptable to harsh climates

and states of emergency, but also to communal assembly and celebration” (2011: 246), a bracing new understanding of Shakespeare and “religion” that cannot be said to provide any easy comforts via transcendence. In *Timon of Athens*, “religion” is a tear or break in social relations, as unnerving as it is suggestive of possible openings not defined by any confessional tradition.

Lupton identifies in “Marcionism” – the habit of mind deriving from the second-century dualist theology that sought to divide Jew from Christian, faith from works, world from heaven – a permanent temptation in Christian theology and in Shakespeare criticism (2011: 228). Critics who rely more on post-modern philosophy and vocabularies, she argues, are no more interested in reconstituting a Marcionite divide than their New Historical colleagues. Rather, they are interested in arguing that Shakespeare returned, via a historically determined Reformation context (she refers to Marcion as a “second century Luther” [2011: 228]), to that world in his play-writing. Shylock, for example, if read in that frame, is not the simple victim of Christian persecution or the honoured “other” of twentieth-century ethics, but a transhistorical negotiator seeking to maintain his particularity (“I won’t eat with you”) while joining in an emerging universalism (“We can do business”). To imagine that Shylock is to imagine Shakespeare. But again we need to get a better handle on our Marcionite temptations. If we pitch our tents too firmly in a post-war American version of the “secular” – and cut too severely the line between heaven and the world – we risk losing Shakespeare as our guide to the past, the present, and the future.

Paul Stevens, in “*Hamlet*, *Henry VIII*, and the Question of Religion: A Post-secular Perspective” (2015), correctly cautions against organizing ourselves around a single play (*Hamlet*) and a relatively small group of critics or even a single critic (Harold Bloom) in our understanding of Shakespeare as the poet who created the modern “secular” individual. In what is his last play Shakespeare invited us to consider that “all is true.” There he asks us to consider that a king’s desire for a stunning mistress is both a pure form of lust and a “prick” of conscience (2.4.168), a quasi-religious call that “entered [him]” “with a spitting power, and made to tremble / The region of [his] breast” (2.4.179–81). While Stevens does not cite him, he here asks us to look back to G. Wilson Knight (1932: 257), who asked, rather simply: “Can a Christian mythology be impregnated with the necessary dramatic force without sacrifice or bathos?” To put this question another way, why is Bloom’s (1998) version of secular humanity the default setting for Shakespeare criticism? As Stevens puts it, a play like *Henry VIII* – that “puzzled” Bloom – does nothing less than model “a different way of being in the world – more importantly, a different way of being human from the one Bloom claims Shakespeare invented in his plays” (Stevens 2015: 257). There need not be, in short, the clean (or Marcionite) split between spirit and flesh or transcendence and immanence that Bloom idealizes in his version of individual human agency.

If we listen closely enough, it is the word *grace* that echoes throughout the opening lines of another late play, *The Winter’s Tale*, and joins Leontes and Polixenes – those Edenic “twinning lambs” (1.2.69) – with Hermione in a hand-holding union. But that echoing “grace” tears apart, rather than unites, what it touches. The *tremor cordis* here matches the one described by Henry VIII. For the joining, an audience must wait and endure the shock of a resurrected statue. We are asked, in short, to “awake” our faith. But awake our faith in what? In whom? According to Agamben (2005: 113–14), *pistis* – Paul’s New Testament word now routinely translated as

“faith” – refers to non-calculated giving over *both* to an unknown (God, for example) *and* to the affective, pre-verbal relationship between any set of human beings that allows for trust, contract, agreement, and so on.

Even Bloom’s Hamlet needs to be reconsidered. *Hamlet* begins by asking “Who’s there?” (1.1.1), and the Ghost “harrows” even Horatio “with fear and wonder” (1.1.42). Yet the play never addresses specifically why we should care at all about this Ghost, who risked his whole country in an inexplicable duel with a rival. Should we not consider that the father’s conduct is one reason no one else in the play seems to have wanted his obviously talented but erratic son to follow him to the throne, and why they turned instead to the young man’s uncle? That is, whether we look to the Ghost or to the Prince who invented the human, the distinctions just are not as clear as we tend to think. Having given in to Marcionite temptations, we do not ask why we organize our critical energies around a ferociously violent character who seems, at best, to have one actual (and perhaps pathologically passive) friend. “Who’s there?” indeed. In short, this is a question Shakespeare puts not just to or of the Ghost, but to the audience, the blur of human forms in the actor’s view as he took the stage to start all this interrogation. The “readiness is all” (5.2.168), we are told near the end; but the “readiness” collapses the “whom” we have been seeking into an act or an action, a movement in the world not unlike the ever-shifting movement of molecules out of which only now, through the wonders of modern technology, we can discern – motion, action.

To be “ready,” then, is all, and all is true. But this understanding does not make the distinction between heaven and earth that we seem, post-Bloom, to want so desperately. “Ready” is all Abraham has to say to God, too. His “readiness” comes to constitute all he is before the call of God to sacrifice Isaac in Genesis 22. “Here I am” is how we routinely translate the Hebrew term *hineni*. But “Ready!” is really a more accurate take on the response. According to Shakespeare, who are we but this readiness in action? When called to account, like Hamlet and Abraham, we cannot really say. We have some sense of the role we played, but no real answer about the relationship between the outer and inner, the flesh and the spirit that Paul supposedly cut cleanly.

“Where is this rash and most unfortunate man?” asks Lodovico. “That’s he that was Othello,” says the Moor, “Here I am” (*Othello* 5.2.289–90), thus himself in two several moments before his oft-discussed suicide of Muslim/Christian bifurcation. Our named “religion” is in some way tied to this search that ultimately produces only readiness, but it is only part of the answer. “O tell me, did you see Aaron the Moor?” asks the Nurse in *Titus Andronicus*, bringing Aaron his son so that new-born emperor-to-be can be murdered. “Well, more or less, or ne’er a whit at all, / Here Aaron is; and what with Aaron now?” (4.2.52–54). The part of Aaron that is “Moor” may be more, or less, or never a “whit at all”; but “Here Aaron is” nonetheless.

The ancient and notoriously sparse narrative of Genesis 22 may, in fact, exhaust what can be said and thought, and Shakespeare seems to realize this result dramatically. But that realization does not stop his seeming need to act out the call and response. There is nothing outside the readiness. Innogen, like Isaac, is pure innocence when brought to her mountain top for sacrifice; and she resists violently, like the Isaac in at least the Towneley/Wakefield medieval cycle play that Shakespeare might have seen. Yet the incident still transforms her. She is told: “Well then, here’s

the point [of the dagger]: / You must forget to be a woman; change / Command into obedience" (*Cymbeline* 3.4.154–56). This transformation sets about the actions of redemptions and reconciliations of the final acts, including the strange and rare appearance of the god "Jupiter." This seemingly secular "act" of gender disguise thus merits the term "religious" as a descriptor even though our tendency is still to look only at *Cymbeline*'s rather primitive "sacrifices" that "smoke the temple" (5.6.399) and "climb" to the "nostrils" of the gods from "our blest altars" (5.6.478–79). If we restrict our vision this way we miss not only the religious implications, but also a deeply funny joke about God's nose and whether our sacrifices smell worse than the shirt of Cloten, the play's clear sacrificial victim.

The modern world very much wants to tag all this evidence as "spirituality," and no one writes about it more exquisitely in a Shakespearean context than Ewan Fernie (2005). The term *spirituality*, however, threatens only to revivify the Marcionite reading of Paul, the idea that spirit and flesh have been severed completely. We agree that Shakespeare is a "dramaturgical monist," as Michael Witmore has argued (2008: 25), but we also insist he is still religious. Let us consider the continuity there, not the division. If, as Brad S. Gregory tries to explain (2012: 38), Scotus and Occam were establishing a religiously based "univocal metaphysics" long before Spinoza, seemingly *the* final word or thinker for Witmore and others on religion, then we must acknowledge again and again that Job, Abraham, and Paul were all there before Scotus and Occam. The "secularizing" of religion, the joining of flesh and spirit, heaven and earth, has a long and ongoing religious history of which Shakespeare – and we ourselves – are clearly a part.

Why, then, would strands of Shakespeare criticism that eschew philosophy and "theory" want to assert categorical philosophical or ethical positions? Correspondingly, why would philosophically or theoretically minded critics want to avoid the very real historical findings of the plays they want to be relevant? Why would those with such a deep investment in twentieth-century American secularism want to cut themselves off from the full history of the ongoing "secularizing process"?

King Hamlet and King Fortinbras might be able to tell us.

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CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO

SHAKESPEARE AND PSYCHOLOGY

“Who’s there?”



Murray M. Schwartz and David Willbern

INTRODUCTION

For over two centuries, Shakespeare’s life and works have been both a source of psychological understanding and an object of psychological analysis. The interrelated trajectories of psychology and Shakespeare reflect the evolution of modern theories, as well as modifications in those theories when they encounter Shakespeare’s plays and poems. This chapter maps the terrain from several perspectives: early modern “faculty psychology”; the range of theories subsumed under the term “psychoanalysis”; and new developments in cognitive psychology, neuroscience, and evolutionary psychology. Recent interventions from potent cultural movements – feminism, gender studies, queer studies, new historicism – have made the field especially fertile, and astoundingly vast.

The sentinel’s charge at the opening of *Hamlet* can serve as a beginning: “Who’s there?” Just whose psyche is our subject? One answer is Shakespeare himself. An early reading of Shakespeare’s mental style came from John Keats (1817), whose idea of “Negative Capability” marked the artist’s ability to tolerate uncertainty “without any irritable reaching after fact & reason” (41). Other writers imagined their own personal Shakespeares. Frank Harris wrote that Shakespeare “painted himself at full-length, not once, but twenty times” in his central male characters (1909: ix-x). Jorge Luis Borges imagined that “there was no one in him,” that he existed in a “controlled hallucination” of shifting words and characters (1964: 46). A.L. Rowse claimed that except for his abnormal genius Shakespeare was a “normal man . . . in line with nature,” admirable in every way (1964: 194). Norman Holland (1964) speculated that Shakespeare “enjoyed remarkably good mental health,” being adept at fluid identifications, expert at repression and sublimation, with a hearty masculine exterior and a childlike interior (135–43). Less idealized characterizations are conjectured in Holland, Sidney Homan, and Bernard Paris (1989), in essays that speculate about the darker energies of Shakespeare’s personality: fraternal rivalry, anxieties about women and sexual betrayal, quandaries of secrecy and self-disclosure.

Other scholars have promoted Shakespeare as an intuitive psychologist of human nature. John Bucknill, a doctor of “mental science,” noted Shakespeare’s special

interest in “abnormal conditions of mind” (1867: vi). Walter Libby (1930) proclaimed Shakespeare “an expert in applied psychology” whose ideas looked forward to those of William James and Sigmund Freud (292, 295). Cumberland Clark (1936) called Shakespeare “a master of psychology” with intuitive knowledge about the instinctual bases of thoughts, emotions, and motives (11). Anticipating the methods of later cognitive psychology, Edward Armstrong (1963) studied “image clusters” in Shakespeare’s language to describe the “eccentric . . . organization of Shakespeare’s imaginative activity,” especially his tendency to favour ambivalence and “contiguous opposition” (105, 110). Later psychoanalytic work demonstrates Shakespeare’s awareness of the problematic development of masculine identity (Kahn 1981) or adolescent identity (Garber 1981); or, on a larger scale, the construction of individual identity within a cultural matrix (Barber and Wheeler 1986). Shakespeare emerges as the supreme diagnostician of modern and post-modern concerns.

A subset of critics has attended not to the dramatist, but to his audience. Following the lead of Kenneth Burke (1925), who used the opening scenes of *Hamlet* to theorize dramatic form as the artistic management of audience anticipation, Stephen Booth (1969) investigates *Hamlet* as “a succession of actions upon the understanding of an audience” (147). More recently, two essays speculate about the responses of Shakespeare’s contemporary audiences. Charles Whitney (2000) constructs an audience of heterogeneous people with a “pre-aesthetic” mind-set, eager to engage in a two-way “transaction” with actors (59–60). Katharine Craik and Tanya Pollard (2013) imagine that audience in terms of rhetorical and dramatic devices that modulate their affective response. Cynthia Marshall (1996) observes that “Shakespeare’s ‘interactive stage’ thrived on audience participation in the creation of character” (101).

Most psychological studies of Shakespeare, however, have focused on his dramatic characters considered as persons with psyches. Most famously, Freud diagnosed Hamlet as the exemplar of the Oedipus complex. Before considering psychoanalytic criticism, however, we want to respect the pertinence of prior psychological models that indicate how Shakespeare himself might have understood human emotion, thought, and motivation.

EARLY MODERN PSYCHOLOGICAL THEORIES

Scholarly studies of early modern “humour” or “faculty” psychology began with Edward Dowden (1910) and have been thoroughly elaborated in J.B. Bamborough (1952) and Lawrence Babb (1965). Most recently, Noga Arikha (2007) has compiled an excellent elucidation of the history of humoral theory from the sixth century BCE to twenty-first-century neurology. Bert States (1992) reinterprets humoral theory in terms of psychological motive (63–86). Using psychoanalytic ideas of internal–external boundaries, David Hillman (1997, 2007) examines the metaphoric anatomy of body references in early modern Western literature, including Shakespeare, as the basis for psychological, theological, and political ideas. Douglas Trevor (2005) draws parallels between early modern physio-psychology and modern psychoanalysis (Freud and Lacan). Gail Kern Paster (2004) examines material metaphors of emotion in Shakespeare’s language, grounded in contemporary psychological theories.

Basically the theory described an elaborate system of correspondences and choreographies among analogous substances, agents, and motions, based on classical

theories of the four quintessential humours: earth, water, air, fire. Humours were real elements, transmutable into phases (solid, fluid, gas); the primary model was fluid. They merged with four essential physical properties (cold, hot, dry, moist) to produce corporeal substances: blood, phlegm, yellow bile, black bile. These substances corresponded to human characteristics. The interaction of the four humours produced a *complexion*; the resulting balance or imbalance determined individual character. Hotspur, for example, is an instance of the choleric man; Jaques, an instance of the melancholic. Alongside the interactive quartet of humours was a tripartite structure of body and mind. The three subdivisions were vegetable, animal (sensible), and rational, corresponding to liver, heart, and brain. Within the brain, three *ventricles* managed the processes of imagination, memory, and reason. This complex physio-psychology produced *passions* or *affections*, roughly divided into irascible and concupiscible, that carried moral as well as psychological value. Thus Hamlet judges his uncle Claudius, whose “vicious mole of nature” portends “the o’ergrowth of some complexion . . . Breaking down the pales and forts of reason” (Additional Passage B, lines 11–12).

Hamlet is partially a humoral character: the melancholic. Unlike Jaques, however, Hamlet presents his behaviour as “actions that a man might play” (1.2.84), figuring the condition as both pathology and performance. Later, when he swears to remember the Ghost “while memory holds a seat/In this distracted globe” (1.5.96–97), the metaphor co-locates an allegorical agent (memory in the third ventricle of the brain) with a metatheatrical persona (the character as witness to his own performance). Such moments signal an idea of person as self-representation, which some have posited as a novel moment in Western history. Critics who present and question this argument include Harold Bloom (1998), Cynthia Marshall (2002), Nancy Selleck (2008), and Valerie Traub (2015). Hamlet’s metatheatrical turn also invokes a basic classical and early modern idea of the “memory theater,” as explicated by Frances Yates (1966) and Lina Wilder (2010). Hester Lees-Jeffries (2013) finds in *Hamlet* a “crisis of memory” not only for the character but also for the cultural moment (11–35, 90–113).

The modern meanings of “sanguine” as bloody and cheerful testify that early modern models of psychology are hardly defunct. Although soured by Jaques’s melancholy humour, the famous “All the world’s a stage” set piece in *As You Like It* (2.7.139–66) describes (male) human life as a series of “seven ages” analogous to Erik Erikson’s chart of the Eight Ages of Man (1950: 247–74). The dramatist’s style and the theoretical model share a consanguinity of form; they are isomorphic. Shakespeare thought in vivid physical metaphors – like Jaques’s soldier “seeking the bubble reputation/Even in the cannon’s mouth” – and analogies between microcosm and macrocosm. Such a mode of poetic conception was perfectly suited to an historical moment that saw a gradual evolution of magical thinking into protoscientific thinking: alchemy into chemistry, astrology into astronomy, theology into psychology (for instance, demonic possession into hysteria).

EARLY PSYCHOANALYTIC CRITICISM: FREUD, JONES, JUNG

The psychological terrain and Shakespearean commentary, both vast and complex, have interacted in response to changing personal, generational, professional, cultural,

and political factors. Our subject is intricately overdetermined, “subdued/To what it works in, like the dyer’s hand” (sonnet 111, lines 6–7). Psychoanalytic theory has always been contentious (even for Freud himself) and prone to division into diverse schools. By the latter part of the twentieth century we should speak of psychoanalyses, styles of psychoanalytic thinking that are incompatible in key respects yet often in fractious or creative dialogue with one another. With these complexities in mind, we sketch the tenets and uses of central ideas.

Freud first described Oedipus and Hamlet as exemplars of the Oedipus complex in a letter and then in *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900: 4.264–66). The history of his complex engagement with *Hamlet* has been thoroughly reviewed, especially by Norman Holland (1964), Peter Rudnytsky (1987), and Adam Phillips (2009). In a later lecture (1916–17), Freud sketched Oedipus and Hamlet as reciprocal figures: the former unconsciously acts out the “nuclear complex” of patricide and incest, while the latter suffers from inadequately repressed wishes (16. 335–37). His colleague and disciple, Ernest Jones, expanded Freud’s comments into an essay (1910) and then a book (1949) that treated the entire play. Frederic Wertham (1941) provided an early critique of Freud’s Oedipal analysis by stressing Hamlet’s “matricidal impulse,” refocusing psychoanalytic interpretations for the future. In his study of character in Shakespeare, J.I.M. Stewart (1949) relied on Freud’s idea of unconscious motives: for instance, Angelo’s sudden lust or Leontes’s sudden jealousy (27–37). Exhaustive interpretations of *Hamlet* by psychoanalysts continued through the century: for example, Kurt Eissler (1971) and Theodore Lidz (1975). Into the present, Freudian clinicians continue to analyse Shakespeare’s characters as diagnosable entities: for example, Marvin Krims (2006), Michael Jacobs (2008), and Dorothy and Jerome Grunes (2014). For reviews and extensions of the classic Freudian approach, see Esther Rashkin (1992), who considers the Freud–Jones view of *Hamlet* alongside more recent theories, particularly Jacques Lacan (1977) and Nicolas Abraham and Maria Torok (1994); and John Russell (1995), who places the Freud–Jones view in relation to object relations and self psychology.

Although Carl Jung, Freud’s disciple and rival, barely mentioned Shakespeare, his theories have affected criticism. Maud Bodkin (1934) briefly considers *Hamlet*; but the most substantial academic study is that of James Kirsch (1966), who relies on Jung’s theory of archetypes as representative of the collective unconscious, noting that the Ghost in *Hamlet* adumbrates “the archetype of the King,” or the Jungian “royal self” (25–26). Alex Aronson (1972) prefers a core analogy between art and dreams, which are the avenue to the collective unconscious and “primordial” mythic patterns. Although he distinguished himself from any theoretical school, Leslie Fiedler (1972) produced an idiosyncratic study of the psychological and cultural archetype of the stranger in Shakespeare’s plays and poems. Another outlier, Ted Hughes (1992), traced the arc of Robert Graves’s *White Goddess* (1948) into the “mythic plane” of Shakespeare’s vision that frames a “natural law” of male–female sexual antagonism, grounded in the tension between Catholicism and its Reformation challenge. Kenneth Tucker (2003) shifts the Jungian focus from archetypes to personality types (introvert, extrovert, sensing, intuiting, thinking, feeling) and their various permutations. Matthew Fike (2009) studies five plays, including *Hamlet*, in terms that invoke the more ethereal Jung: “parapsychology,” the “One Mind,” “universal life force energy.”

During the past fifty years, post-Freudian psychoanalytic criticism of Shakespeare has become a minor academic industry. Since most of these authors use new theoretical developments, they are considered in the following sections.

EGO PSYCHOLOGY

In a pivotal period for both psychoanalytic theories and Shakespeare studies, Norman Holland published *Psychoanalysis and Shakespeare* (1964), a summary of psychoanalytic interpretations until then. Building on Freud's *The Ego and the Id* (1923), the then dominant model of the psyche (at least in America), ego psychology understood the "I" as a mediating structure, an interface of inner and outer experiences. For Freud, the ego was "first and foremost a bodily ego" (19.26) that encompassed unconscious as well as conscious processes, as our defensive strategies transformed representations of bodily impulses ("drives") and archaic ("primary process") infantile thinking into more or less adaptive (not necessarily socially conformist) relations to others and the world. By mid-century Erikson (1950) had mapped developmental stages of the life cycle in the formations of individual identity, while retaining Freud's view of gendered Oedipal destiny. Others such as Hans Loewald (1951) expanded the dynamic view of the ego and the concept of reality as co-evolving to adjudicate culturally variable tensions between inner and outer forces. Freud's dominating authority yielded to broader concepts and deepening of fundamental ideas.

Holland claimed scientific status for the practice of "applied psychoanalysis." At its worst, some interpreters exploited Freudian concepts in an exuberant, ahistorical search for hidden sexual meanings and allegories of the nuclear family; but, at its best, ego-psychological interpretation sought to elucidate Shakespeare's creative processes as seeking unification of personal, cultural, and theatrical meanings. M.D. Faber (1970) collected various examples of ego-psychological analysis. Over the next decades, the host of other works imbued with this psychoanalytic ethos included Richard Wheeler's (1981) study of dramatic form as mastery in the problem comedies, and C.L. Barber and Wheeler's book (1986), which views the plays as transformed aggression (comedy) or "ruthless ironic knowledge" (tragedy) (63). Ruth Nevo's (1987) eloquent study of the last plays, building on Murray Schwartz (1973, 1975), explicates Shakespeare's transformations of fraternal rivalry, paternal violence, and incestuous desire into personal and familial continuity within his ("culture-syntonic") idealizing and ambivalent attitudes towards women.

Freud and his early followers had recognized that the ego, while seeking synthesis, could also split or fragment, and "take itself as its own object." Dramatic "parts" could be viewed as character splits: doubling by division (Macbeth and Lady Macbeth as parts of a whole personality); doubling by multiplication (the Fool and Cordelia as versions of each other in *King Lear*), or the many "foiling" relationships in the plays (Antonio and Shylock in *The Merchant of Venice*). Robert Rogers (1970) developed these aspects of literary form, reading the character parts in *Measure for Measure*, for example, as enactments of the Duke's disavowed desires. Shakespeare is replete with instances of paradoxical and ironic relations between "[t]wo distincts, division none" at the level of dramatic structure as well as character ("The Phoenix and the Turtle," line 27).

OBJECT RELATIONS

From the 1970s, Shakespeare studies increasingly drew on major shifts in psychoanalytic thinking that had begun decades earlier. The work of Melanie Klein, D.W. Winnicott, and other “object relations” theorists refocused Freud’s Oedipal story towards the formation of the self in the earliest experiences between infants and maternal figures. Winnicott’s famous statement, “There is no such thing as a baby” (1960: 587), heralded this relational turn. Klein introduced the concepts of “paranoid-schizoid” (splitting of good and bad objects) and “depressive” (uniting good and bad in self and other) positions to theorize the earliest struggles to keep destructive and loving relations separate yet related (Hinshelwood 1998). Her concepts of “projective identification” (locating parts of the self in others) and “envy” (the desire to destroy good objects) became useful ideas for interpreters, such as André Green’s brilliant reading of *Othello* (1979: 88–136). Julia Kristeva (1984) theorized the pre-linguistic, “semi-otic” bond with the mother prior to the Lacanian “Symbolic Order.”

For Winnicott, the mother’s responsive “mirroring” of the infant’s activity and emotional states initiates an interplay of spontaneous and reactive experiences through which the infant forms what Christopher Bollas (1992) terms a “personal idiom” or character style. Subjectivity is thus defined in its evolving relations and not as a self-contained, independent entity. As Brutus says to Cassius, “the eye sees not itself/ But by reflection, by some other things” (*Julius Caesar*, 1.2.54–55). In *Playing and Reality*, Winnicott (1971) located the origins of cultural experience in the “potential space” between mother and infant, an area of play in which self and other(s) can be separate yet interrelated. Winnicott viewed “objectivity” as the recognition of otherness (“not me”), and not as the opposite of subjectivity. These concepts supported a dialogical (“decentred”) view of interpretation, an interweaving of theory and theatre (two terms etymologically linked), rather than a decoding of meanings inherent in texts.

Relational approaches also opened criticism to different “subject positions” included in Murray Schwartz and Coppélia Kahn’s edited volume (1980), where the gender and personal transferences of interpreters suffuse constructions of meaning and conceptions of Shakespeare’s authorial presence. In this volume, Norman Holland’s analysis of “Hermia’s Dream” (1980) summarizes changes in the evolution of psychoanalytic theory and practice, and other essays display a diversity of approaches liberated from the idea of one meaning. The groundbreaking uses of object-relational theories are evident in Janet Adelman (1992), a widely influential work that explores the phantasmatic representations of the maternal body from *Hamlet* to the last plays; and in David Willbern (1997), who analyses Shakespeare’s poetic language independent of theatrical performance. Meredith Skura (1989) offers an exemplary exploration of *The Tempest* in relation to the history of colonialism, new historicism, and psychoanalytic insight into the Other in Shakespeare.

Another anthology, edited by B.J. Sokol (1993), presents the object-relational view that subjectivity itself derives from archaic internal objects and phantasies that share essential features with fictional representations and the “symbols and conceptualizations necessary for human meaning” (5). Shakespeare’s genius was to give this ruthless substratum of subjective reality a “local habitation” responsive to his historical context. Essays in Sokol (1993) by Jonathan Miller on *King Lear*, Philip K. Bock

on “The Phoenix and the Turtle,” and M.D. Faber on *Hamlet* (not listed separately) explore psychic growth and its failures, from the “dual unity” of infancy through the strivings for individuation in the face of death’s inevitability.

LACAN

In 1997, Harry Berger, Jr. defended a theoretical stance “that derives aid and comfort from [Jacques] Lacan’s critical revision of the paradigms developed by Freud’s followers” (211). For academic critics and Shakespearean scholars, Lacan’s theories had by then come to subvert assertions of natural, intrinsic meaning, and to support the deconstruction of apparent unities and imaginary (ideological) illusions of interpretive mastery. Lacan fit the critical ethos of post-modern culture, and his work became a dominant influence among American academics, including Shakespeareans.

In provocative contrast to Freudian ego-psychology, Lacan recast Freud’s topographical model (the conscious/unconscious dichotomy) and the Oedipal paradigm. Claiming a “return to Freud,” Lacan initially centred psychoanalysis almost exclusively on the role of language in the formation of subjectivity. His work constituted a radical challenge to psychosomatic developmental theories such as Erikson’s, and to his perception (actually an often sarcastic caricature) of the American psychoanalytic commitment to an autonomous self that seeks adaptation to social reality. For Lacan, neither maturational processes nor environmental contingencies figure importantly; his is the psychoanalysis of the signifier and the unconscious.

In a style replete with deliberately elusive catch-phrases (“The unconscious is structured like a language,” “Man’s desire is the desire of the Other”), Lacan sought to displace American and British theories of early experience in part by rewriting Freud’s conception of the ego. Lacan’s “I” installed a rigid, narcissistic agency (his image is of a fortress) that reflects an illusory vision of wholeness to the nascent subject in infancy. In the “Mirror Phase” (1949), the child’s jubilant experience between six and eighteen months of age of perceiving its body image in a mirror, and identifying with an imago of ideal unification, belies an essential incoherence and fragmentation. Self-recognition is misrecognition (*méconnaissance*), an imaginary unity that masks an irredeemable lack at the heart of the human being. The mirror experience engenders the Imaginary, the world as it appears in subjective experience. Lacan’s ego is sustained by this “false self” experience, to borrow Winnicott’s phrase, before the infant becomes inserted into the language and symbol systems of his or her culture, the signifiers of the (paternal) Symbolic Order.

For Lacan, the play of signifying practices confers meaning on experience even as it alienates us from the undifferentiated plentitude of the Real. In signs and symbolic meanings, we are named and spoken by the discourse that structures our subjectivity, the discourse of the Other. That is, our subjectivity is derived from without, and we become linguistic beings by an unconscious in-mixing of the Other’s desire. This is both a source of social identity and a sign of our “castration.” In the name of the father (*nom du père*), we are barred from pre-symbolic plentitude by the “no” of separation (punning on the homophonic words *non* and *nom*). The phallus becomes for Lacan the prime signifier of the (impossible) attainment of mastery for both sexes.

Lacan thus transmuted Freud's Oedipal paradigm into an impersonal schema in which the subject perpetually desires, and is perpetually split from, a fantasy of union and total satisfaction. For Lacan (1977), Hamlet seeks in Ophelia (*O-phallos* in his pun) the *objet a*, the cause of his desire beyond symbolization, but can announce his love only in her grave. In Lacan's image, Gertrude, for Hamlet, becomes a "gaping cunt" (*un con béant*) (1958–59: 246). Explicating Lacan, Jean-Michel Rabaté (2014: 40) writes: "The problem is not his desire for his mother; it is his mother's desire." Paradoxically, we become true subjects for Lacan by recognizing that our identities and our very beings are ever bound to shifting representations, a view embraced by Philip Armstrong (2001). Armstrong (2000) and Barbara Freedman (1991) employ Lacan's concept of "the gaze" (the reflection of our nothingness beyond the illusion of mastery by representation) in tragedy and comedy respectively.

Lacan foregrounded Freud's notion of *Nachträglichkeit* (*après coup* or deferred action), the continual retranscription of memories in the light of new experience which, for Armstrong (2001), obviates the possibility of retrieving fixed origins or stable meanings. Armstrong and others, enthralled by Lacanian formalisms and Derridean deconstruction – Catherine Belsey (1985), Joel Fineman (1986), Julia Lup-ton and Kenneth Reinhard (1993), to name a few – share the sweeping view that "fundamental constituents of psychoanalytic theory can be traced, via Shakespearean drama, back to Renaissance and classical antecedents" (Armstrong 2001: 139). Stephen Greenblatt (1990) also claimed that "psychoanalytic interpretation seems to follow upon rather than to explain Renaissance texts" (142). As Norman Holland (1990) pointed out, this branch of critical theory is replete with either/or thinking and undecidable alternatives.

FEMINIST PSYCHOANALYTIC CRITICISM

The patriarchal bias of Freud's theories evoked opposition in his own time. Several women analysts of the early twentieth century – Helene Deutsch, Melanie Klein, Karen Horney, and Anna Freud – developed their own ideas about human development and sexuality. Broadly envisioned, their project was to shift the primary theoretical model from patriarchal phallocentrism to maternal mirroring (Sayers 1993), a shift further explored by object-relations analysts.

In the mid-1960s, intellectual and political ferment in France provoked a school of feminist thought that reacted against Freud and his even more strictly patriarchal disciple, Lacan (Marks 1981). Hélène Cixous, Julia Kristeva, Luce Irigaray, and others offered radical revisions of psychoanalytic theory, championing a style of thinking and writing termed *l'écriture féminine* (Ann Jones 1981). Less radical feminists, notably Juliet Mitchell (1974) and Nancy Chodorow (1989), argued that Freudian theory remained essential in understanding human psychology and culture. The issues were subjected to vigorous attention by Madelon Sprengnether (1990) and Janice Doane and Devon Hodges (1992). Marta Moreno (2009) reviewed links between psychoanalytic and feminist criticism as they relate to Shakespeare.

These theoretical challenges turned psychoanalytic criticism of Shakespeare in new directions. In 1980 two prominent anthologies appeared – one edited by Carolyn Lenz, Ruth Swift, Gayle Greene, and Carol Neely, and the other edited by Murray Schwartz and Coppélia Kahn – that used post-Freudian and feminist psychoanalytic theories aligned

with acute literary sense. In two influential essays from 1985 that refocused attention on the issues of female identity and sexuality in Shakespeare, Elaine Showalter (1985) and Jacqueline Rose (1985) both interrogated traditional readings of *Hamlet* and Ophelia. Showalter sought to rescue the character of Ophelia from unacknowledged “ideologies of representation” (91), especially Freudian and Lacanian readings of her madness as neurosis or pathology (hysteria, schizophrenia). Implicit in Showalter’s essay is a model of Ophelia as the devalued female voice in literary criticism and theory. Rose addressed the problem of traditional configurations of woman-as-problem in *Hamlet*, especially in readings by T.S. Eliot, Ernest Jones, D.W. Winnicott, and Lacan. In her critique, these interpretations reiterate the question posed by the play: the enigma of woman as incomprehensible other. What Eliot (1921) termed the unknown “excess” of *Hamlet* for which there is no “objective correlative” is its occluded female sexuality, and its male critics’ perplexity.

Lynda Boose (1987) critically surveys the new field of feminist psychoanalytic Shakespeare studies that emerged in the 1980s. Such work soon expanded into more inclusive studies of gender, such as those by Valerie Traub (1992), Shirley Garner and Madelon Sprengnether (1996), and Deborah Barker and Ivo Kamps (1995). Most recently, Traub (2015) reinterrogates the question of sexuality in the *Sonnets* to show how the poems construct subjects and objects as ambiguously gendered, articulating a sequence of “polymorphous desires” that designs an epistemology and a history of sex (454).

CONTEMPORARY PSYCHOLOGIES

Some early examiners of Shakespeare’s language – Caroline Spurgeon (1935), Wolfgang Clemen (1951), and Edward Armstrong (1963) – implicitly studied the poet’s cognitive style. Contemporary critics specifically use cognitive science to make the project explicit. For example, Norman Holland (2001) illustrates the continuity between psychoanalysis and cognitive psychology in a close reading of Enobarbus’s celebration of Cleopatra. In a core contribution, Mary Crane (2001) considers Shakespeare’s language as a “network” of metaphors that produce and explore “spatially centered experiences of cognitive subjectivity . . . as represented by fictional characters” (4). In a chapter on *Hamlet* (116–55), she blends early modern psychology, recent academic criticism, and cognitive science to address Hamlet’s subjectivity, and the ambiguous meanings of *act* and *action* as doing or simulating. Extending Crane’s interdisciplinary approach, Nancy Selleck (2008) manages an adroit blend of early modern and contemporary (neuroscientific) ideas to describe in Shakespeare (and Donne) an “interpersonal idiom” of personal identity and social interrelationship. Through a wider lens, Evelyn Tribble (2011) argues for the centrality of the cognitive sciences in contemporary psychological theory. Using interdisciplinary models of “Extended Mind” and “Distributed Cognition,” she addresses the problem of how early modern actors managed the “enormous mnemonic loads” of memorizing scripts (1).

In an unusual style of cognitive theory, Piotr Sadowski (2003) approaches Shakespearean characters via the “cybernetic theory of autonomous systems” proposed by Marian Mazur, a Polish psychologist whose work is not yet translated into English. His Introduction (13–25) offers a good review of the history of the idea of character from Romanticism to post-modernism, complete with charts, flow charts, and graphs.

The budding field of “evolutionary psychology” considers the evolutionary function of cultural entertainment, such as theatrical performances: how do cultural artefacts (language, drama) develop from and build on the biological substrata of the human (hominid) mind? Just as Darwin preceded Freud, the concept of literature implicit in this approach is almost pre-psychological. Two essays exemplify the argument. Marcus Nordlund (2007) contends that love is a universal aspect of human nature, not “a social construction,” and that human beings possess an innate “sexual dimorphism” (19, 41–44). Using these principles, along with work from “attachment theory” psychologists like John Bowlby, he demonstrates his claims through readings of *Troilus and Cressida*, *All’s Well That Ends Well*, *King Lear*, and *Othello*. Daniel Nettle (2005) charts types of action in *Hamlet* in an approach reminiscent of Northrop Frye’s archetypal taxonomies of myth and literature. Beyond his anatomy of the drama, Nettle asks a larger question: why has *Hamlet* achieved such durable Darwinian survival? He suggests that its success is analogous to a virus or an addiction.

Still in research infancy, neuropsychology has not yet been much focused on Shakespeare. Holland (2009) uses the example of Hamlet to discuss the issue of character as textual construct or dramatic enactment (108–24), and to illustrate his “bi-active model” of reading as a transaction between the constraints of the text and the psychology of the individual reader (171–78). Paul Matthews and Jeff McQuain (2003) have produced a glossy text-book that illustrates apparent parallels between Shakespeare’s interest in the human mind and contemporary brain science by juxtaposing passages from Shakespeare, photos of scenes from the plays (stage and film), and magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) scans of the brain. The volume is handsome, but the science is not yet ready to pinpoint specific neurological responses to Shakespeare’s work.

CONCLUSION

A pseudonymous literary critic (John Eglinton) in James Joyce’s *Ulysses* (1922) quotes Alexander Dumas: “After God Shakespeare has created most” (Episode 9, “Scylla and Charybdis”). The implicit equation of Shakespeare’s fictive characters and worlds with created reality underlies most psychological approaches, and perhaps all audience responses to the plays: the world as stage, the stage as world. What is it about these poetic inventions that so consistently, over centuries and over the globe, invites so much emotional attachment and intellectual speculation?

One answer may lie in Shakespeare’s central theme: the fractured family, riven by splits between parent and child, brother and brother, husband and wife. Another has to do with matters of individual identity and sexuality within the family, especially as those energies get repressed and expressed. Complex characters such as Hamlet or Cleopatra or Othello offer flexible emotional and intellectual options for actors, audiences, and readers. When these complexities are enacted on stage, human speech and movement reify the illusion of character as person. The characters’ language, supplied by Shakespeare (with assistance from editors and directors), typically consists of multilayered metaphors with overdetermined meanings. Such language insists on our fullest sensory, intellectual, and emotional attention (although we may

not always be up to it). Can we, minor players like his hapless schoolmates Rosenkrantz and Guildenstern, dare pluck at the heart of Hamlet's mystery? That figure, the specimen case of psychological criticism, addresses that question at the outset of the play.

Seems, madam? Nay, it *is*. I know not "seems."
'Tis not alone my inky cloak, good mother,
Nor customary suits of solemn black,
Nor windy suspiration of forced breath,
No, nor the fruitful river in the eye,
Nor the dejected haviour of the visage,
Together with all forms, moods, shapes of grief
That can denote me truly. These indeed "seem,"
For they are actions that a man might play;
But I have that within which passeth show –
These but the trappings and the suits of woe.

(1.2.76–86)

The dramatic moment is a rebuke to a mother who has shamed her son, throwing her "seems" back in her face. It is a civil yet splenetic gesture. Hamlet's costume and posture signify an unrepresented grief while exhibiting an external performance. He gestures towards the heart of his mystery: both heart (core self) and mystery (play-acting). Seemingly an authentic, hidden character speaks from within the folds of written words ("inky cloak") to try to say what he cannot show. To try to understand such a character, we must open ourselves towards such a paradoxical dilemma – which is the second sentry's answer to *Hamlet's* opening question, "Who's there?" "Nay," Francisco replies, "answer me. Stand and unfold yourself." Psychological criticism is a mutual *explication* (*ex-plicare*, unfold) of text and reader. The depth and range of Shakespeare's language invite empathic responses out of our own thoughts and emotions. Just as actors perform Shakespeare with their own bodies and voices, the professional critic, however acutely attuned to literary or psychological analysis, operates from her or his personality. As we re-present Shakespeare, he lends words to our own psyches: the literal sense of "psychology." The uniquely potent blend of his poetic language (metaphor, analogy, ambiguity) and dramatic enactment (imagined or performed) returns the question to us. "Who's there?" We are.

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CHAPTER THIRTY-THREE

SHAKESPEARE AND EARLY MODERN RACE STUDIES

An overview of the field



Jason Demeter and Ayanna Thompson

RACE: “A TROUBLESOME INHERITANCE”?

What did race mean in Shakespeare’s world? While it has become commonplace for scholars to intone emphatically that the concept did not mean the same thing in the early modern period as it does today, it is not exactly accurate to assume that race has a stable meaning in the twenty-first century either. If specialists from both the humanities and the sciences now generally posit race as a cultural rather than a biological phenomenon, even this profound revision is a fairly recent development in the term’s conceptual history, a revision on which there is in no way universal agreement. One need look only to the recent international controversy sparked by the 2014 release of Nicolas Wade’s *A Troublesome Inheritance: Genes, Race and Human History*, in which the former science writer for *Nature* and the *New York Times* challenges social constructivist views of race by positing genetic explanations for racial inequalities. Although Wade’s work was roundly and rightly criticized by segments of the popular and academic press, most notably in a critical letter signed by more than one hundred international scholars working in population genetics and evolutionary biology published in the *New York Times*, its presence is a sobering reminder that competing (even mutually exclusive) notions of race remain in wide circulation today. Indeed, to imply that its meanings have ever been either static or entirely congruous even within a particular historical moment belies the reality that race has never functioned as a unified conceptual field.

Rather, to consider race is to look at ideas manifest as individuals, and individuals manifest as ideas. That is, after all, what we do when we talk about race within both modern and early modern contexts: we enact Mark Antony’s assurance to Cleopatra: “Tonight we’ll wander through the streets and note / The qualities of people” (1.1.55–56). Antony’s formulation is useful to our discussion because it gets at the doubly constitutive elements of race: the “qualities of people” are very much real – individuals obviously manifest numerous external markers of identity – but it is only through the act of “noting” these qualities, translating the physiological, linguistic, and lineal characteristics of individuals into discursive categories, that race is created. This categorization is where we seem always to begin when we consider race in relation to

the works of Shakespeare: by considering the qualities of people, be they those of cultural producers (Shakespeare's Englishness, Orson Welles's whiteness, Paul Robeson's blackness) or those of literary constructs themselves (Tamora the Goth, the Roman Caesar, and the melancholy Dane). While each of these designations is situated clearly within a particular period's dominant racial taxonomy, what unites them all is their seeming inevitability to those on the inside and the attendant sense of absurdity such distinctions convey to those who are not.

It is precisely these cruxes, controversies, and continuities that make early modern race studies so vibrant and vital a subject of inquiry today. In what follows, we aim to track recent trends within the broader field of early modern race studies. We begin by following critical debates about which terminologies and methodologies are appropriate for the study of race in early modern England. In doing so, we trace the vacillating concept from Shakespeare's time – highlighting the way the term could evoke and invoke lineage, nationality, religion, sexuality, class, language, and/or skin colour – and we continue to track its radical instability into the twenty-first century. This process leads us to consider the current debates about the uses of, and absences in, historical records, a particularly important issue given the recent attention in the field to the physical remnants of early modern performance culture. We conclude by tracing the history of Shakespeare's *Othello* from the seventeenth century to the twenty-first century. Focusing on key historical moments – the Restoration, the early to mid-nineteenth century, the mid-twentieth century, and the early twenty-first century – we demonstrate how performances of Shakespeare's racially charged tragedy have both reflected and sparked wider debates about race. We consider the ways this work in particular reveals recent tensions in early modern race studies between historicist and presentist approaches. Ultimately, we argue that both methodologies are necessary to explore the complex constellation of ideas and ideologies that continue to surround race.

EARLY MODERN RACE STUDIES: THE TERMS OF THE DEBATE

It is important to note from the outset that early modern race studies are a relatively new field of inquiry. Until fairly recently, scholars of early modern literature and culture frequently claimed that critical investigations into early modern racial formations were inherently anachronistic because they imposed modern concepts onto early modern texts in which they did not exist. The dominance of New Historicism as a critical lens for early modern studies since the mid-1980s has meant that race as a subject of critical inquiry has been both explicitly and implicitly off the table. As Kim F. Hall notes, “despite their interest in the ‘alien’ or ‘marginal’ in English culture, many of the more prominent new historicists have paid little more than cursory attention to the role both gender and racial assumptions played in developing notions of identity” (1995: 14). Prominent critics even insisted that “in 1605 . . . the language of racism . . . obviously had nothing to do with skin color,” thus arguing explicitly that perceived physiological differences would not even have been considered matters of racial difference within early modern England (Orgel 2002: 195). Other scholars have been more implicit in their stance against race as a critical field of study, urging

scholars to resist “narrative[s] of gradual emergence [and] stor[ies] of inevitable progress from traceable origins” (Greenblatt 2001: 62). In short, we have long been cautioned against confusing early and post-modern conceptions of race.

This scholarly scepticism necessarily set artificial and limiting parameters on the development of early modern race studies. Most notably the field remained trapped in a debate about whether it is more accurate to focus on the continuities that link early modern and modern definitions of race, or whether it is more precise to think of race in Shakespeare’s world as conceptually distinct from how it is understood today. While it is likely that those on either side of these disputes would concede to the existence of numerous differences and parallels, the issue remains especially polarizing because of the relatively high stakes implied by the outcome. To adhere to a view that stresses conceptual slippage between then and now raises serious questions about whether or not early modern race studies can reveal anything significant about race as we conceive of it today.

For example, if we concede that Othello’s blackness would have meant to Shakespeare and his contemporaries something that is fundamentally distinct from what it means to us today, then there seems to be little use in plumbing the poet’s depiction of the Moor’s prejudicial treatment by his adopted Venetian culture for insights on racial hierarchies within the modern world. While a vision of early modern race studies predicated upon the concept’s distinctiveness can promise to reveal a great deal about the ways that the early modern English understood themselves as well as those who would have been considered racial others, it cannot claim to illuminate anything about the ways race is experienced by those of us living today.

By contrast, if we are attuned to the points of connection as well as the disjunctions between modern and early modern notions of race, then Aaron’s pointed question in *Titus Andronicus*, “is black so base a hue?” – levied at one who had just maligned his new-born son as “A joyless, dismal, black, and sorrowful issue. / . . . as loathsome as a toad / Amongst the fair-faced breeders of our time” – is clearly pertinent within discussions of the long-standing durability of popular white supremacist tropes (4.2.66–71). Finally, where one stands in this debate is largely predictive of whether or not one believes early modern race studies are relevant to our understanding of so vital, contentious, and far-reaching a concept in our contemporary world.

While a number of varying perspectives on the ideological evolution of race exist, contemporary scholars appear to fall into two broad camps. Those inclined to consider race as a distinctive and largely discontinuous idea tend to advocate a geohumoral theory of race. Rather than viewing race as an issue dominated primarily by questions of lineage and descent, geohumoralists contend that race be regarded instead as a phenomenon in which a person’s temperament and physical appearance are determined by geographic location and the attendant climatological conditions of the immediate environment. With its roots in classical and medieval medicine, geohumoralism draws on the theory of the four humours, a dominant model for understanding human physiology throughout most of early modern Europe. Springing most notably from the writings of the Greek physicians Hippocrates (ca. 460–ca. 370 BCE) and, later, Galen (129–201 CE), humoralism held that an individual’s wellness and state of mind were heavily influenced by the presence and proportion of four key liquids, or humours, within the body, each of which was associated with particular temperaments and dispositions: those with an excess of black bile were considered melancholic

and were thought to be quiet, serious, and thoughtful; an abundance of yellow bile meant one was choleric and bad-tempered; an individual with an excess of blood was said to be sanguine and characterized as lively and energetic; and an excess of phlegm was often associated with a kind of placid lethargy. In a healthy and even-tempered person, these humours were carefully balanced. Humoral imbalance, however, was thought to be a primary cause of disease and mental distress. As one popular English translation of an early modern German treatise on physiognomy advises:

Red color is always suspect, declaring a hot complexion, a swarth & leaden colour is never commendable for besides a saturnine disposition and black choler doth also show the evil affections of the mind, as envy, anger, rancor, machinations & privy hatreds, a white feminine color, soft & cold, declarith a cold, soft and tender person . . . [while a] sanguine complexion . . . is . . . most commendable for it causeth also a man to be inclined and disposed to all good & honest things.

(Indagine 1558: 89)

Since balanced humours were considered optimal for the maintenance of an individual's health and disposition, geohumoral theory holds that a moderate climate is most conducive to the balanced regulation of one's physiological equilibrium. While those in and about the Mediterranean were admired for their supposed harmonic symmetry, the English viewed themselves in a comparably negative light as an overly sanguine and phlegmatic people: constitutionally hearty, but also relatively sluggish, unrefined, and even bordering on barbaric. In contrast, black Africans were often thought to be climatologically imbued with a surfeit of black bile, and were thus viewed in the early modern geohumoral taxonomy in almost completely inverse terms, being heralded for their wisdom and affability yet simultaneously derided for their relative cowardice and fragility. Thus, as Mary Floyd-Wilson notes, "the tripartite structure of geohumoralism not only estranged northern whiteness and southern blackness but it also tended to intertwine the two as inversions of the other" (2003: 6).

Obviously, the geohumoral model for racial formation differs markedly from the ways race is generally understood in the present day. Perhaps the most obvious departure is the way that humoral models of racial formation seem to allow for far more internal fluidity between racial categories than those based on lineage and heritability. As Jean E. Feerick argues, geohumoral theory implies that "to move between and among Europe's diverse climates invited physiological changes, altering one's complexion – both external and internal" (2010: 110). Perhaps even more surprising than the impermanence of race implied by geohumoralism is its opposition to contemporary hierarchies that continue to position whiteness at their apex. Floyd-Wilson makes this point clear, arguing that:

Modern attachments to the myths of racial lineage have made it difficult for us to recognize the global fluidity of sixteenth-century British genealogies. . . . In focusing on . . . those aspects of early modern discourse that subjugated Africans, denigrated blackness, and helped to naturalize a link between color and slavery, we have overlooked an ethnological history that failed to predict . . . the ascension of white over black.

(Floyd-Wilson 2003: 11)

For Floyd-Wilson and other proponents of geohumoralism, this revised understanding for race in the early modern world “retrieve[s] the counterintuitive notions of ethnicity and ‘race’ that the now-dominant narrative of oppression aimed to erase,” specifically “the representations of northern ‘whiteness’ and English identity as barbaric, marginalized, and mutable,” as well as “the long-neglected perceptions of ‘blackness’ as a sign of wisdom, spirituality, and resolution” (2003: 11).

Yet there are many who feel strongly that an overreliance on early modern geohumoralism discredits the true complexity of early modern ideologies of racial formation. For example, Kim F. Hall’s groundbreaking study of the ways race and gender were mutually constructed and reproduced through a number of literary themes, forms, and tropes that circulated in England and early modern Europe presents a compelling argument about the conceptual through lines linking earlier notions of race to those that are more recognizable today. Writing in the early 1990s, at a time when it was not uncommon to see the term *race* encased in scare quotes as a way to signify that the author understood its socially constructed rather than biological nature, Hall mounts a convincing defence of maintaining the vocabulary of race within early modern studies. “I hold onto the idea of a language of race in the early modern period,” she asserts, noting that:

the easy association of race with modern science ignores the fact that language itself creates social differences within social organization and that race was then (as it is now) a social construct that is fundamentally more about power and culture than about biological difference.

(Hall 1995: 6)

Hall advises us not to become mired in the differences between racial formations then and now, urging us instead to focus attention on the ways race has always functioned as a malleable and highly contested conceptual field. While the means and criteria used to categorize individuals have always been subject to revision, what remains unchanged is race’s essential functionality as an instrument of discipline and social control.

Ania Loomba puts forth a similar argument, emphasizing the ways literary works offer particularly potent sites through which to negotiate the evolution of racial dogmas. “We can de-naturalize ideologies of race but also acknowledge their continuing power by tracing their histories and showing how they have changed and solidified over time,” she writes (2002: 4).

Literary texts are particularly valuable in this regard, because they not only reflect and shape their immediate present, but also encode ideas from the past and visualize the future. Through them we can grasp the dynamism and flow of particular ideas and see how they are both transmitted and challenged. As we trace the history of race, particularly as it animates literature, we get a sense of not just the distance, but also the very powerful connections, between “then” and “now.”

(Loomba 2002: 4)

For scholars such as Loomba and Hall, race in early modern literature and culture is not a subject that should be cordoned off as a relic from the past, a topic useful to our

understanding of how Shakespeare and his contemporaries apprehended the world, but of little practical utility otherwise. The fact that race could be used to describe any number of implicitly and explicitly hierarchical relationships in the early modern period, all of them premised on the perception of some essential difference, points to its broad cultural utility. That is to say, race seems to perform some essential role in how populations negotiate their place in the world.

Furthermore, Loomba urgently warns early modern scholars not to romanticize the malleability of early modern racial constructions. While acknowledging certain rifts between early modern and modern constructions of race, Loomba makes it clear that racial formations are always inherently limiting:

The rise of modern racism is often seen in terms of a shift from a cultural (and more benign) to a more biological (and inflexible) view of racial difference. But although the biological understanding of race made it more pernicious, we should be wary of positing a simple opposition between nature and culture or suggesting that a “cultural” understanding of race is somehow benign or flexible. In fact, what we call “race” and what we call “culture” cannot be readily separated, especially during the early modern period.

(Loomba 2002: 38)

Loomba cautions that thinking about race in terms of culture, construction, and flexibility does not render race essentially benevolent or empowering.

In fact, Loomba’s enjoinder is reminiscent of Stuart Hall’s argument that racial formations may be chimerical but that they nonetheless have material impacts on real lives. He writes that adopting a “discursive concept of race” does not mean that one believes “that nothing exists of differences, but [means] that what matters are the systems we use to make sense, to make human societies intelligible” (1997: 10). Hall’s clarification is useful for early modern race studies because it insists we conceive of race as plural, as dynamic sets of historically situated conditions, rather than as singular, a static and universally understood set of categorical distinctions. Moreover, Hall’s conception implies that to deny the realities of race as an available category within pre- and early modern culture, as some still do, is to insist on an overly rigid, essentialist, and conceptually unsound version of the term, a version that reductively denies important and obvious congruencies between constructions of cultural difference as they have evolved over time.

The present state of early modern race studies has widely adopted this stance. Much of the work currently produced not only takes pains to note the historical differences between the early modern and modern periods, but also seeks to investigate the through lines that keep race a salient category for human classification. Furthermore, current early modern scholars of race seem much less apologetic about the political nature of our research, embracing the ways investigating older racial formations can shed light on contemporary formations.

SHAKESPEARE’S RACES

While the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) traces the term’s probable descent from the twelfth-century French *haraz*, which referenced both “an enclosure or

establishment in which horses and mares are kept for breeding” and later “a stud, breed, or race of horses,” the first recorded use of *race* in English to refer to categories of human difference is found in the Earl of Surrey’s 1547 translation of *The Aeneid*. From here, the term would evolve fairly quickly, accruing increasingly specialized shades of meaning throughout the second half of the sixteenth century. By the late 1580s, for example, the term had come to encompass distinctions of national origin, and thus we find references to the “race of the Britons,” as well as to “the Spanish race,” within the 1587 edition of *Holinshed’s Chronicles* (14: 1088). By the early seventeenth century, *race* had drifted even farther, including what would today be understood as ethnic distinctions. For example, Robert Coverte’s well-known 1612 travel narrative recounts his visit to the royal court in Agra and describes the Mughal Emperor Jahangir as “a white man and of the Race of the Tartares” (39). Even at this early stage in the term’s English evolution, it is interesting to note the ways that *race* is already being deployed in syntactical proximity to descriptions of physiology and complexion. Although Coverte’s formulation posits race and colour as distinct attributes, their position within his account suggests that a conceptual conversion seems already to be under way. Another example of race’s growing association with skin tone can be found in the song that opens Ben Jonson’s 1605 *Masque of Blackness*, which describes in positive terms the blackness of “Fair Niger . . . [and] all his beauteous race” (2.81–82). All of this evidence testifies to the term’s comparative novelty for Shakespeare and his contemporaries; the rapidity with which it came to acquire progressively specialized nuances; and the vestiges of its broader lineal implications. In this way, the stage was set for a fair amount of linguistic uncertainty surrounding the use of the term *race*.

The increasingly overdetermined signification of *race* within early modern English spurred even more lexical ambiguity, given the frequent tendency of Shakespeare and his contemporaries to play upon the term’s newly acquired connotations for literary effect. Indeed, the polysemic resonance of *race* in the period makes even accurate tallies – for instance, the number of times Shakespeare deploys the term in ways that are congruent with our contemporary understanding – fraught with uncertainties. While the term *race* appears, in all its various denotations and connotations, sixteen times within the works of Shakespeare, there are moments when he plays upon multiple meanings, only some of which are in broad currency today. Twice the poet employs senses of the word that are seemingly unrelated to those with which we are concerned. The Earl of Warwick in 3 *Henry VI* likens his tiredness in the midst of a battle to that of “runners with a race” (2.3.1), whereas King John, in his eponymous play, compares the lackadaisical progression from night into day to a “drowsy race” (3.3.39). More ambiguous is the Clown in *The Winter’s Tale*, who counts “a race or two of ginger” among the items he has been charged to purchase for the upcoming sheep-shearing festivities (4.3.46). Here, we see *race* used as a synonym for *root*, which is itself a term that was then used to denote family and lineage. This as well as the remaining thirteen cases are occasions on which the implied meanings of *race* bear at least some relationship to the way the term is used in modern English: that is, to reference perceived categories of human difference.

Significantly, four of Shakespeare’s references to *race* play specifically upon the term’s earlier equine implications. The speaker in sonnet 51, for example, describes a horse that, despite “his fiery race,” cannot keep pace with the rider’s desire to return

to his beloved (111). We find similar references in both *Macbeth* and *The Merchant of Venice*, as Ross calls Duncan's horses "the minions of their race" (2.4.15), and Lorenzo describes a "race of youthful and unhandled colts" being calmed by music (5.1.72). While *race* is deployed clearly in each of these instances in a comparatively specialized sense as an explicit reference to a breed or herd of horses, it is notable that even here the term implies breeding and heritability, just as it does when used to reference human categories. Indeed, Shakespeare makes poetic use of this lexical convergence in *Measure for Measure*, when Angelo attempts to coerce Isabella into submitting to his sexual desires, claiming he has given his "sensual race the rein" (2.4.160). The equestrian word-play signified by Angelo's invocation of a *rein*, an instrument used to exert control over a horse, is unmistakable, and Shakespeare is clearly evoking both senses of the word at once. Interestingly, the *OED* cites this as one of only two examples in which the term is used to reference one's "natural or inherited disposition"; the other occurs in *The Tempest*, when Miranda justifies Caliban's confinement on the island, noting that those with "good natures" were repelled by his "vile race" (1.2.361, 360). Given how often the language of animality is applied to Caliban, it seems likely that this line is operating as yet another instance in which the parallel use of the language of race in reference to the construction of both animal and human difference is purposely suggested.

If Shakespeare clearly employed *race* to signify the lineage and breeding of horses, he seemed equally comfortable applying the term to lines of human descent. It appears twice in *Antony and Cleopatra*: once as Cleopatra proclaims that even her poorest parts are from "a race of heaven" (1.3.37), and later during Antony's ironic lamentation regarding his failure to produce "a lawful race" by Octavia (3.13.107). Although the exact meaning of the former is somewhat ambiguous, it is most likely intended as a reference to the heavenly pedigree of the queen's body. The term appears in similar usages in both *Pericles* and *Cymbeline*, first in Gower's allusion to the "noble race" of Marina's pupils in Mytilene (20.9), and then later in a plea from the ghostly Sicilius Leonatus that Jupiter "no longer exercise / upon a valiant race thy harsh / and potent injuries" (5.5.176–78). Shakespeare employs the term in a distinct though closely related manner in *Timon of Athens*, as the play's titular misanthrope directs his invective towards "the whole race of mankind, high and low" (4.1.40). While the implications of descent and lineage remain intact in this usage, here the term is extended beyond the individual, tribe, or even the nation to encompass instead the entire species. Of course, similar conflations of race and species remain fairly commonplace even in twenty-first-century English usage.

Although Shakespeare's uses of *race* to reference matters of offspring and lineage are present elsewhere, the author's precise meanings in the following cases are more ambiguous. For example, when the ghosts of the murdered princes appear before the sleeping Richmond in *Richard III*, exhorting him to "Live, and beget a happy race of kings!" (5.5.106), the lineal significance is clearly present; but the line also seems to refer to a then current shade of the term for "[a] line or succession of people holding an office" (*OED*). A more common occurrence in Shakespeare's word-play is his tendency to use *race* in metaphorical reference to both human and vegetative pedigree. The poet twice evokes grafting together different "races" of plants as a way to describe the sexual commingling of members of different social classes and their offspring. In 2 *Henry VI*, Suffolk describes how Warwick's mother "took into

her blameful bed / Some stern untutored churl,” thus grafting “noble stock . . . with crabtree slip” (3.2.212–14). Thus Suffolk concludes that Warwick is the “fruit” of a socially incommensurate union and not properly “of the Nevilles’ noble race” (3.2.215). This image is echoed in *The Winter’s Tale*, when Polixenes describes the art of “marry[ing] / A gentler scion to the wildest stock,” thereby “mak[ing] conceive a bark of baser kind / By bud of nobler race” (4.4.92–95).

Within the work of Shakespeare we see *race* used variously to connote the stock that gave rise to a particular individual or population. Some of these usages are immediately recognizable to modern ears, and others seem remarkably strange. It is clear, however, that these continuities and disjunctions remain fertile ground for continued critical intervention. Although we know a great deal more about early modern ideologies of race than was once the case, recent developments in the field have provided us with even more questions than answers.

TRENDS IN EARLY MODERN RACE STUDIES: DISAGGREGATING THE OTHER

Some of the most exciting recent work in early modern race studies has involved uncovering various points of connection and divergence regarding English attitudes towards the numerous racial, national, and religious groups perceived as cultural outsiders. Whereas it was fairly common to discuss broad-based constructions of the Other in the infancy of early modern race studies, recent discoveries as well as critical reappraisals of well-known evidentiary material have led scholars to become more interested in disaggregating early modern responses to specific racialized groups rather than viewing them as a unified mass of non-English outsiders. If it was once assumed that Africans, Native Americans, Indians, Turks, and Jews were similarly marginalized, recent work looking at the particulars of early modern racial formation indicates that not all Others were viewed as the same, or treated in similar fashion, in the period.

One of the most important revisions involves recent reassessments of England’s relationship to the East, the Turkish Mediterranean, and Islam in particular. Although it was once assumed that the English viewed these non-Christian strangers with a degree of derision and voyeuristic fascination similar to that which characterized British attitudes during later stages of imperial domination, recent studies have aimed to complicate matters significantly. Edward Said’s 1978 monumental study of eighteenth-century Orientalism has done much to illuminate the West’s often reductive and patronizing construction of Eastern cultural and religious life; yet early modern scholars have recently pointed out the ways that Said’s argument has had the auxiliary effect of reducing the relationship between both cultures in accordance with a simplistic colonizer/colonized binary. Although Said’s study was concerned largely with East/West relations in the eighteenth century, we have now come to recognize the degree to which his influential analysis exerted more influence on early modern race studies than may have been warranted. Daniel J. Vitkus, for example, has shown that within early modern England, “‘the East’ was not yet the clearly defined geographic or cultural category that it would become under high British imperialism” (2003: 8). Thus, he contends that “On the discursive map of England’s imaginary geography, there was no unified space of ‘the other’ called ‘the Orient’” (2003: 8). Since a unified

notion of the Orient would not come into existence until the late seventeenth century, Islamic alterity as it existed within the Shakespearean world should best be viewed as “an overlapping set of identity categories, including race, religion, [and] somatic difference” that was “also manifested in the *behavior* of foreign peoples – in the many specific practices, sexual regimes, religious activities, laws, values, and customs that were observed or made known to English subjects who went to the Mediterranean” (2003: 8; emphasis in original).

Jonathan Burton makes the consequences of this increasingly decentralized understanding of Islam plain, noting that English criticism of the non-Christian outsider would have been tempered by a great deal of ambivalence. As Burton writes, “the English impulse to condemn the Turks as infidels was regularly triangulated by one or more complications . . . [resulting in] a seemingly contradictory injunction to emulate them” (2005: 25). “At a time when England had no standing army and feared Spanish invasion,” notes Burton, “texts describing the cruelty and barbarism of the warlike Turks controvert themselves with praise of the Turks’ enviable military discipline” (2005: 25). Up-ending earlier scholarship that foisted an anachronistic framework upon early modern English engagements within the Mediterranean, both Vitkus and Burton point to the prominence of the conversion trope within literary productions of the period, noting how it functions to collapse earlier notions of a stable self/other binary in the early modern English imagination.

In a similarly revisionist analysis, Janet Adelman explores the ways that the ostensibly Christian English viewed themselves in relation to Jews. She notes in particular that Shakespeare’s *Merchant of Venice* “persistently troubles the distinction between Christian and Jew” (2008: 4). Although critics have long been aware that Shakespeare’s play troubles the economic distinction between usurer and merchant, Adelman emphasizes the ways that *The Merchant of Venice* “simultaneously gestures toward and defends against [the notion] that the Jew is not the stranger outside Christianity but the original stranger within it” (2008: 4). Thus Adelman points to an operant early modern anxiety regarding Christianity’s paradoxical dependence on and divergence from its avowedly Judaic roots, uncovering within numerous contemporary discourses “anxieties both about the permeability of religious, national, and personal borders and about the justice of God’s purposes and the Christian’s unpaid debt to the Jew” (2008: 36). Much like the considerations by Vitkus and Burton of the conversion narratives, Adelman’s work points to important contradictions that underpinned racial categorization within early modern England.

If it is clear that a certain degree of blunt antipathy towards non-English others was very much a feature of race-thinking in the period, what is becoming clearer is the way that these prejudices were not simply an index of unmitigated xenophobia; indeed, investigations such as those above show that perspectives towards outsiders were both emulative and oppositional. That is, the English were clearly anxious in some ways about interactions with Muslims and Jews, but at the same time they coveted what they perceived as the militaristic and imperialistic acumen of the former as well as the cultural primacy of the latter.

While the increased attention given to England’s variable responses to distinct categories of racialized outsiders in the early modern period has helped provide scholars with a richer conception of racial formations, the field has also benefited from recent discoveries about the frequency of intercultural encounters. Combined with

recent critical revisions of our understanding of how cultural difference would have been represented on the stage, these new developments have helped especially to illuminate the English understanding of blackness in early modern England. Particularly groundbreaking in this regard is recent work by Imtiaz H. Habib which argues against earlier critical assumptions that “there were no actual people of colour in early modern England; references to them in popular media at the time are metaphorical; and the period is race-innocent” (2008: 9). Nothing could be farther from the truth, asserts Habib, and he provides by way of evidence an exhaustive chronological overview of more than one hundred documentary accounts of black lives contained within household records, court documents, and parish records spanning the period from 1500 to 1677. Like the studies of Muslims and Jews, Habib’s work shows that blackness in the period cannot easily be subsumed under the more generic category of cultural Other, sketching a far more ambivalent picture of blackness than had earlier existed. In doing so, Habib points to the relatively large numbers of professionals of colour mentioned, showing that “twice as many of these [recently unearthed] records describe black people in professional capacities as those that list them as menials or cite them in unspecified situations” (2008: 60).

In contrast to these relatively positive representations of blackness, Habib asserts that there are only three such records that cast blacks in an overtly negative light. This evidence leads him to mount the paradigm-shifting conclusion that “[the] Anglo-Scottish response to black people . . . is largely restrained even within the unnamed . . . violent history of their arrival in the British Isles” (2008: 60). “While the three negative citations” contained within various records “describe the germs of a hostile ethnology,” says Habib, these pejoratives are largely “unlinked to the mass economic exploitation” that would emerge with the large-scale emergence of the transatlantic slave-trade (2008: 60). Yet newly discovered documents suggest that the English involvement in the transportation of African slaves to the New World began at least a decade before the previously presumed start in 1562, when John Hawkins successfully sold stolen slaves in the New World. In fact, these materials suggest that the English transported at least 1,900 African slaves to the New World between 1551 and 1600 (Eltis and Richardson 2010: 23–25).

If new discoveries such as those proffered by Habib, Eltis, and Richardson go far in helping us understand the multiplicity of operant approaches to racial formation in the period, recent attention to the representation of race on stage has also helped better to inform our understanding of how difference, and blackness in particular, was understood in Shakespeare’s world. Perhaps most groundbreaking on this front is Ian Smith’s recent analysis of the representation of Othello’s racial identity. While it has long been assumed that Othello would have been portrayed in his earliest stage manifestations by the white actor Richard Burbage, made up to look black with paint or cosmetics, Smith calls our attention to other stage techniques employed at the time that might alternately have been used to signify the Moor’s blackness. He notes that “the early modern stage practices of blackface . . . exceed various concoctions of skin paint and cosmetics” and extended to include “the fabrication of blackness from textiles and leathers” (2013: 10). Although scholars have long been aware of the use of fabrics to convey blackness within racialized spectacles in the period, Smith pointedly questions the accepted critical dogma by asking us to consider the broader implications of a fabric-based mode of racial signification.

Counteracting decades of critical inertia, Smith mounts a provocative case for a textile rather than cosmetic means of racial signification, and then spins out the broader implications by questioning the reflexive whiteness of what is perhaps the most famous of Shakespeare's stage props: Desdemona's handkerchief. In adumbrating the parallels between Othello's textile blackness and the handkerchief – invariably envisioned as white “despite evidence to the contrary” – Smith effectively calls into question the “inherited critical frameworks that continue to circulate and shape the work of reading and producing knowledge in the field of early modern studies” (2013: 25). Thus Smith's work provides a potent example of the ways that theatrical practice can influence our larger understanding of how race was constructed and understood, a topic to which we shall turn in greater detail below.

PERFORMING OTHELLO, PERFORMING RACE

Given the embodied nature of the theatre, it is perhaps unsurprising to observe how stagings of Shakespeare's plays have frequently echoed larger debates about race circulating at various cultural moments. We have already discussed the ways that Shakespeare's art has both influenced and participated in early modern English racial construction; yet it is also the case that his plays have continued to play key roles in informing and challenging perceptions of race throughout their long and storied afterlives. This influence on perceptions of race is particularly true in the case of *Othello*, whose transhistorical popularity is inextricably enmeshed in the history of European and American colonialism and the transatlantic slave-trade that accompanied England's rise to imperial power. In touching upon Burbage's initial portrayal of Shakespeare's Moor, we have already established just how little is known definitively about the play in its earliest performances.

In her brilliant book chapter “Othello was a white man,” Dympna Callaghan lays out in the clearest terms the “systems of representation crucially at work in the [early modern] culture's preoccupation with racial others . . . the display of black people themselves (exhibition) and the simulation of negritude (mimesis)” (2000: 77). Traditionally in exhibition modes, she argues, the audience is given all the power because the bodies displayed are represented as passive objects. In mimetic modes, actors are given the lion's share of power because of their control over the “embodied performance” (2000: 77). She goes on to note that for African-American and female actors, “mimesis and exhibition tend to overlap because the actor is always already construed as an exhibition in a representational context that severely curtails the actor's creative control” (2000: 78). This conceptual framework helps to position early performances of *Othello*.

For instance, as the documentary evidence shows for performances of *Othello* on the Restoration stage, audiences were drawn not only to the substance of the drama, but also to the performance of blackness by a white actor (mimesis). Colley Cibber's account of Thomas Betterton's definitive turn as Othello during the Restoration, for example, specifically notes the actor's skill as a racial impersonator:

This Man was so amazing and extraordinary a Mimick, that no Man or Woman, from the Coquet to the Privy Counsellor, ever mov'd or spoke before him, but he could carry their Voice, Look, Mien, and Motion instantly. . . . In Othello he

excell'd himself; which you will easily believe, when you consider, that in spite of his Complexion, Othello has more natural Beauties than the best Actor can find in the Magazine of Poetry, to animate his Power, and delight his Judgement with. The Person of this most excellent Actor was suitable to his Voice, more manly than sweet, not exceeding the middle Stature, inclining to the corpulent; of a serious and penetrating Aspect; his Limbs nearer the athletick than the delicate Proportion; yet however formed, there arose from the Harmony of the whole a commanding Mien of Majesty, which the fairer faced, or (as Shakespear calls 'em) the curled Darlings of his Time, ever wanted something to be equal Masters of.

(Cibber 1742: 19–21)

In Cibber's description, we find the celebration of a white actor's ability to embody convincingly a personage of colour, as Betterton is lauded specifically for imbuing his Othello with a strong and assertive voice and a kind of hulking athleticism. Of course, the perceived success of such a performance relies on the ways that it taps into stereotypes regarding black male physicality. Cibber's praise of Betterton is not a matter of the actor's ability to elicit emotion or his facility with the language of the play, but instead a function of his racial mimicry. It is clearly the case that the pleasure many audience members derived from such mimicry was never simply a matter of mere performative verisimilitude.

Indeed, as Virginia Mason Vaughan has pointed out, often such racialized performances rely on "a sort of double consciousness on the audience's part, a recognition that the actor underneath the blackened skin is actually white" (2005: 98). The fact that, with a few notable exceptions, Othello was played almost exclusively by white actors until late in the twentieth century makes clear the degree to which the massive popularity of *Othello* was in some ways a function of the complicated and politically problematic exigencies of black-face performance as imagined mimicry.

Black actors began to challenge a simplistic approach to mimicry in the nineteenth century when the black American actor Ira Aldridge performed throughout Europe as Othello, Aaron the Moor, and, perhaps most astonishingly, in white-face make-up as King Lear, Macbeth, and Richard III. Similarly, Paul Robeson performed in landmark productions of *Othello* in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. Yet, for the most part, black Othellos were viewed as exceptional even in the early and mid-1960s, and the part would continue to be portrayed by white actors in black-face in American and British productions both large and small well into the 1970s.

It was not until the African-American civil rights movement instigated a paradigm shift within America's racial consciousness that approaches to casting and playing Othello began to change. We can see clearly the changing attitudes towards the appropriateness of racial mimicry embodied by two well-known, though exceedingly dissimilar, productions from 1964. Harking back to the long-standing tradition of black-face performances of *Othello*, John Dexter's notorious staging for the National Theatre Company starred a heavily made-up Laurence Olivier. Much as Betterton's performance was described more than 200 years earlier, contemporary critics seized upon Olivier's putative skill as a racial mimic and the attendant physicality he brought to the role. Thus, reviews from the period describe Olivier's "sauntering" Othello, prowling the stage with his "feet splayed apart [and] hip[s] lounging outward" (Bryden 1997: 270). As Othello explains to the Senate how he succeeded

in wooing Desdemona, Olivier is said to have “described [Desdemona’s] encouragement smiling down on [the Senators], easy with sexual confidence” (Bryden 1997: 271). As Vaughan notes, “Olivier loved absorbing himself in the fictional Other,” and “audiences took as much pleasure watching this transformation as anything else in the production” (2005: 103). Despite the popularity of Olivier’s performance, however, the changing racial attitudes of the period, particularly as the African-American civil rights movement gained increasing traction in the United States, ensured that the actor’s racial mimicry was a source of pointed controversy and made him one of the last major white actors to play the role.

In contrast to Dexter’s staging stands Gladys Vaughan’s version of the play for the New York Shakespeare Festival in Central Park (1964). Produced by Joseph Papp and starring James Earl Jones as Othello, Vaughan’s production clearly strove to embrace the more assertive racial politics of the day. “I remember hearing producer Joe Papp say that Othello should be tough and militant,” recalls the actor. “He never said angry, but that was the popular concept of the militant black male in the sixties” (Jones and Niven 1993: 158). Although both Jones and the director resisted overtly politicizing the performance as Papp suggested, the simple act of casting a black actor in a prominent New York production served as a political statement, especially when Jones’s more subdued performance is viewed in contrast to Olivier’s crude racial stereotype.

Yet none of this theatre history is intended to suggest that options for Shakespeare’s tragic protagonist have been settled by universal consensus. While it became common for black actors to perform the role during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, there are observers who feel that the play’s trade in stereotypically negative tropes of blackness should perhaps give actors of colour pause when considering whether to embody Shakespeare’s Moor. The most well-known among these dissenters may be the actor Hugh Quarshie, who asks the pointed question, “if a black actor plays Othello does he not risk making racist stereotypes seem legitimate and true?” (1999: 5). While the problem is an important one to consider, it leaves one to wonder just what the alternatives are. If we now quite correctly recoil from the racial mimicry that characterized earlier portrayals of Othello, it remains the case that the play’s stereotypical portrayal of blackness might influence actors of colour to eschew the role as well. Given that there seems no consensus regarding just who should and should not play Othello, is the only real solution to retire the play from the repertoire entirely? It is of some interest that Quarshie himself seems to have arrived at a potential solution. Despite being famous for his disavowal of *Othello*, the actor has come round and has played the role in the Royal Shakespeare Company’s summer 2015 production. Significantly, Quarshie played opposite Lucian Msamati, who was cast in the role of Iago. In casting actors of colour in both the role of the Moor and that of his racist antagonist, director Iqbal Khan’s production seems clearly invested in subverting audience expectations.

Like race and the unstable cultural categories to which it refers, Shakespeare’s work itself has proven to be a troublesome inheritance with which we, as its cultural inheritors, must continue to reckon. In doing so, it seems that the most efficacious way forward is to adopt a pragmatic approach that makes effective use of both historicist and presentist approaches to early modern race studies. The newly uncovered historical documents have much to teach us about the multiplicity of earlier modes of racial formation. At the same time, it is important that we not lose sight of the insights

that can be gleaned from the flourishing field of contemporary critical race theory. Indeed, if anything, these methodologies are best viewed as highly complementary, and we would do well to forge even stronger connections between the two seemingly disparate approaches to race. Ideally, early modern race studies will provide those interested in the contemporary intersection of cultural identity and power with copious evidence for the transhistorical durability of race as a category. Likewise, modern critical race theory has much to offer those interested in the Shakespearean world, testifying to the ways the meanings of race shift and swerve over time. Although historicist methodologies can show us the numerous and highly variable ways that race gets coded and employed historically, modern critical race studies can show us that beyond these particulars lies an identifiable power dynamic that keeps race employed as a salient category for human classification. Perhaps race is most accurately defined in terms of the mutability of the evaluative hierarchies it imposes upon all categories of ethnicity, nationality, class, and culture. Thus, early modern race studies remind us that we must remain especially attentive to the congruities and disjunctions of racial formations as they echo and transform over time and space.

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CHAPTER THIRTY-FOUR

NEW ECONOMIES OF GENDER
AND SEXUALITY

Rereading the Shakespearean body

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Susan Bennett and Nicole Edge

The turn in Shakespearean criticism to matters of gender and sexuality takes place, as it does in most fields of literary criticism, around 1980. First conceived as analytical approaches that would enable revisionist accounts of Shakespeare's texts, activist and resistant perspectives that had recently emerged in feminist and gay rights politics across much of the Western world were taken up by scholars. Groundbreaking books such as Carolyn Ruth Swift Lenz, Gayle Greene, and Carol Thomas Neely's edited collection *The Woman's Part: Feminist Criticism of Shakespeare* (1980); Coppélia Kahn's *Man's Estate: Masculine Identity in Shakespeare* (1981); Alan Bray's *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (1982); and Lisa Jardine's *Still Harping on Daughters: Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare* (1983) initiated a groundswell of critical interest in elucidating representations and interrogations of gender and sex in Shakespeare's *œuvre*. This chapter considers the diverse approaches brought to the subjects of gender and sexuality in early modern England at that time and since, and examines how these new seams of critical inquiry brought particular attention to economies of the body. In an attempt to think through why the turn to gender and sexuality continues to exert so much critical influence on scholarship concerned with Shakespeare and his work, our discussion will suggest that it is the complexity of understanding the early modern body and its crucial role as the embodiment of what Jean E. Howard calls "protocapitalist" value(s) that sustains those efforts to apprehend the historical development of sex/gender inequalities in the hopes they will be overturned (Howard 1994: 29).

Our approach follows how analyses of the early modern period – and, notably, of Shakespeare's texts – have served late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century commitments not only to grasp the realities of identity formation but also to understand those realities in the context of a capitalist economy. We shall start by examining how feminist and queer theories developed in the 1980s and later have been deployed in the field of Shakespeare studies. The second half of the chapter will engage those ideas and practices with accounts of economic systems, then and now. Thus we look at the close attention paid to the social and political value awarded to some bodies and denied to others, and argue that the new economic criticism of the early modern period might facilitate invigorated possibilities for agency and equality for all.

GENDER AND SEX, PERFORMATIVITY AND PERFORMANCE

In synchrony with the study of other periods and authors within the English and American literary canons, first feminist critiques looked to refute normative assumptions that William Shakespeare was a singular literary genius possessed of enduring universal appeal, and that the apex of his accomplishments could be found in the creation of those eponymous central characters of the “big” tragedies: King Lear, Hamlet, Othello, and Macbeth. Catherine Belsey, in a retrospective account of the emergence of feminist approaches, suggests, accurately, that initial steps were taken by women scholars to rescue “fictional female characters from critical contempt” (1997: 32). Thus, these scholars paid significant – and positive – attention to Cordelia, Ophelia, Desdemona, and Lady Macbeth, as well as the often feisty women of Shakespeare’s comedies, as one way to redress a long history of devotion to “the patriarchal Bard” (McLuskie 1985: 88). For example, in what was an important early work in this context, *Woman and Gender in Renaissance Tragedy: A Study of King Lear, Othello, The Duchess of Malfi and The White Devil* (1989), Dymphna Callaghan argued that the silence often deployed by women in these early modern plays worked to undermine the heroic presence (both embodied and articulated) of the central male characters. More specifically, as Belsey wittily observes, this tranche of feminist criticism found that “Gertrude . . . was a warm, caring woman who had been grossly misrepresented in discussions of *Hamlet*; Desdemona was not a spineless victim, whatever male critics alleged; and it was Portia who generously and ingeniously saved Antonio’s anti-Semitic bacon” (Belsey 1997: 32–33).

At the same time, other feminist critics eschewed Shakespeare and his male contemporaries altogether, choosing to explore questions of gendered subjectivity through the recovery and analysis of texts written by women in the early modern period. Inevitably, this work required a rich historical knowledge of how women experienced their gender in seventeenth-century England, as well as specific attention to long-forgotten women-authored texts, almost all of which were not available in modern editions. Their scholarship considered, among other things, how the absence of women’s biological bodies on the early modern stage (with acting companies of the public and private theatres populated only by male actors) had shaped and perhaps inspired these women writers’ creative activities.

Bringing to light dramatic texts by Elizabeth Cary, Mary Sidney, Mary Wroth, Elizabeth Brackley, Jane Cavendish, and others, this critical recovery enterprise not only suggested the limited historical view created by the typical emphasis and attention given to Shakespeare’s plays as those of the writer “best” representative of his period. It also drew the attention of researchers to a wealth of historical documents that revealed the breadth of women’s social participation, including the fact that they “were involved in theatrical affairs in a more traditional business context” (Cerasano and Wynne-Davies 1996: 159). One reviewer of S.P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies’s landmark anthology, *Renaissance Drama by Women: Texts and Documents* (1996), a volume collecting both plays and supporting material, predicted that this work “will probably have an immediate and profound effect on the teaching of Renaissance drama” (Benson 1997: 115) – arguably a result that, in 2016, has yet to happen. Indeed, assessment of women’s dramatic writing continues to occupy

a position of “minor” significance in the period generally, subordinated by what is assumed to be the obvious and inherent value accrued, over time, to Shakespeare’s works.

As more feminist scholarship became available in journals, collections, and monographs throughout the decade of the 1980s, interest in gender and sexuality expanded and became more obviously engaged with what Kathleen McLuskie describes as “the specificity and difference of women’s experience” (1989: 227). She continues:

In a society where the language of social stratification was firmly fixed, the language of gender could be accommodated around it. For women can be defined in terms of their bodies or their social roles – an identity part biological, part psychical, part experiential, part cultural – but the social meanings of those definitions are always being negotiated within the terms available in particular cultures.

(McLuskie 1989: 227)

For feminist critics, then, reading Shakespeare’s plays involved not simply unravelling stated and implied social meanings, but identifying gender as one particularly crucial locus of “cultural struggle” (McLuskie 1989: 229).

Not surprisingly, a particularly favoured site for the explication and interrogation of gendered performance has been the practice, on stage and off, of cross-dressing – a “phenomenon that throws into crisis the binary opposition cultures between men and women, and the cultural imperative to be one or the other” (Belsey 1993: 363). The normative act of men playing women’s roles suggested a fundamental and structural gender instability in early modern drama and more broadly illustrated the “non-natural” condition of gender, its constructedness as well as processes of its social formation and negotiation. In other words, moments of explicitly cross-dressed performance could be read to reveal particularly pointed challenges to conventional thinking about sexual difference and gender roles. Looking to characters such as Rosalind, Viola, and Portia – along with Moll Cutpurse (the titular lead in Thomas Middleton’s *The Roaring Girl*) – scholars found exemplary illustrations for what had recently become understood as the performativity of gender.

The concept was, of course, drawn from the work of Judith Butler, who had theorized that gender was “a basically innovative affair, although it is quite clear that there are strict punishments for contesting the script by performing out of turn or through unwarranted improvisations” (1988: 531). The theatrical figuration of Butler’s assertion inspired Shakespeareans interested in a more open-ended interrogation of women in the seventeenth century to make performativity an organizing premise for examining “the considerable instability in the gender system” of the time (Howard 1988: 425). In this vein, Jean E. Howard asks, “Did the theatre, for example, with its many fables of crossdressing, also form part of the cultural apparatus for policing gender boundaries, or did it serve as a site for further disturbance?” (1988: 428). Turning to Rosalind’s novel epilogue at the end of *As You Like It*, she notes:

If a boy can so successfully personate the voice, gait, and manner of a woman, how stable are those boundaries separating one sexual kind from another, and thus how secure are those powers and privileges assigned to the hierarchically

superior sex, which depends upon notions of difference to justify its dominance? The Epilogue playfully invites this question.

(1988: 435)

In contemporary performances, however, where women almost always play the female roles in Shakespeare's plays, this visibility of gender constructedness is simply lost; but Rosalind's epilogue, at least, remains one potential site for exposing today's normative expectations. In her full-length study of the history of cross-dressing, Marjorie Garber extends the notion of uncertainty to insist that not only is it "about gender confusion," it is also "about the anxiety of economic or cultural dislocation, the anticipation or recognition of 'otherness' as loss" (1992: 390). That an anxiety of economic dislocation (and its concomitant and implied threat of loss of value) is integral to a comprehension of gender and sex in the early modern period is a proposal to which this chapter will return.

If Butler's argument that gender was "an identity instituted through *a stylized repetition of acts*" (1988: 519, emphasis in original), rather than an essentialized condition, reinvigorated and reformed ideas about men and women in early modern England, other challenges emerged contiguously to the first critical texts of feminist and other gender-informed inquiry. In 1989 Ania Loomba's groundbreaking *Gender, Race, Renaissance Drama* vigorously demonstrated the remarkable blind spot in feminist criticism to that date. A few years later, Peter Erickson described the importance of publications that brought race into the discussion: for instance, he called Margo Hendricks and Patricia Parker's *Women, "Race," and Writing in the Early Modern Period* (1994) the book that established "the topic of race as a major issue in Renaissance studies" (1997: 20). The emergence of scholarly interest in matters of race is explored in this volume by Jason Demeter and Ayanna Thompson in Chapter 33, "Shakespeare and early modern race studies: an overview of the field."

Erickson also added a "second factor at work in the modification of feminist Shakespearean criticism," one that was produced by "new developments in feminism outside Renaissance studies, especially the emphasis on cultural differences among women in reaction against an earlier tendency to use woman as a monolithic category" (1997: 17). He looked to Adrienne Rich's book of essays *Blood, Bread, and Poetry* (1986) as an example that underscored "the complexity of identity coordinates – including sexuality, race, ethnicity, class, national location" (Erickson 1997: 17). His is a reminder of the predominance of avowedly identity-based theorizing across literary studies in the late 1980s, as well as of the burgeoning interest in sexuality that, supported by Butler's linking of the two categories in her own analysis of cross-dressed performance, would assert dynamically resistant critiques of what had been, until this time, largely unmarked heteronormative interpretations of Shakespeare's work:

In imitating gender, drag implicitly reveals the imitative structure of gender itself – as well as its contingency. Indeed, part of the pleasure, the giddiness of the performance is in the recognition of a radical contingency in the relation between sex and gender in the face of cultural configurations of causal unities that are regularly assumed to be natural and necessary.

(Butler 1990: 137–38, emphasis in original)

If feminist scholarship had put a spotlight on dramatic constructions of gender in the early modern period, then gay and lesbian (and what would eventually be called queer) theory turned the identification of occasions of exclusion and absence away from women and towards same-sex desire and homosocial exchange.

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, Alan Bray's *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* was the first book to explore this field. Howard would later observe (1998: 106) that it was particularly telling that Bray's monograph appeared not from a university publisher but from the Gay Men's Press in London (part, then, of that more general politicization and claim to rights for gay men and lesbians in the early 1980s). (In 1996, when sexuality studies and queer theory had become, in many ways, a predominant approach across the historical fields of literary studies, Bray's book would be reissued by Columbia University Press with a new afterword.) The examination of the sodomite in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literary and other texts that constituted Bray's account of homosexuality in the period galvanized emergent ideas about sexuality as intrinsic to processes of identity formation, as well as to a vital and contemporary oppositional discourse. A quickly expanding bibliography in early modern studies included Jonathan Dollimore's "Sexuality, Subjectivity and Transgression" (1986); Bruce R. Smith's *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England: A Cultural Poetics* (1991); Gregory Bredbeck's *Sodomy and Interpretation: Marlowe to Milton* (1991); Jonathan Goldberg's *Sodometries: Renaissance Texts, Modern Sexualities* (1992); and Jeffrey Masten's *Textual Intercourse: Collaboration, Authorship, and Sexualities in Renaissance Drama* (1997).

This scholarship brought a keener theoretical eye to representations of sexual identity in the works of Shakespeare and his contemporaries, correcting, as it were, the much more recent, late nineteenth-century conceptualization of the heterosexual/homosexual binary. These books, among others, complicated – indeed, fractured – a heretofore unmarked either/or of sexual identity by demonstrating early modern expressions of desire to be multiple, fluid, and often ambiguous. Both Goldberg and Masten, for example, emphasize the inadequacy of "heterosexual" and "homosexual" to describe identification at the time, but "insist upon the crucial (but different) sexual valences of texts written about and between men in this period" (Masten 1997: 6).

In a review of Smith's *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England*, Peter Stallybrass applauded the breadth of such new scholarly inquiry for its engagement with the sexual politics of the contemporary world even as it attended "to the resistant discourses and practices of Renaissance England" (1993: 96). Like its feminist counterparts, then, scholarship on sexuality in Shakespeare's world grew out of and contributed to the lived experiences of the authors writing the new critical work. Howard characterized this particular development in Shakespeare studies as "the homoerotic turn," revealing that previously,

[the] emphasis on the cultural centrality of early modern marriages, and on love rhetorics that imagine a male lover and a female beloved, has obscured the importance of various kinds of sexual practice to other cultural institutions such as schools, apprenticeships, domestic service, armies, and courts, and has overlooked those love rhetorics in which the lover and the beloved share a sex.

(Howard 1998: 106)

Her account here, asserting the importance of homosocial relationships and connections (those communal bonds of everyday life), emphasizes the textured conditions of identity formation as well as cultural practices involved in recognition of an individual's worth (in Butler's terms, determining bodies that matter).

Howard also called attention to the originality of Valerie Traub's *Desire and Anxiety: Circulations of Sexuality in Shakespearean Drama* (1992) as a book concerned with same-sex desire between women. Howard suggested that Traub's argument "consolidate[s] feminist assumptions about the misogyny encoded in Shakespearean tragedy and history"; and, in light of this approach, she argues that "men's homoeroticism has remained more culturally legible because it is often part of, rather than opposed to, dominant institutions" (Howard 1998: 116). Other, later texts – including Theodora A. Jankowski's *Pure Resistance: Queer Virginity in Early Modern English Drama* (2000) and Denise Walen's *Constructions of Female Homoeroticism in Early Modern Drama* (2005) – have added to critical knowledge about desire expressed and enacted between women. For example, Walen's book returns to the performance of the cross-dressed woman, but specifically to read this practice as an erotically encoded site.

More pointedly, the relative paucity of academic interest in same-sex desire articulated by (and in performance of) the early modern woman was symptomatic of larger divisions brought about in critical theory and literary studies generally: while queer theory had emerged from, and because of, ground broken by earlier feminist scholarship, it had little to no interest in women. Put another way, women had remained the "other" of the bodies that mattered. Their behaviour was a threat (unless restrained to serve as a reflective foil) to the production of value between men. In effect, these new theoretical approaches reinforced ideas of individual value as dependent on social confirmation, practices that are, then, historically always already attached to masculine behaviour, norms, and measurement. Thus, male homosexuality remained linked to patriarchal power, even as it resisted heteronormative expectations.

More recently, the alignment of queer theory and Shakespeare has been less specifically attached to questions of sexual (embodied) desire. As Madhavi Menon writes in the introduction to her anthology *Shakespeareer*,

If queerness can be defined, then it is no longer queer – it strays away from its anti-normative stance to become the institutionalized norm. Queerness is not a category but the confusion engendered by and despite categorization.

(Menon 2011: 7)

If this new queer theory fastens on a predilection for a non-specific "identity" – Menon states that "queer theory has moved away from an exclusive interest in embodiment toward questions about the limits of ethical, ethnic, human, and psychic integrity" (2011: 15) – other critics have been troubled by what might seem to be a "new unhistoricism" (Traub 2013: 22). Taking up what Vin Nardizzi, Stephen Guy-Bray, and Will Stockton proposed as the project "to free queer scholarship from the tyranny of historicism" (2009: 1), Traub ventures that this is not a historicism "that creates categories of identity or presumes their inevitability; it is one that seeks to explain such categories' constitutive, pervasive, and persistent force" (2013: 36). Germane, too, to this chapter's discussion of gender and sexuality across critical approaches

is Traub's reminder that "pre- and early modern studies have been the site of vigorous debate about historiographic method since volume 1 of Michel Foucault's *The History of Sexuality* upped the critical ante on understandings of sexual modernity" (Traub 2013: 22).

Howard's assessment of the earlier "turn" to investigations of same-sex desire in early modern studies had also noted the importance of the French historian and theorist: "Foucault's influence is everywhere apparent in this criticism, starting with his insistence that sexuality has a history and is not an ahistorical, transcultural given" (1998: 105). Indeed, interest across new seams of critical inquiry about both sex and gender as matters of embodiment undoubtedly originated in the first volume of *The History of Sexuality* (an English edition of Foucault's French-language text was published in 1978). If recent queer scholarship has sought to widen "the horizon of queer possibility" (Menon 2011: 6), it remains very much the case that approaches to the study of gender and sexuality in Shakespeare's work are inflected, one way or another, by Foucault's thinking and ideas. This effect is hardly surprising, since *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1* starts with a retrospective, and perhaps nostalgic, assessment of sex in the seventeenth century:

It was a time of direct gestures, shameless discourse, and open transgressions, when anatomies were shown and intermingled at will, and knowing children hung about amid the laughter of adults: it was a period when bodies "made a display of themselves."

(Foucault 1978: 3)

BODIES AND DISPLAY, AGENCY AND VALUE

In examining the trajectory of a Shakespearean criticism committed to investigating categories of sex and gender, this chapter will now pursue the extraordinarily influential idea of how bodies "made a display of themselves" and attend to questions about the potentialities of such display, how it is a form of embodied labour that participates in the production of social and economic value. We shall think through how the theories of gender and sexuality surveyed here mesh with examination of the historical beginnings of our modern global economy. Turning to the effects of gendered and sexed representations for early modern culture presents an opportunity to re-engage with structural questions of agency, as well as with notions of worth and value made manifest in socially constructed sex/gender systems. What Francis Barker called the "commanding position of the Shakespearean text within the reception of the pre-revolutionary discursivity" (1984: 12) persists in the study of the early modern period, and we examine elements of what has been termed the new economic criticism to serve as a strategic inflexion of the critical nodes of gendered performance and same-sex desire described above. Across a robust history of critical activist work, including feminist and queer, the topics of access to power and articulations of disciplinary control have illustrated how solidarity between people is dissipated and undone. In broad terms, Marxist and cultural materialist scholarship, as well as recent critiques of neo-liberalism, has provided the framework for thinking about those whose lives are experienced on the margins and excluded from everyday economic benefits (see, for example, Bridenthall and Koonz 1977). Even if the othering of these bodies is

premised on matters of gender and sexual desire, a link to economic conditions is inevitable, although it might not be explicitly referenced or acknowledged.

As early as 1975 Gayle Rubin, in her essay “The Traffic in Women,” made explicit the connection between matters of economy and the construction of categories such as gender and sex. She questioned “sexism as a by-product of capitalism’s relentless appetite for profit” and asked crucial questions about agency in “the political economy of sex” (1975: 157, 207), an economy that she saw as dependent on the stable construction and legislation of a binarized sex/gender system. By recognizing the categories of gender and sex as fundamental to the emphatic (and successful) dominance of the capitalist system, Rubin resisted an explanation that saw “the genesis of the oppression of women” as a necessary outcome or “reflex of economic forces” (1975: 163, 203). In her own search for a cause, Rubin argued that the categories of sex and gender “are products of historical human activity,” and that we should “recogniz[e] the mutual interdependence of sexuality, economics and politics without underestimating the full significance of each in human society” (1975: 204, 210).

If Rubin hoped that a fuller – and economically inflected – understanding of “historical human activity” might uncover the causal factors underpinning sexual oppression, her aspiration remains a key impetus today for excavating a history of human experience in the early modern period. Accurate identification of those factors responsible for oppression based on sex and gender, the expectation runs, would produce a blueprint for a course towards an individual and economic equality that could be effectively elucidated and enacted.

The 1977 collection *Becoming Visible: Women in European History* was, like Rubin’s essay, a landmark in linking gender, sex, and economics. Editors Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz’s introduction explains that the collective purpose of the assembled writings is as an “action” intended to work for equality (1977: ix); and, among those essays, Joan Kelly-Gadol’s asked, “Did Women Have a Renaissance?,” a rallying query that still resonates in current debates about women’s history and gendered experience in early modern England.

Rereading Bridenthal and Koonz’s introduction to *Becoming Visible*, published in the mid-1970s, it is evident that they saw economic equality as the next and crucial battlefield for feminist intervention. They acknowledged the “political gains” made by the first waves of feminism, but also argued that “we must assess these achievements in context” and “ask, also, if these gains translate into practical, economic benefits” (1977: 5). For Bridenthal and Koonz, then, as well as for subsequent generations of feminists, what counts as progress in the quest for equality is more than political participation and the right to inclusion in pre-established structures and systems: “Inequality between the sexes in the present has necessarily been the starting point of any investigation of its origins. That is, one asks whether or not equality has always existed and to what degree” (Bridenthal and Koonz 1977: 11). Bridenthal and Koonz were surely correct in pointing out how the pursuit of equality had been conducted as an examination of the past for origins: genealogical traces of, or pre-modern signs of difference from, social and public experiences of sexuality and gender inequality, subordination and oppression. In this regard, a literary scholar might read Shakespeare’s plays alongside texts of the same period authored by women to reveal different expressions of the terms of this interlarded experience of sex, gender, and economic benefit.

Thus, the early modern and pre-capitalist period of Shakespeare's England continues to hold promise for scholars who explore the question of whether current political, social, and economic inequalities have always existed, and who attempt to find sources for practices of oppression premised on categories of sex and gender. In this context, those practices are measured (as is the lack of redemptive progress in overturning them) by access to, or a withholding from, "practical economic benefits" in everyday life (Bridenthal and Koonz 1977: 5). Feminist strategies directed at the accomplishment of political equality are also closely linked to economics: political power can be recognized in the processes of resource control, allocation, and distribution. When Rubin calls for an interrogation of the "political economy of sex" (1975: 207), and Bridenthal and Koonz urge action towards "practical economic benefits" in addition to "political gains" (1977: 5), their goals for women represent the realization of a value recognition that produces and instates material economic equality. The turn to the early modern period in search of the roots of economic disparities premised on sex and gender parallels the genealogical search for evidence of the origins of an oppressive sex/gender regime. Socio-economic historian Keith Wrightson has argued that Shakespeare's time

lacked the concept of a market order as a self-regulating system of economic relationships. To a very considerable degree, it was hostile to the notions of untrammelled individual freedom in economic affairs and material gain as an end in itself. Contemporaries regarded economic activity as being subordinated to ethical ends.

(Wrightson 2002: 29)

Yet these "ethical ends" are often (still) assumed to serve a patriarchal agenda, most obviously in the early modern private household but equally in practices of state-building as well as more generally in public activities. Barbara Correll has written of *The Winter's Tale*, for example, as "a late reflection on the vicissitudes of cultural masculinity and the costs of living in a patriarchal world of gender-power relations" (2003: 60). With the disappearance of Autolycus before the end of the drama, Correll suggests, there is, in his place, an "opening up of symbolic space: the women's roles in which Perdita is the nominated concrete signifier of loss, Hermione its most poignant surviving victim, and Paulina the director who stages their reunion" (Correll 2003: 60) – an act of recovery that only emphasizes a comprehensive patriarchal control. What Shakespeare's plays demonstrate time and again are the effects of a hierarchical system on both men and women, and how patriarchy remains the prevailing context for assessing individual value and asserting a normative identity composed of the behaviours and physical body of a man: white, Christian, aristocratic, and English.

The use of the term "patriarchy" encompasses, of course, both male dominance and the privilege afforded to heterosexual reproduction. It is helpful here, then, to remind ourselves of its early modern authority and the political control that it recognized and promoted. In short, patriarchy merged social and economic power with both practices and experiences of gender and sexuality. With regard to this merging, Laura Gowing has explained that while patriarchy has functioned as an "essential term to feminist analysis, describing the system of power relations that subordinates

women to men . . . it is useful to separate its generic feminist usage from the specific meaning of patriarchy as a political theory in the early modern period” (2012: 4). The shift from the term “patriarchy” to Gowing’s coinage and definition of “patriarchilism” is important, since the latter depends, too, on male–male subordination as a necessary function of political power and its distribution. As Thomas A. King describes it in *The Gendering of Men, 1600–1750*,

[m]anliness was . . . the performative effect of preferment and autonomy within a patriarchal society in which not only all women and children but “many men” . . . “were the property of other men.”

(King 2004: 5, citing Trumbach 1978: 3)

Thus, both gendered and sexual bodies have been critical starting-points for challenging political limitations and boundaries, looking forward to an outcome of equal value and recognition for all. In turn, this is an economic argument that demands, as well, that all bodies merit equal access to the tools and resources that enable an everyday life to be liveable.

The focus in this chapter so far, as in the field more generally, has been on the performatively realized normative (and idealized) body, representing a critical history of the privilege of men and expressions of heterosexuality as iconic: the gold standard for the signification and enactment of power. In this framework, an assumption of patriarchal control worked (indeed, still works) to establish a material target for the hoped-for social revolution that would bring equality among people, an activist calling shared by critics who employ feminist and queer theoretical positions to challenge social norms and values including those produced, re-performed, and/or subverted by today’s productions of Shakespeare and his works.

A similar assumption of patriarchal control, both in public and in private, is also accepted practice in socio-economic history, even if an emphasis on the separation of public and private spheres and on the intersection of gender/sexuality within these spheres has been much debated and contested. Extended and productive work has focused on socio-economic units of early modern households; family/kinships/friendships; marriage, with its emphasis on heterosexual relationships; and inheritance. For example, Laura Lee Downs in *Writing Gender History* suggests that in the 1990s feminist historians reached a shared agreement that

masculinity and femininity have always played a central role in shaping divisions of labour and hierarchies of authority, a world in which the two structures (patriarchy and capitalism) are in fact inextricably bound together in a single, gendered order of production.

(Downs 2010: 34)

What she calls the “long and ultimately sterile debate over the relative weight of capitalism versus patriarchy in the oppression of working women” was “set . . . aside altogether in favour of more fruitful and far-reaching analytic approaches based on the adoption of gender as a central axis of investigation” (2010: 34). With a shift to gender and sexuality as nodes of inquiry, the place of women in the economic world becomes one of outcome rather than cause in capitalist and protocapitalist terms.

Usefully, in his 2005 Raleigh Lecture on History, Keith Wrightson provides a concise description of contemporary scholarly views about early modern social relationships as “a mosaic of adaptations” rather than “a single narrative of change” (2006: 192). Even allowing for recognition of “perennially dynamic” domestic relationships (2006: 193), Wrightson asserts that it is evident a “family was a unit of patriarchal authority in which the roles of its members were hierarchically defined,” and that there is now critical “consensus . . . that it remained so throughout this period” (2006: 189). Notwithstanding shifts and changes across Marxist, socialist, cultural materialist, new historicist, as well as new economic criticism, the most common starting-point continues to be that of a heterosexual, male-dominated economic structure and system.

As we have identified in the review of feminist and queer theoretical perspectives, description of the limitations and boundaries of categories within a patriarchal system has long been pursued as a crucial act of interrogation. This provocation has been followed, too, by economic historians of the early modern period who have similarly looked to make visible the “other,” non-normative bodies and their behaviours that are otherwise disciplined, absent, or occluded because they cannot hold or deserve economic control. The patriarchal system is, in this way, necessary for recognition of how devaluation is enacted; it demonstrates how those bodies excluded from power produce “resistance [that] is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power” (Foucault 1978: 95). Non-normative bodies are a necessary “shelter for power, anchoring its prohibitions,” but cognizance of their devaluation and need for discipline also “undermines and exposes it [power], renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it” (Foucault 1978: 101).

Within socio-economic history-making, the project of recovering and elucidating the silenced and absent bodies of early modern drama remains important. This is ably demonstrated in Natasha Korda’s assertion of a “revisionist histor[y] of women’s roles” that rejects social and economic norms (2002: 7), staged through a close reading of *Measure for Measure*. She points to the silent Isabella’s response to the Duke’s marriage proposal, which would counter or cancel Isabella’s choice to live in the homosocial household of the nunnery, and identifies the absenting of the bodies of other never-married women in the play. In common with early feminist scholarship on Shakespeare and his contemporaries, this kind of critical reading should be characterized as a reclamation and recovery effort, but more explicitly Korda remains concerned with the overdetermined economic realities of sex and gender production. Commonly, in fact, scholarship in this domain has turned to the past for evidence of social and economic change; and threading through this work – often with an explicitly Marxist inflexion – is the intention to use early modern case-studies to support present-day objectives towards progress in achieving a more equal distribution of wealth and political decision-making. If the sought-after end-point is a redistribution of a bound limit of power to people who cannot currently participate or who are unfairly restricted, then, in economic terms, this is a dilemma of value: who and what is valuable; how use- and exchange-value is expressed upon (gendered and sexed) bodies; and with recourse to social markers and measurements of these values.

Laura Gowing’s historical overview in *Gender Relations in Early Modern England* surveys the shifts since the 1970s in historiographical understanding of early modern

sexual difference, gender articulation, and the relationship of both identity categories to an understanding of the period's economics. She writes:

More than most other fields, economic history has been slow both to historicise the effects of gender and to explore the roles of women. . . . In this field, gender history continues to undercut some central methodological assumptions: that women are necessarily dependents and followers of men; that domestic work is negligible and that marriage benefits and protects women more than men.

(Gowing 2012: 46)

Gowing's survey suggests seventeenth-century England as the era where ideas about the intermingled realities of sex, gender, and economics became increasingly complex and varied, a position that Wrightson echoes in his analysis of what constituted a viable household economy at that time. Although he recognizes the consensus of a patriarchal and thus hierarchical family unit, he observes that

it was also . . . a sphere of interdependence and personal intimacy in which – within the parameters of ideology and law – familial roles were more complex, less rigid, and considerably more emotionally demanding, than was once assumed, and in which the perennial friction of individual personalities could wear down the sharp edges of prescriptive categories.

(Wrightson 2006: 189)

In other words, economic functions were (like sex and gender) multiple, fluid, and often ambiguous.

It is at this intersection of economic history and critical interrogations of identity categories (especially gender and sexuality) that there has been productive work on the objectification of bodies as property, as commodities that function to reflect and to transfer value. In this context, female bodies have, not surprisingly, received extended analysis: for example, Jyotsna G. Singh refers to Rubin's work on the "traffic in women" when considering that "Portia exemplifies woman as a sexual gift" (2001: 150). Valerie Forman, writing about Viola's cross-dressed performance in *Twelfth Night*, observes that for "an early modern audience, perhaps no object would appear as steeped in the economy as does clothing" (2003: 116). As Forman elaborates, the term "investment" expands in the seventeenth century not only to cover its traditional meanings (to clothe or to put into office), but also to explain an action with money where profit is assumed to be the outcome. This innovation in meaning Forman describes as costuming "money in a new set of clothes – to disguise it or rematerialize it"; and Viola's disguise, she suggests, "masquerades as an attempt to restore and resecure a social order disturbed by the very material conditions that the disguise signifies" (2003: 117, 118). Moreover, the importance of homosocial bonds (broadly but not exclusively focused on male–male relationships, the example of Sebastian and Viola/Cesario being a case in point) has also been examined so as to consider the transference of value, or potential for production of future value, by and between same-sexed and sometimes sexual bodies.

Critical work on early modern households has further recognized that subjected and subordinated bodies serve to transfer and to maintain value intragenerationally

(particularly through acts of marriage and household keeping) as much as intergenerationally (through dowry, effective reproduction, and inheritance). Patriarchal success in this context is produced by those behaviours and rituals that are presumed to generate future wealth and augment power relations enacted between the normative body and its others: what Lear expects to happen when he decides, at the start of the play, to divide his kingdom.

Notwithstanding the indebtedness to *The History of Sexuality* that permeates much feminist and queer theoretical analysis of the early modern body in performance, it is worth remembering here that Foucault insisted that “the hypothesis of a power of repression exerted by our society on sex for economic reasons appears to me quite inadequate” (1978: 72). Further, the “negative mechanism of exclusion” (Foucault 1978: 72) that is the outcome experienced by non-male, non-masculine, and non-heterosexual bodies is not produced – as Rubin, Foucault, and others have argued – by what has come to be understood as an intrinsic condition of capitalism’s free market. Rather, the turn to economic history institutes a break between sex/gender repression and capitalism’s progression, with the promise of a methodology that might provide a more productive route towards new arguments for equality. Yet exclusion from prevailing operations of economy remains a central, even universal, problem for gendered and sexed bodies, now and in the analysis of Shakespeare’s texts. In the process of oppression, relationships between sexuality and economy, as well as between gender and economy, do exist; but for Foucault (and many critics since) “sexuality is linked to the economy through numerous and subtle relays, the main one of which, however, is the body – the body that produces and consumes” (1978: 106–7). The body, significantly, is the source of produced value and/or the repository of value (or its devaluated state).

Perhaps the move to recognize the performativity of gender and its social implications and impacts can also effect a move to alter the terms that measure power and thus value. To achieve such a recalibration, re-evaluation, redistribution of value, the premise of how the body is valued and invested (the patriarchal assumption of power and its economic measurement) must also be shifted. What might this shift bring to a shared objective of achieving equality of practical economic benefits? Scholarly production in the 1990s established a genealogical network behind neo-liberal capitalist economies that had an origin in the inauguration of patriarchal systems, understood through an assumption that this marks the oppression, historically, of the “other” (which is to say, here, women and all expressions of desire that are not heterosexual) in service of the requisite power to be exercised by dominant male privilege. Even when critics search for other possible origins for either pre-capitalist or pre-binarized categories of gender and sexuality, there is often, still, a default into assumptions of patriarchal – and, thus, socio-economic – oppression. It seems, yet, that there exists only a modest imagination and limited language to describe the possibility of a more egalitarian agency.

Much work has been done on bodies, and continues to be developed on practices of embodiment. Despite efforts to deconstruct the relationship between material and physical markers of difference in sex and gender, the body remains an uneasy site for investigation of pleasures and power both. The embodiment of power, both in the body’s presence as a mark of inclusion (or exclusion) from that power and in its absence of value recognition, has seemed sometimes to have monopolized critical

attention since the mid-1960s. The actions of staged bodies have been analysed as the artistic expression, cultural representation, and/or experienced habituation of gender and sex, but an implicit acceptance of these various expressions as accurate markers of value (thus always construed as economic) has sometimes received less detailed attention and little recognition. We suggest, in conclusion, that further examination of the potentially reciprocal and dependent relationships among sex, gender, and economic systems through new readings and performances of Shakespeare's plays could reinvigorate activist efforts in the present and move us beyond a critical impasse where methodological disputes often seem to produce no more than a frustrated hopefulness for the "yet to be" of an equality where all bodies would certainly matter.

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CHAPTER THIRTY-FIVE

SHAKESPEARE, ECOLOGY, AND ECOCRITICISM



Randall Martin

Ecocriticism is a relatively new academic field that reads Shakespeare's work through the double lens of modern ecology and environmentalism. Like all interpretations from conceptual perspectives – historical, post-colonial, feminist, post-human – it applies contemporary knowledge to Shakespeare's writings, in this case to rediscover early modern ecologies and to use the playwright's narrative and poetic insights to illuminate present-day environmental issues.

Let me introduce the approach with a reading of a brief moment in *As You Like It*, when Touchstone tries to inveigle Audrey into getting married by a dodgy priest, Oliver Martext. Touchstone hopes to use Martext's incompetence as an excuse to leave Audrey after he has slept with her. But his dramatic rival Jaques suddenly appears and objects:

This fellow [Martext] will but join you together as they join wainscot; then one of you will prove a shrunk panel and, like green timber, warp, warp.

(3.3.78–80)

Wainscoting was decorative wall-covering made from oak panels. It was popular in grander Tudor houses such as New Place, Shakespeare's home in Stratford-upon-Avon. To remain flat and smoothly joined, wainscoting had to be made from seasoned timber. Jaques suggests that the outcome of Touchstone's under-the-hedge marriage will be the same as using green wood. His metaphor is clear but seems unremarkable. Environmental history – a kindred discipline of Shakespearean ecocriticism – reveals that Elizabethan wainscoting was made not from English oak, as one might expect, but from Baltic oak (Sörlin and Warde 2009). It was tightly grained and free from knots, making it highly stable and attractive. Baltic oak panels had been imported into England from Danzig (Gdańsk), Poland, from the thirteenth century. But Jaques's wood has not had time to mature en route and is presumably local. Its greenness alludes to both aesthetic and ecological problems.

By the 1590s Polish oak forests supplying Danzig had been exhausted and the export trade had begun to collapse. Landowners and timber merchants ignored sustainability in favour of short-term profit, generated partly from supplying

Tudor England's housing boom. When Baltic supplies ran out, Elizabethan carpenters did not apparently have the skills to work with English oak panelling, as Jaques's reference to warping suggests. But they were also discouraged from adapting because the price of oak timber had risen by 85 per cent over Shakespeare's lifetime (Rackham 2003: 154, 163–64, 462). That was a result of woodland depletions: clear-cutting to create more arable land to feed England's rapidly growing towns and cities; overexploitation by new fuel-intensive industries; and a cultural turn towards maximizing economic growth (Warde 2007). Jaques's green simile thus connects the nearly exhausted state of Danzig forests with the threatened conditions of English woodland. English audiences would have understood these relationships from their personal experience of shortages and rising prices, and possibly from reflecting on the Globe theatre's recycled timber construction (Egan 2006: 152–57; Nardizzi 2013).

In these and other moments throughout many of his plays Shakespeare fosters a new ecological consciousness not only by representing emerging environmental problems directly but also by inviting spectators to recognize the wider implications of contextual allusions such as Jaques's. Ecocriticism proposes that these moments of shared understanding opened cultural space for, and imaginatively anticipated, the science-based knowledge and conservationist goals of modern ecology.

To orient these past and present horizons, this chapter will first briefly outline Shakespeare's representations of the rapidly changing state of early modern natural history and its relationship to the development of modern ecology and environmental criticism. It will then examine a selection of environmental problems and responses in Shakespeare to illustrate the ways they are now being read ecocritically. Overall, I shall argue that ecocritical Shakespeare uses the playwright's exceptional creativity and cultural reach to question practices and attitudes that have degraded organic life and environments, and to stimulate debate about sustainability, conservation, biodiversity, animal welfare, and other ecological goals in personal and public life. My conclusion will consider some contemporary and future possibilities of Shakespearean ecocriticism.

The early modern and twenty-first-century poles of ecocriticism's knowledge-spectrum correspond to "historicist" and "presentist" modes of analysis. Historicism emphasizes the original contexts that determined the production and reception of Shakespeare's writing, whereas presentism gives greater weight to modern political commitments and creative reinterpretations. The different temporal emphasis of each approach raises the question of anachronism. To what degree can one really talk about ecology and environmentalism in Shakespeare when the modern words and concepts did not yet exist? Like most ecocritics, I believe one can, partly because modern fields of knowledge begin to be shaped by historical discoveries and intellectual dialogues before they arrive at a systematic methodology (Dear 2001; Harkness 2007; Mazzio 2009; Stott 2012; Shannon 2013). One can also distinguish between causal explanations and creative reconstructions, while recognizing that both these heuristic paths are linked by rhetorical mediation and contemporary projections (White 1987; Roberts 1996; O'Dair 2011a). The value of ecological insights is not established exclusively by facticity, since the study of Shakespearean environmental history – or any history – is always in part a present-day re-enactment of the past following the script of today's knowledge (Collingwood 1946). The epistemological

script of this chapter will be evolutionary ecology. Its principles underpin the contemporary pursuit of biodiversity, sustainability, and humane animal relations which ecocritics seek to find anticipated or analogized in Shakespeare, or contrasted there by the different conditions of his age.

CHANGING EARLY MODERN ECOLOGIES

Strictly speaking, the discipline of ecology emerged as a branch of evolutionary biology in the nineteenth century. But as the science of relationships between species and ecosystems, it asked a basic question similar to the one posed millennia before by Aristotle: *what is nature?* Aristotle's meticulous observations of the coast of Lesbos led him to conceptualize nature as an eternal life-force (gendered masculine) endlessly imprinting itself on physical matter (gendered feminine) to generate organisms (Crane 2014; Leroi 2015). Christian theologians extrapolated Aristotle's theory of an "efficient" first cause as the Prime Mover, thereby attributing metaphysical origins to nature (Harrison 2001). Read allegorically, this "book of nature" suggested both positive and negative models for human society and conduct (e.g., Canterbury on bees in *Henry V*, 1.2.187–213).

Aristotelian-Christian nature was challenged by a materialist counter-narrative represented by authors such as Lucretius and Plutarch, and rediscovered by Renaissance humanists such as Michel de Montaigne. While always a minority opinion in this period, this world-view rejected the essentialism of Aristotelian-Christian natural history, which included more folkloric accounts by Pliny, Aelian, and their redactors which Shakespeare read in school. Lucretius, for instance, argued that physical matter was not inert, passively waiting to be moulded by metaphysical forces. Instead the earth was a natural plenitude of dynamic particles and seeds – what Mercutio and Celia call "atomies" and Lear and Macbeth "germens" – constantly moving and recombining in physical and organic forms (*Romeo and Juliet*, 1.4.59; *As You Like It*, 3.2.227; *Macbeth*, 4.1.75; *King Lear*, 9.8) (Greenblatt 2011: 185–92, 242–49).

Materialist and anti-essentialist theories of nature were not Darwinian, but they opened pathways to evolutionary biology by recognizing that nature could change over time and accommodate possibilities of adaptation. Evidence of the earth's history emerged from the discovery of new lands, oceans, peoples, and animals beyond Europe. The charting of these phenomena, aided by mathematical advances in navigation and cartography, opened Mediterranean natural history and geography to competing speculations about the planet's geological beginnings and timelines (e.g., fossil-like formations such as Northumberland's "worm-eaten hold of ragged stone" [2 *Henry IV*, Induction 35]).

Shakespeare reflects these breakthroughs in allusions to the "new map with the augmentation of the Indies" (*Twelfth Night*, 3.2.75) and passing remarks such as "this ball of earth" (2 *Henry IV*, Induction 5). His plays thereby encode a "conceptual shift" in physical and cultural understanding of globally scaled oceans, winds, and climates, as well as the marine affinities of human existence – all imaginatively distilled in *The Tempest* (Mentz 2009: 3–4; Brayton 2012: 1–2). Overseas trade brought specimens of New World plants and animals to London's artisan and scientific communities, such as the potatoes in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and glow-worms

(or fireflies) in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (5.5.19; 3.1.162). Moreover, as the authority of the Aristotelian world-view weakened, globally diversified nature renewed fascination with preternatural life (i.e., nature operating at invisible or occult levels that had to be imagined poetically or explained abstractly by mathematics or alchemy; e.g., the “mysteries of Hecate,” *King Lear*, 1.103) (Floyd-Wilson 2011; Crane 2014: 123–47 and *passim*). Equally fascinating were natural “exceptions” such as William Banks’s highly intelligent horse Marocco (*Love’s Labour’s Lost*, 1.2.53), “rarer monsters” (*Macbeth*, 5.10.25), or what Giorgio Agamben calls “intermediate animals” like the fish-man Caliban or the “famous ape” who “tr[ies] conclusions” (i.e., experiments rationally; *Hamlet*, 3.4.178–79) (Agamben 2002: 25; Mentz 2012: 44–46, 82–83; Brayton 2012: 107–35; Maisano 2013).

Shakespeare’s hybrids hint at the discoveries of modern comparative anatomy and molecular biology supporting Lucretian, Pythagorean, and Ovidian intimations of the “tendency of living things to join up, establish linkages, live inside each other, return to earlier arrangements, get along, wherever possible” (Thomas 1974: 147). The physiological interconnectedness of human and animal life-forms embodied by Bottom’s transformation into an ass (*A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 3.1) or Falstaff’s into an antlered and “haunched” deer (*The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 5.5) underpins the biocentric ethic of modern ecology. Biocentrism affirms “the intrinsic value of all natural life and displace[s] the current preference of even the most trivial human demands over the needs of other species or integrity of place” (Clark 2011: 5). It is also the leading principle of ecocriticism.

Modern ecology developed in the later nineteenth century as one of the disciplinary specializations of evolutionary biology. During this time urban and industrial over-exploitation of resources and degradation of habitats were accelerating, propelled by utilitarian attitudes and dreams of progress through technological mastery (Wright 2006). In response, ecologists developed conservationist goals that went beyond studying ecosystems (Worster 1994: 37, 52, 333–35). Adding ethical dimensions to the natural-science question *what is nature?*, they asked: *how should people live sustainably in the physical world and in harmony with its non-human inhabitants?* Twentieth-century ecology as environmentalism – a political commitment to the well-being of all ecosystems and species – developed in tandem with ecology as academic research.

The work of two twentieth-century scientists modelled this twin agenda. Forester and ecologist Aldo Leopold wrote a strategically folksy but inspirationally principled country diary, *A Sand County Almanac, and Sketches Here and There* (1968; first published 1949), which documents the small wonders and appalling abuses of the Wisconsin landscape in the 1930s and 1940s. It concludes with a biocentric manifesto, “The Land Ethic,” calling for the region’s mountains, rivers, and animals to be given informal rights equal to those of legal property-owners. A second more overtly political work critiqued the post-war agricultural and industrial pollution of the 1950s and 1960s: Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring* (1962). As Greg Garrard observes, although Carson was a biologist, her book relied on literary genres such as Edenic pastoral, tropes of rural or wilderness redemption, and the language of apocalypse (2012: 1–10, 93–116).

Carson’s poetically inflected activism and Leopold’s bioregionalism shaped ecocriticism’s “first wave” in the 1960–90s (Buell 2005). It focused largely on American

nature writing, but also inspired an early study of Shakespeare by Joseph W. Meeker, *The Comedy of Survival: Studies in Literary Ecology* (1974). American ecocriticism was paralleled by studies of English Romantic writers beginning with Jonathan Bate's *Romantic Ecology: Wordsworth and the Environmental Tradition* (1991) and *The Song of the Earth* (2002), which includes an essay on *The Tempest*. A cluster of experimental essays edited by Simon C. Estok for a 2005 volume of *Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and the Environment* challenged the prevailing tendency of ecocriticism to avoid literary theory. That approach anticipated today's "second wave" of Shakespearean ecocriticism and the field's first book-length studies in 2006: *Green Shakespeare* by Gabriel Egan, and *Back to Nature: The Green and the Real in the Late Renaissance* by Robert N. Watson (who had written an early environmentalist essay on *Macbeth* in 1984). Egan's work riffed eclectically on modern environmental themes. Watson anchored his epistemological study of Edenic nostalgia in early modern literature with a trenchant analysis of *As You Like It*. Both books sparked a still rewarding state-of-the-field review by Sharon O'Dair (2008), and since then more books and essay collections have been widening the range of ecocritical research (see References and Further Reading).

Garrard's observations about Carson's *Silent Spring* touch on one of three main concerns of ecocriticism: analysing literary constructions of the natural and non-human worlds to uncover their cultural assumptions (the other concerns, summed up by ecotheorist Ursula Heise, are "the scientific study of nature" and "the political struggle for more sustainable ways of inhabiting the natural world" [2006: 506]). This project recognizes that nature is never just a physical reality but is always being redefined by social and political desires (e.g., Henry V's myopic destruction of the "best garden of the world" [*Henry V*, 5.2.36], Edmund's materialist rejection of his father's paternalistic cosmology [*King Lear*, 2.1.13–28], Prospero's recognition of his ontological affinities with Caliban's "darkness" [*The Tempest*, 5.1.278]).

SHAKESPEAREAN ENVIRONMENTALISM

The excessive depletion of regional English woodland noted earlier in this chapter is one of several major aspects of Shakespeare's environmental awareness. Supplying more food to people and domestic animals (like those mentioned on Oliver's mixed-use farm in *As You Like It*) required more arable land, obtained by cutting down forests like those around Danzig which produced oak wainscoting (Warde 2007: 33–71). Knock-on price-rises in wood and timber partly explain the Burbages' thrifty recycling of timber beams from their old playhouse, The Theatre (1576), to construct the new Globe (1599), where Shakespeare's company the Chamberlain's Men was based. Regional over-consumption by new industries also outstripped sustainable methods of production such as coppicing and pollarding (*Love's Labour's Lost*, 4.1.9; *As You Like It*, 4.3.106) and eventually created a late sixteenth-century deforestation crisis. The response was an epoch-changing shift to fossil fuel in the form of coal.

This new energy regime emerged partly as a result of the establishment by Henry VIII of iron foundries devoted to making Europe's first cast-iron cannons (e.g., *All Is True* [*Henry VIII*], 5.3.13). By the end of Elizabeth's reign guns and artillery had

become a profitable national export which armed the European navies that transformed global ecologies (Cipolla 1965: 36–46; Grove 1995). The iron industry's excessive consumption of wood and the degradation of Crown forests were not cut back because militarization took priority over domestic consumption and other kinds of manufacturing. One of the latter was glass-making, another industry set up by Tudor governments to achieve national self-sufficiency and boost exports. It too consumed enormous amounts of local wood to supply glass windows like the splendid bow mentioned in *Troilus and Cressida* (1.2.107), fashionable drinking-glasses like the ones Falstaff commends to Mistress Quickly ("Glasses, glasses, is the only drinking," 2 *Henry IV*, 2.1.145), and bottles for Toby Belch's ale and wine in *Twelfth Night*. The fuel for glass-manufacturers was supplied by in-forest saw-pits of the kind that Shakespeare depicts in the Crown-forest setting of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (4.4.53; 5.4.2). There his placement of a commercial saw-pit next to an increasingly rare oversized tree, Herne's Oak, draws attention to the endangered state of English forests and the irresistible lure of revenue for monarchs and landowners. As the Earl of Carnarvon put it brutally, trees were "an excrescence of the earth, provided by God to pay for debts" (Borlik 2008: 84).

Industrial-level deforestation in southern England and fears about supplying the expanding navy forced the government to compel glass-makers to switch from wood to coal in 1608 (iron manufacturing and other industries followed later in the seventeenth century). The scapegoating of glass-makers was preceded by a more gradual shift in domestic consumption over the last quarter of the sixteenth century owing to the cheaper cost of sea coal (Cipolla 1976: 134, 265–69). Mistress Quickly's use of sea-coal heating is representative of this modernizing trend, as is the eponymous watchman-householder George Seacoal (2 *Henry IV*, 2.1.90; *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 1.4.8; *Much Ado About Nothing*, 3.3.10).

As the shift from wood- to coal-fuel went from 10 per cent to 50 per cent of England's total energy consumption between 1560 and 1700 (Warde 2007: 60), the unforeseen impact was not only London smog, acid rain, and sooty clothes (Plat 1603: B4r–v), but also a new planetary condition: the Anthropocene. This term refers to the period when human activities began fundamentally to reshape the earth's ecosystem. Its assumed starting-point used to be the eighteenth-century Industrial Revolution. For this reason early ecocritics such as Jonathan Bate argued that environmental criticism could not apply to Shakespeare. But as the work of more recent ecocritics has shown – and as *The Tempest's* allusions to the colonial outsourcing of English resource consumption as well as bio-exchanges between the Old and the New Worlds imply – the modern Anthropocene began in Shakespeare's lifetime. Drawing on the latest biospheric measurements, scientists have recently re-dated the start of the "Age of Man" to 1610 (Lewis and Maslin 2015; Morelle 2015).

Guns and cannons contributed substantially to this anthropocentric shift. They are ubiquitous in Shakespeare despite the pre-gunpowder setting of most of his plays, and thus they seem purposefully "presentist." Besides conveying gunpowder's new levels of devastation, firearms and artillery suggest contextual links with the cultural and ecological transformations of the emerging military-industrial complex (similar to those Carson exposed in *Silent Spring*). These are most historically visible in *Henry V*, whose fifteenth-century French campaign saw the first major use of artillery in

Continental siege warfare (e.g., at Harfleur, *Henry V*, 3.0.32–34). Shakespeare juxtaposes Henry’s gunpowder-enhanced violence with recurring images of meadows, vineyards, orchards, and traditional foraging areas. Consider Fluellen’s exchange with Henry in the aftermath of Agincourt:

- FLUELLEN Your grandfather of famous memory . . . and your great-uncle
Edward the Plack Prince of Wales [*sic*] . . . fought a most prave pat-
tle here in France.
KING HARRY They did, Fluellen.
FLUELLEN Your majesty says very true. If your majesties is remembered of it,
the Welshmen did good service in a garden where leeks did grow,
wearing leeks in their Monmouth caps, which your majesty know
to this hour is an honourable badge of the service.
(4.7.90–99)

Fluellen’s fictional anecdote about the battle of Crécy (1346) contrasts with French memories of the slaughter of their nobility and the devastation of their countryside (just repeated at Agincourt). Shakespeare “ecologizes” their impacts in King Charles’s images of dynastic breeding and agrarian cultivation:

- on mountain standing,
. . . crowned with the golden sun,
[Edward III s]aw his heroical seed [his son Edward the Black Prince]
and smiled to see him
Mangle the work of nature and deface
The patterns that by God and by French fathers
Had twenty years been made.
(2.4.57–62)

The almost sacrilegious destruction of bio-familial ancestries frames Fluellen’s boasting within a more-than-human standard of value. While the Welshmen’s “service” may have burnished their credentials in the eyes of their English overlords, tearing out leeks for trophies also destroyed local food sources in “the world’s best garden.” Or, if “garden” serves here as it does elsewhere as regional metonym for France, these wild leeks are part of the natural ecosystem on which both people and non-human animals depended. Like that of the “seed” and “patterns,” their destruction defeats the pragmatic goal of Henry’s French campaign, which was to correct the resource drawdowns of his father’s wars.

A more focused juxtaposition of ecological sustainability and the emerging gunpowder economy centres on the production of saltpetre (gunpowder’s main ingredient). It was manufactured from composted human and animal manure expropriated by government-commissioned saltpetremen from private farms. Militarization thus turned composted manure into a new energy commodity in the form of *matériel*. Farmers were not compensated for the saltpetremen’s seizures, however, or for the damage to stables, barns, and animals. Yet composted manure was essential for revitalizing the arable land that strained to feed England’s growing human and domestic

animal populations. Shakespeare alludes to this guns-versus-butter controversy in the disparaging remarks of an unnamed courtier, mockingly reported by Hotspur:

... it was great pity, so it was,
This villainous saltpetre should be digged
Out of the bowels of the harmless earth,
Which many a good tall fellow had destroyed.

(1 *Henry IV*, 1.3.58–61)

The courtier's critique encodes fierce public anger against the saltpetremen, but his alleged effeminacy allows "gunpowder Percy" to trivialize it (Cressy 2011; Plat 1594: B4v). Percy's indifference reflects the experience of farmers and landlords who organized a national environmental protest against the saltpetremen in 1603 but failed to slow down militarization at the expense of domestic agriculture. Shakespeare's allusions to saltpetre, situated in the context of gunpowder's outsize footprint across all his histories and tragedies, indicate his willingness to raise public awareness of new environmental problems.

Shakespeare's plays also reflect practical activities aimed at enhancing the capacity of local environments to absorb and recover from man-made and natural disturbances. The ecological measure of this capacity is their resilience, or long-term physical integrity and biological diversity (Holling 1973; Gunderson 2000). While the science of resilience, like ecology, did not yet exist in early modern England, its principles were understood from traditional practices of agriculture, gardening, viticulture, and woodmanship. Shakespeare's leading metaphor for resilience is arguably agrarian and animal husbandry. Growing up in the rural Midlands, he would have seen farmers manuring fields, rotating crops, allowing fields to lie fallow, and caring for animals. These activities manifested a prudential ethic of giving back to creation to preserve resilience. English husbandry writers who had been rediscovering the practical methods of Virgil's *Georgics* (trans. 1589) reaffirmed these principles.

Burgundy echoes their themes of productive labour and ecological stewardship in the botanical and material details of his plea for restorative agriculture (*Henry V*, 5.2.29–67). The pride Justice Shallow takes in breeding his own apples and in the productive efficiency of his farmhands illustrates the health- and revenue-generating interest post-chivalric gentry (including new gentlemen like Shakespeare) took in cultivation techniques (2 *Henry IV*, 3.2., 5.1, 5.3). These encompassed women's knowledge of horticulture, cookery, and physic (e.g., the maidservant who gathers parsley to stuff a rabbit in *The Taming of the Shrew*, 4.5.26–27; Ophelia's and Perdita's respective knowledge of the medicinal properties of flowers in *Hamlet*, 4.1.175ff. and *The Winter's Tale*, 4.4.73ff.). In *The Tempest*, Prospero's wedding masque of Ceres (goddess of corn) stages a twinned fantasy of georgic idealism and freedom from dearth. His show reflects a shift in ecological convictions from the mentality of exploitation he has exercised over the island's flora and fauna towards the "rarer action" of coexistence with Caliban and the natural world, as well as with Antonio, Sebastian, and Alonso:

Earth's increase, and foison plenty,
Barns and garners never empty,

Vines and clust'ring bunches growing,
Plants with goodly burden bowing; . . .
Scarcity and want shall shun you. . . .

(4.1.110–13, 116)

Looking across Shakespeare's plays, Charlotte Scott (2014) argues that they construct a physical and social definition of sustainability in representations of cultivation as healthy agriculture, social progress, and Christian ethics, but that these integrated aims were being displaced by an economic model of commodified land-use and maximal profit. As *You Like It*'s Oliver embodies these conflicting desires. On the one hand, he is the proverbially oppressive older brother and antisocial landlord of biblical myth, romance fiction, and early modern complaint literature. His privatizing enclosure of his family's and neighbouring lands signals his grasping and hoarding tendencies. On the other hand, as Orlando's complaints reveal, Oliver's mixed-use farm and bioregenerating husbandry produce abundant crops and well-cared-for animal and human workers. Early modern audiences suffering through late-Elizabethan food shortages and high rural unemployment would have appreciated his success. Oliver's ecologically divided subjectivity, like the georgic traditionalism and experimental modernity of the husbandry manuals he embodies, suggests a character-in-transition who is open to change like his brother Orlando and future sister-in-law Rosalind. Benefiting from Corin's georgic insights, she has invested her income in Old Carlot's moribund sheep pasture and turned it into the green fields of "It was a lover and his lass" (*As You Like It*, 2.4.96–99; 5.3.15–38).

Early modern ecology was also shaped by conservationist activism. One means communities had for saving precious older trees such as Herne's Oak in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* was to name and endow them with folk-histories to confer quasi-human protective rights, as earlier residents of Windsor had done for Herne's (Thomas 1996: 100–120). By converging the play's comedic action on a large oak in a Crown forest with a local name and memorable story, Shakespeare stages the ability of Windsor citizens to limit external resource-use represented by the commercial saw-pit (and symbolically by Falstaff's predations), even at short-term economic loss to themselves (although this public-spiritedness seems under threat by the personal consumerism of the Pages and Fords).

Windsor Forest was the site of the first English attempt to regenerate Crown woodland. Anxieties about the state of her forests prompted Elizabeth in 1580 to order a thirteen-acre plantation of acorns in Windsor Great Park. By 1625 the first of these plantations was reported to have grown into "a wood of some thousands of tall young oaks bearing acorns, and giving shelter to cattle." Shakespeare's accurate knowledge of Windsor's natural and built environments suggests he accompanied his patron, Lord Hunsdon, when he was installed as a Knight of the Garter in 1597. When walking through Windsor Great Park, surrounding the town, Shakespeare may have spotted Elizabeth's dedicated grove of "maiden trees," representing a new model of environmental stewardship; and in Herne's Oak he imagined the venerable future of these saplings (Menzies 1864: 3, 44).

Although Elizabeth's replanting of Windsor Forest was a token gesture in comparison with centuries of royal degradation, it was an important emblem of new ecological thinking and a harbinger of today's desire for sustainable coexistence

between people and woodland. Shakespeare's framing of the romantic comedy in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* with signs of contemporary forestry practices lays the cultural foundations for visionary programmes of national replanting set out by Jacobean woodland surveyors Arthur Standish (1611, 1613) and Rooke Church (1612). Later, in *The Tempest*, Shakespeare confirms the importance of substantiating ideals of resilience with practical knowledge of cultivation when Antonio and Sebastian mock Gonzalo's dream of establishing a "plantation" on the island. They claim he would sow "nettle-seed . . . docks, or mallows" – i.e., weeds – in ignorance (2.1.149–50). The joke is on them, however, for these were exactly the gateway plants that New World colonists first sowed and ploughed under to prepare cleared ground for nutrient-intensive crops and to prevent biological exhaustion (Crosby 1986: 155–57).

Gardens, orchards, and vineyards are further sites of practical environmentalism in Shakespeare's age, and additional sources of cultivated ecological knowledge (Bushnell 1997; Munroe and Laroche 2011). The sustaining "mead" Burgundy commends in his post-Agincourt speech recalls the politically allegorized garden in *Richard II*:

All must be even in our government. . . .
[. . .] we, in the compass of a pale,
Keep law and form and due proportion,
Showing as in a model our firm estate. . . .

(3.4.37, 41–43)

Formal or kitchen gardens were usually "paled" or enclosed by brick walls like the ones Alexander Iden trusts will create a refuge from the turbulence of war and court politics (2 *Henry VI*, 4.9). Yet both *Richard II* and Jack Cade's famished trespass suggest that early modern gardens were neither politically nor ecologically detachable from outside disturbances. These included the coal-generated air pollution mentioned earlier, as well as air-borne diseases and physically transmitted viruses (Boehrer 2013). When the Third Citizen in *Coriolanus* banters about losing his wits in a southerly "fog . . . being three parts melted away with rotten dews," London spectators might have heard a topical reference to the blighting effects of sea coal or concentrated wood-smoke as much as to the natural contagion that hotter southern winds were believed to bring to English climates (1.5.1; 2.3.32–33).

John Evelyn's *Fumifugium: Or the Inconvenience of the Aer and Smoak of London Dissipated* (1661) epitomizes the heightened early modern awareness of the spiritual and physiological benefits of garden environments. Although it was published after Shakespeare's lifetime, it responded to emerging conditions in the sixteenth century. Evelyn argued that noxious effects of pollutants and contagions could be diminished by planting green belts of sweet-smelling trees, shrubs, and flowers around the city. Urban gardens and orchards also brought a bit of healthful country to towns and cities populated by migrants like Shakespeare with ongoing or recent ties to the provinces (Wear 1992). New Place in Stratford had two gardens and two orchards, with locally renowned vines. Shakespeare's investment probably explains the setting of many otherwise historically unlocalized scenes in orchards and gardens. These have long been the object of green studies informed by natural science, or of thematic green worlds, but now are objects of ecocritical study.

The growing consumption of Elizabethans who benefited financially from rising commodity prices and globalizing trade put additional pressure on domestic supply-and-demand networks already stressed by urban growth and poor harvests resulting from the period's cooling climate and whiplash weather: "We see th'appearing buds, which to prove fruit / Hope gives not so much warrant as despair / That frosts will bite them" (2 *Henry IV*, 1.3.39–41). Household heating consumed significant amounts of wood and coal (though proportionately less than industry, as we have seen), and chimneys were one sign of its environmental impact. The First Carrier in 1 *Henry IV* laments how the doubled "price of oats" killed "Robin Ostler" and his inn-keeping business, perhaps in part because of his inability to afford fuel or alternative grains. In the same moment the Carrier glances wistfully at a nearby "new chimney," implicitly built from profits of the same commodity inflation (2.1.2–13). This kind of chimney belongs to Mistress Quickly, who takes modest pride in her sea-coal-heated rooms, and to the less modest Pages; their chimney is big enough for Falstaff to "creep up into" (*The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 4.2.48). These varying consumption levels contrast with the cold hearth in the impoverished Carriers' own house, which is useful only for urinating (2.1.21).

Shakespeare registers resource consumption on a different level in his references to herring and pilchards (e.g., *Twelfth Night*, 3.1.33). Their fisheries had been expanding to satisfy growing culinary and penitential appetites. Venturing beyond British and North Sea waters to the New World, the English fishery participated in the European expansion to global catchment areas such as the Grand Banks off Newfoundland. As Dan Brayton observes (2012: 136–65), this was increasingly a commodifying transformation which eventually caused the collapse of the Atlantic cod fishery in the late twentieth century and endangered other species. One future victim was the whale, hunted in Shakespeare's day for its oil and flesh, including "spermaceti," the waxlike substance that grows in the heads of sperm or bottle-nosed whales. Early modern English cosmetics and textile producers required ever greater amounts of spermaceti to supply customers like the brisk courtier whom Hotspur mocks in 1 *Henry IV* (1.3.29ff.) or the fashionable "water-fly" Osric in *Hamlet* (5.2.82ff.).

Another consumer-driven ecology was the fashion for dying collar-ruffs yellow. Shakespeare echoes the common opinion that it was vile (*All's Well That Ends Well*, 4.5.2; *The Comedy of Errors*, 4.4.62). The colouring depended on saffron obtained from the dried stigmas of crocuses grown in Essex (e.g., the eponymous Saffron Waldon) and East Anglia (Francis 2011). During the early seventeenth century, English demand – boosted by additional uses in perfumes, physic, and cookery – exceeded national carrying capacities and labour costs. Production was gradually shifted offshore to cheaper, less ecologically difficult places such as Aleppo (*Othello*, 5.2.361; *Macbeth*, 1.3.6). Coextensive with such shifts, the English gunpowder economy raised prices for domestic commodities such as fine soap ash, which was traditionally used to wash clothes but was increasingly diverted to refine saltpetre (Plat 1594: G3v–H1v). The fact that the Fords can afford it for their plentiful buckwashing (i.e., bleaching) instead of having to make do with cheaper kinds of ash is another sign of their rising wealth and status (*The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 3.3.2ff.). It is also a further instance of Shakespeare's eye for the environmental entanglements of modern consumer purchases which today encompass virtually everything one buys.

“Entanglement” and its cognates are current buzzwords of ecocriticism. They invoke today’s cultural and scientific interests in interlaced diversity (as opposed to the dualisms of Enlightenment thinking, now often caricatured). “Entangled” goes back to Shakespeare (e.g., *Coriolanus*, 2.1.76), but its most famous scientific use is in the final paragraph of *On the Origins of Species*: “It is interesting to contemplate an entangled bank.” There Darwin negotiates an imaginative transition between older and newer horizons of creation, beginning with pastoral images of singing birds and whizzing insects, and concluding with evolved organisms flourishing out of radically contingent struggles for life (Darwin 2009: 426–27). Shakespeare used similar poetic thinking when describing the “web of our life” as a “mingled yarn” (*All’s Well That Ends Well*, 4.3.74–75).

The polyglot narratives which capture life’s multilayered events and irreducible mingling of human vices and virtues make Shakespeare apt for ecological representation and reinvention in both literary and performance modes (Mentz 2011). Although Shakespeare’s stories are mainly about people rather than environments and animals, the latter speak in rich physical and polychronic accents with which ecocritics and certain theatre and film directors have begun to experiment. Collectively, their work re-creates Shakespeare’s plays as new ecological narratives of:

- entwined natural and human environmental disturbances (*King John*, *The Winter’s Tale*);
- degradation and conservation (*The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Macbeth*);
- sustainability (*As You Like It*, *Cymbeline*);
- environmental risk and catastrophe (*King Lear*, *Timon of Athens*);
- biodiversity and resilience (*A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, *Hamlet*);
- overconsumption, imperial conquest, and boomerang effects (*Henry V*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Troilus and Cressida*);
- interspecies dependencies and hybridities (*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *The Tempest*).

This list is not exhaustive, of course, but it suggests the future potential of ecocritical research and performance which, given today’s risks to planetary life, seems certain to become increasingly important to twenty-first-century readers and spectators. Ecocritics prepare Shakespeare to play this role in classrooms, on global stages, and through digital adaptations. Their work rediscovers early modern biocentric relations with nature; clarifies why sustainability and biodiversity are meaningful; and advocates personal and policy changes (Yates and Sullivan 2011; O’Dair 2011b; Estok 2011). It also reciprocates knowledge gained from contemporary science; for, as the steady flow of popular science books attests (and as Carla Mazzio and her contributors observe), modern ecology and other sciences are no longer driven simply by the accumulation of facts, but have become epistemologically “porous” – incorporating knowledge from, and disseminating ecoliteracy through, the arts, humanities, and technologies (Mazzio 2009). Edward O. Wilson argues that this “jumping together” or “consilience” is now essential to solve the material and ethical complexities of environmental problems: “Nothing fundamental separates the course of human history from the course of physical history, whether in the stars or in organic diversity” (1998: 11). Shakespearean ecocriticism is contributing to these cross-disciplinary dialogues.

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CHAPTER THIRTY-SIX

THE SHAKESPEAREAN LEGAL IMAGINARY



Karen J. Cunningham

The idea that the legitimacy of law rested in the political imagination of its subject audience was certainly one understood and accepted by Shakespeare and his contemporaries. If we do not think of law in these terms today, it is because we have either abandoned or lost a particular jurisprudential heritage.

Ian Ward, *Shakespeare and the Legal Imagination* (1991: 1)

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in England were a lively time in the public exposure and development of stage drama and of law. Both were concerned with attending carefully to the motives, intentions, obligations, and privileges of the English man and woman. The January 1562 performance of Thomas Sackville and Thomas Norton's *Gorboduc* by members of the Inner Temple for an audience including Elizabeth I and the members of her court; the construction of the first public playhouses (the Red Lion, the Rose, the Swan, the Theatre, the Curtain, the Globe); the attendance of lawyers in public audiences; the numbers of theatre-goers reaching perhaps 15,000 a week; the material in plays that would have been accessible to those schooled in the obscurities of the English legal profession – all signal a powerful social and cultural moment. As Paul Raffield has recently pointed out, the performances addressing legal topics “mark the emergence of law from the formal arena of the legal institution into the imagistic and non-reverential sphere of the social and the public” (2010: 7–8, 11). That emergence prepared the groundwork for decades of commentary on literary–legal relationships that has become familiarly known as “Shakespeare and the law.”

“Shakespeare and the law” is a misleading phrase, however, because it fails properly to characterize either of its key terms. Most of us would probably readily agree that “Shakespeare” really is “Shakespeares,” whether we attend to the uncertain biography, the unstable multiple texts, or the seemingly limitless possibilities of approaches and interpretations. Yet we may not quite so readily agree that the law, which is a practice, is also a mode of thinking and writing subject to the vagaries and vulnerabilities of language and imagination. To capture more precisely this sense of the law's elusive way of being, we might turn to the Shakespearean imaginary: law

might be only a “scarecrow” (2.1.1), an inanimate semblance of a person, a feigned human presence designed to frighten trespassers into submission and to make them believe in its threatening powers; or law (which “hath not been dead, though it hath slept” [2.2.92]) might be a gifted person, “like a prophet” (2.2.96) reawakened to foresee and prevent future evils; or it may be that law is an autocratic ruler, a “tyrant” (2.4.115) whose extreme and abusive use of authority justifies resistance and rebellion. All of these examples from *Measure for Measure* make evident that in Shakespeare’s works “the law” refuses to settle into a tidy collection of codes to be enforced or procedures to be followed. Instead, in order to think about the legal, Shakespeare in these instances adopts the language of personification, figuring in the language itself the deep relationship between persons and their laws.

The connections between Shakespeare and legal thought are not new but deep and long-standing, reaching back to our earliest knowledge of his life and the performances and publications of his plays and poems. Yet it was only in the later nineteenth century, as biographers produced versions of “Shakespeare the author” and lawyers sought to foreground the humanistic basis of legal education, that these connections began to become prominent. Today numerous books and articles focus on legal and dramatic language, troubling over the status of legal denotation and Shakespearean connotation; on theatrical and legal notions of categories for legal action, including questions of property, inheritance, rape, and revenge; on particular kinds of scenes – especially trial scenes – shared by dramatic and legal practices; and on legal theories and theorists in the plays and the society, touching on wider aspirations for limiting monarchic power and for achieving an equitable and just society. The scope of these studies is so wide that nearly every play and nearly every kind of legal question appears in a comprehensive survey, and there is little consensus about what, ultimately, Shakespeare’s views are. We can say, however, that overall the plays deploy their legalisms knowledgeably and take a sceptical view of lawyers and legal proceedings, often depicting them as flawed, corrupt, or simply incapable of addressing at the most significant level the deep desires of a society for justice.

In what follows, I chart a course through the diffuse recent work on Shakespeare and the law. The course is neither straight nor narrow, and its limitations reflect the challenges of the topic: how best to frame a conversation about work that is interdisciplinary and transhistorical? Although individuals may use Shakespeare and law to champion a particular politics, the Shakespeare and law movement as a whole does not; nor does it require membership in a single political or theoretical school. Many studies focus on a specific legal question – conveyance of property, or equity, or contract, for example – and trace its treatment across a range of plays. Others choose an individual play – *Measure for Measure*, or *The Comedy of Errors*, or *Troilus and Cressida* – and illuminate its engagements with a range of legal issues and attitudes. Both kinds contribute to literary, legal, cultural, and intellectual histories, and either might at any point turn to performance or aesthetics to centre or extend its claims.

In general, the modern literature and law movement has adopted approaches to texts that parallel changes in cultural and critical theory – humanism and formalism in the 1970s; literary theory and hermeneutics in the 1980s; new historicism, and cultural and materialist studies in the 1990s (Sarat *et al.* 2011: 2; Peters 2011: 72–73) – and

to some extent, studies of Shakespeare and law follow this pattern. But this approach to organizing the scholarship runs the risk of implying that each period ended, and it cannot suggest the relative amount of activity under each conceptual umbrella. This chapter attempts instead to navigate among a variety of issues and approaches in order to convey a sense of the complexity of this work. What is sacrificed in coherence may, I hope, be recovered in a fuller sense of the vitality of Shakespeare's legal afterlife. The shifts in the broader movement should not obscure the simple fact that work on Shakespeare figures in all eras and approaches. Put differently, the Shakespeare canon has become in practice a foundational archive in law and literature studies. In the process, this interdisciplinary work has revealed the long-marginalized influence of Shakespeare in producing not only early and modern theatrical culture but legal culture as well.

THE EARLY AND MODERN STORY

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the divide between legal and theatrical professions was neither clear nor firm; both the theatrical and legal disciplines in England were continuously establishing their own professional procedures, modes of thought, and boundaries. The Inns of Court, the schools for aspiring barristers and advocates, were also the training grounds for writing of all kinds. Much of the legal literature was produced at the Inns, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries an impressive number of well-known writers passed through them (Finkelpearl 1969:19). Innsmen acted in revels, and professional players performed at the Inns. Public interest in legal activities spilled out of the court centres to local taverns, where specialists and amateurs alike could debate what were known as "table-cases," conjectural disputes about points of law that often derived from mooted exercises at the Inns of Court and Chancery. This easy circulation of law-related ideas into drama is evident in Dick the Butcher's infamous cry of rebellion in the second part of *Henry VI*, "the first thing we do, let's kill all the lawyers" (4.2.78); in Hamlet's satirical conversation with a lawyer's skull about legal quiddities (5.1.95ff.); in the trial scene in *The Merchant of Venice* (4.1); and in the sustained legal plot of *Measure for Measure*. Although later centuries saw the progressive separation of legal and literary studies from each other into their own fields, Shakespeare continued to draw legal minds. One of the less-remarked aspects of the connection between lawyers and the playwright is that at least seven collections published throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – including Englishman Nicholas Rowe's critical edition in 1709; Irishman Edmond Malone's editions of the poems in 1780 and the plays in 1790; and American H.H. Furness's New Variorum edition in 1871 – were by men with legal backgrounds (Phillips 1972: 141–45).

In light of this editorial history, it is perhaps not surprising that much of the impetus behind the modern Shakespeare and law movement originated not among literary scholars but among lawyers. Its roots are not political but biographical, resting on a long-standing and continuing question about authorship: could the young, ill-educated man from Stratford-on-Avon have written so knowledgeably about law? Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, scholars tallied the frequency of Shakespeare's legal terms, evaluated whether they were used correctly, and argued about whether the author had or had not been a law clerk. The debate was

muted (although not silenced) in the mid-twentieth century by Paul S. Clarkson and Clyde T. Warren, both attorneys, who conclude in *The Law of Property in Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Drama* that “what law there is in Shakespeare can, indeed must, be explained upon some grounds other than that he was a lawyer, or an apprentice, or a student of the law” (1942: 286).

At the same time theories of Shakespearean authorship were being founded on instances of legal language, new concerns were arising among legal scholars about the objectivity of the law – and about the value of that objectivity if it did exist. Law was supposed to strive to be “impartial,” to adopt a key term from Duke Solinus in *The Comedy of Errors*. But did that ostensible impartiality always result in a fair or just verdict? Did a strict formalism allow law to function most effectively? Was the best law the least human (or humane) law? Pioneers of what has come to be known as the law and literature movement, two American jurists, John Henry Wigmore (b. 1863) and Benjamin N. Cardozo (b. 1870) – both of whom were practising lawyers – argued that legal education and practice were too far removed from their human side; both believed that poetry and fiction should be incorporated into the law school curriculum in order to rehumanize the law. The result was the law and literature movement, which falls into two broad (and not wholly distinct) categories: law *in* literature and law *as* literature. Law *in* literature assumes that the study of great literary works can give insight into the nature of law and its effects on people; it looks at how legal situations and issues are presented in literature. Law *as* literature brings to bear the tools and theories of modern literary criticism for textual analysis in order better to understand not only the linguistic but also the textual basis of law, its narrative, rhetorical, and interpretive practices. One of the foundational books, James Boyd White’s *The Legal Imagination*, sets out to “look at the literature of the law as a literature of the imagination.” White asks readers to “see what the lawyer does as a literary activity, an enterprise of the imagination” with the goal not of reaching conclusions but of defining responsibilities (1973: xix–xxi). In chapters that combine explanations of legal topics, excerpts from legal theories and cases, and excerpts from literature, White embraces authors from Matthew Arnold to William Carlos Williams, and includes Shakespeare’s *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Macbeth*, *Richard II*, *Richard III*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *The Tempest*, *The Winter’s Tale*, and sonnet 29 (“When in disgrace with fortune and men’s eyes”) – as well as a little Roger Ascham and Raphael Holinshed along the way.

How better to (re)humanize law than to demonstrate its need for and treatment in the most prominent figure in the humanities? It would be an error to assume that only Shakespeare is part of that pedagogy. A brief survey shows that many authors – including Kafka, Dostoyevsky, and Dickens – make their ways onto the syllabuses of many current “literature and law” courses in law schools and in English departments. But Shakespeare enjoys a unique status in the English-speaking world, having been credited by some academics as having “invented the human” (Bloom 1998), by others as having “invented poetic subjectivity” (Fineman 1986), and by others outside academia as “the greatest writer in the English language – the writer from whose work our entire literary culture flows” (Yardley 1997: B7). “To engage with literature is necessarily to encounter Shakespeare” (Julius 1999: xi). Whether or not one agrees with these attributions of origins (and many have pointed out problems with such idealizations), they remind us of the cultural power of saying “Shakespeare”

in connection with most any social or political concern. Moreover, the Shakespeare eternized in these comments is decidedly humanist: a figure whose works address essential universal moral and social truths.

SPEAKING LAW IN SHAKESPEARE

Whatever is happening in literary and legal culture is happening *in* and *through* language, written and spoken. Although it may seem obvious today, simply recognizing the diffuse presence of legal language in the texts was a crucial early step in developing the nascent field of Shakespeare and law. If initially law-related terminology went unrecognized, when it *was* visible, scholars troubled over the basis of choosing which terms to include among the “legal.” Clarkson and Warren, for example, dismiss the relevance of words they consider to be primarily figurative. If the usage is “metaphorical” or “general,” the language is considered “of little importance” to their project (1942: 5), a view that not only suppresses Shakespeare’s multivalent use of language, but also reiterates the idea that legal language is specifically not metaphorical. Nonetheless, this new awareness of law’s pervasive linguistic presence in the Shakespeare canon opened the possibility of glosses appearing in editions and brief legal commentaries emerging in interpretations. This kind of study culminates in B.J. and Mary Sokol’s comprehensive *Shakespeare’s Legal Language*, an invaluable work that both demonstrates the extensiveness of legal terms and references, and supports the authors’ discovery that the playwright’s language “in effect produced an outline of English law and its institutions in Shakespeare’s age: the courts; law officers; the laws of property, inheritance, marriage, status; contract and debt, crime, misdemeanour, and regulation of morals” (2000: 5).

It is well known that one source of law’s linguistic presence in early modern literatures is the judicial and political rhetoric of Cicero and Quintilian, both Roman lawyers. What has been less evident is Shakespeare’s use of rhetorical tropes in constructing relationships among the legal, the poetic, and the real, and in originating a new sense of subjectivity and interiority on the stage. Revealing “habits of mind” of early modern writers, Joel B. Altman’s seminal study *The Tudor Play of Mind* illuminates the intellectual suppleness and affective force of the rhetorical tradition, especially the exercises of *in utramque partem* (arguing both sides of a question) in creating “wonder,” such as that produced by the final turn of *The Comedy of Errors* to the collective testimony of the trial to resolve the play’s epistemological crisis of selfhood (Altman 1978: 174). Focusing on the connection between rhetorical and contractual performance, Luke Wilson’s *Theaters of Intention* finds Shakespeare adapting the contractual model to diverse situations such that the language of promise and contract performs the function of making individual agency visible. In this view, laws and customs of contract, including intentions and promise, articulate intersubjective relationships and establish both subjects and temporal duration on the early English stage (2000: 263). Attending to changes in the English participatory jury system, Lorna Hutson’s *The Invention of Suspicion* demonstrates how new narratives of suspicion and circumstantial evidence combined with classical judicial oratory to enable dramatists of the 1580s and 1590s to add psychological depth to characters and “a new liveliness and power” to their fictions (2007: 2). Connecting the material forms, rhetorical strategies, and aesthetic effects of poetry and

law – “twin arts for *making* something in language” – Bradin Cormack’s ground-breaking work reveals a Shakespeare exploring a legal system

whose ongoing effect was to change the order of the real by offering a set of textual and technical substitutions for the real, this as a second reality, the one through which, namely, the law becomes able to exercise its peculiar authority.

(Cormack 2015: 47, emphasis in original)

Perhaps because of their singular ability to stage that “peculiar authority” explicitly, or because of their intrinsically dramatic structure, trial scenes figure prominently in studies of Shakespeare and law. Among early modern dramatists, Shakespeare was the most likely to include trials: while nearly one-third of English Renaissance plays contain such scenes, nearly two-thirds of Shakespeare’s plays do (Phillips 1972: 84). Initially accuracy was a key question: had the playwright accurately depicted particular legal procedures, and thus educated his audience about how law worked? More recently, scholars adopt the assumptions of representation and mediation, opening up dramatic trials to the possibilities of multiple meanings and uncertainties about formal, thematic, characterological, and aesthetic issues in theatre and law. Studies range widely, attending to the transitions in legal practices and legal theories; the aesthetics of theatre; the problems of interiority, intentions, and secret selfhood; the gender bias of legal proceedings; the theatricality of the law; and the cultivation of the capacity of an audience (in theatre or in law) to judge.

What we might call the case of Shylock versus Antonio in *The Merchant of Venice* has proved uniquely durable; and the extent of the controversy suggests that the trial has exceeded its historically specific moment and the confines of the play in which it appears to become a crucible for thought among an international, intergenerational community of scholars, much like a moot case in traditional legal education. (The overview of comments from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by O. Hood Phillips provides a strongly international perspective.) Often understood as Shakespeare’s rumination on the sustained conflict between mercy on the one hand and strict justice on the other, or the spirit of the law versus the letter of the law, the scene has given rise to the quasi-allegorical tradition that “mercy or equity prevails over inhuman law of older times” (Phillips 1972: 95). The main points of contention raised in the nineteenth century relate the play to legal history and continue to have a surprisingly long influence on modern thinking.

- (1) Which law applies to the case: Venetian, early modern English, or Natural law? If Shakespeare’s England is the legal setting, in which court should we imagine this trial: Star Chamber, Chancery, also known as “equity,” or common law, thought to be more stringent?
- (2) What is Portia’s role and effect? Labelled “Shakespeare at his most irresponsible” (quoted in Phillips 1972: 91), and clearly lacking the ideal impartiality, is she an *amicus curiae*, an expert jurist, an advocate, or, as Shylock proclaims her, a “[m]ost learned judge” (4.1.301)?
- (3) Is the bond valid and the judgement fair? Many argue that the bond was void at the outset because it was *contra bonos mores* (contrary to good morals), and therefore not enforceable, and the judgement was Portia’s biased action based on a quibble.

Recent critical responses – aware of the ways literary works circulate social commonplaces, sceptical about the law’s authority and impartiality, and alert to the role of contemporary discourses of cultural bias – repeatedly retry the case. From these viewpoints, the law in the play is a means by which members of a dominant culture might subjugate others and with which they occlude their personal motives and membership in that dominant class. Shylock, “the alien” invoked by the alien statute in the play, is the “other” created by, essential to, and critique of the law of the dominant culture. Instead of Antonio’s life or Shylock’s estate, what is at stake in the courtroom is most pointedly “the law of Venice itself,” challenged to maintain its “proper indifference to individuals” (Eagleton 1986: 38). Moreover, which laws might apply to the case – the perceived authority for any judgement – are themselves a matter of dispute and interpretation: because “legal case-history is not just a record of past ‘applications’ of the law, but a tradition of continuous reinterpretation of it which bears forcibly on any current act of legal judgement,” any judgement involves rethinking and thus revising precedents (Eagleton 1986: 36).

That the literary and legal communities find the case of Shylock versus Antonio unresolved (or unacceptably resolved) is borne out by its having been revisited in multiple imaginary written, acted, and published “appeals” of the verdict from the nineteenth century to the modern day. But these perennial reassessments do more than merely repeat the arguments; they also exemplify the adaptive side of legal process: “Legal argumentation is never resolved; only redescribed in the legal imagination, from one context to another” (Ward 1999: 2). Significantly, in this case (and others in the playwright’s canon), the legal argument at stake can be expressed only in the language of Shakespearean drama.

PROPERTY, MARRIAGE, THE ANCIENT CONSTITUTION

Virtually no aspect of early modern life was unaffected by laws related to property. Subjects competed for property rights, committed to contracts, and assented to the marital conventions of dower and jointure. More generally, personhood at law was contingent on owning property. Historically early modern property law was an incoherent, *ad hoc*, convoluted system – a collection of notions written or “memorial” that were easily invoked, adapted, and manipulated (Maus 2013: 11; Simpson 1986). Certainly many early modern narratives offer *post hoc* explanations of the basis of early modern property rights that protected the legal and political entitlements of only a minority of the population of England (Wright *et al.* 2004: 2). Shakespeare, however, often gives us competing narratives that trouble over conventional ways of thinking about the relations among property, status, interiority, and personhood itself.

Early studies took the language of property in Shakespeare’s works as an explanation of other things – in particular, the author’s knowledge of law – not as the revelation of a particular character or play as a whole, although even in this restricted context, Shakespeare’s artistic intervention was evident. Falstaff’s pun on *escheat* (the return of land upon the death of the tenant to the lord from whom it was held) in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, as he anticipates deceiving Mistresses Page and Ford, for example, signifies both legal knowledge and poetic creativity: “I will be *cheaters* to

them both, and they shall be *exchequers* to me” (1.3.62–63; my emphasis). New connotations of the term *escheators* were developing in early modern English popular culture, such that the public was beginning to associate escheators with informers. In an act of poetic appropriation, Shakespeare shortens the term to *cheaters*, apparently the first use of the term in English (Clarkson and Warren 1942: 34). (See also 2 *Henry IV*, 2.4.120, and sonnet 151, “Love is too young to know what conscience is.”) Myriad invocations throughout the canon of the language of property in all its facets – contracts, wills, inventories, possession, use, tenancy – not only establish the legal language as the coin of the Shakespearean realm, but also situate characters imaginatively and emotionally within various courts and jurisdictions.

The link between early modern property law and personhood, however, does more than simply reflect the cultural gender bias or place characters in imaginary legal contexts. It also founds the legitimacy of the monarchy itself. Several recent studies, focused especially on *Richard II* and *Hamlet*, have pushed the debate about the contingency of personhood on property in competing directions. In *Richard II*, Gaunt complains that under Richard, England “Is now leased out . . . / Like to a tenement or pelting farm” (2.1.59–60), and he chastises the monarch:

wert thou regent of the world
It were a shame to let this land by lease.
But, for thy world, enjoying but this land,
Is it not more than shame to shame it so?
Landlord of England art thou now, not king.
Thy state of law is bonds slave to the law. . . .

(2.1.109–114)

William O. Scott argues that Richard’s “abuses of what the king possesses – both property and kingship – threaten the status of kingship itself” (2007: 59). For Scott, “selfhood can be carefully defined for the sixteenth century through one’s inherited or lawfully acquired status, possessions, and skills,” and Richard’s loss of his possessions amounts to a loss of that self (2007: 68). In a materialist argument that posits a tighter relationship between subject and object, Margreta de Grazia claims that interpretations of *Hamlet* that emphasize his “modern” subjectivity and interiority do so at the expense of the play’s specific concern with property. The character is “modernized” not by the accretion of soliloquies that suggest a deep interior, but by scholarship’s critical blindness to the play’s premise:

at his father’s death, just at the point when an only son in a patrilineal system stands to inherit, *Hamlet* is dispossessed – and, as far as the court is concerned, legitimately . . . surely the loss of the kingdom affects what *Hamlet* has within.

(2007: 1–2)

Still more recently Katharine Eisaman Maus has taken the centrality of property in *Richard II* as her starting-point for an “unabashedly anthropocentric” argument against the Marxist-materialist claim “not merely that subject and object are interconnected, but that objects constitute subjects” (2013: 3); establishing a connection between property and person is not the same as establishing that they are identical.

In this view, paradoxically, Richard II comes most fully into himself as a character and person at the moment he relinquishes his kingdom: “When property is traumatically stripped away, the complex individual character remains – indeed, *it is possibly only in that deprivation that he is constituted as a complete individual character*” (Maus 2013: 32, emphasis in original). The differences among these arguments suggest that the idea of “Shakespeare and laws of property,” when interpreted through recent theories of interiority and subject–object relations, elides into “Shakespearean laws of property,” which in turn become potential evidence in a disputed historical narrative not only about Shakespeare or law, but also about the emergence of modern subjectivity.

There is no doubt that the question centring these studies – the relationship between property and personhood, between having and being, to return to Maus’s phrase – also fuels much of the scholarship about marriage, especially about women’s changed status. The Sokols found that “terms related to the legalities of marriage constitute the largest thematic cluster” in Shakespeare’s works (2000: 1); and Duke Vincentio’s response to Mariana near the end of *Measure for Measure* (a play concluding with possibly four marriages) suggests that a woman outside of a marital chain-of-being was an enigma and source of anxiety: “Why, you are nothing then; neither maid, widow, nor wife!” (5.1.176–77). Although marriage was a culturally accepted solution to these anxieties, feminist scholars have exposed a fissure at the base of the “marriage as resolution” ideology. On the one hand, the law offered the legal fiction of the common law doctrine of *coverture* and unity of persons. According to this fiction, a woman’s identity was incorporated into her husband’s, and she was transformed from a single woman with a legal identity and rights of her own (*feme sole*) into a “covered” or married woman whose legal identity and rights were subordinated to her husband (*feme covert*). In this way, her rights to property, personal agency, and aspects of selfhood were constrained and reorganized, an extreme version of which Shakespeare circulates in Petruccio’s claim about Katherine: “I will be master of what is mine own. / She is my goods, my chattels. She is my house, / My household-stuff, my field, my barn, / My horse, my ox, my ass, my anything” (*The Taming of the Shrew*, 3.3.101–4). On the other hand, the marriage contract itself was unstable: there were two kinds of spousal contracts, and the validity of a marriage depended on the tense of the verbs each party used to make the commitment to the other. If they expressed the consent in verbs of the present tense (*sponsalia per verba de praesenti*), the marriage was (possibly) valid; but if they expressed consent in verbs of the future tense (*sponsalia per verba de futuro*), the vow was understood as a promise to marry at a later date and might be invalidated (Baker 2002: 480).

Shakespeare’s engagement with all aspects of the marital process – from its inception in customary practices, to the form of the espousals, to the conveyance of property, to settlements of dower and jointure, *ad infinitum* – is a sustained dramatization of the institution’s instabilities and inequities, and a sceptical representation of the social stability conventionally associated with the contract. The Shakespearean stage is populated by marriages subject to legal loopholes and slippage, and vulnerable to disruption (*Much Ado About Nothing*, *All’s Well That Ends Well*, *Measure for Measure*).

- Plays are “full of men and women with an uncertain and indeterminate marital status, and their expressions of bewilderment or loss convey an overlap between that uncertainty and their personal identities” (Mukherji 2006: 17).

- Marriages are founded not only on juridical but on economic bases such as lack of a sufficient dowry and fears of the threat of illegitimacy for children (Korda 2004: 142–43).
- Marriage laws are divided against themselves, sometimes pitting the requirement of consent against the authority of wardship (Mukherji 2006: 28–29).
- Many weddings occur off stage, raising the question of whether marriage is a happy ending (Dolan 2011).
- And the marital household, paradoxically a site of women's potential agency, is criminalized in petty treasons (Dolan 1994).

Cumulatively, through these representations – as well as through hints that individual female agency and friendships might not be sacrificed to marriage (*The Merry Wives of Windsor*); that spouses might be friends as well as lovers (*Much Ado About Nothing*); and that same-sex partners might also wed (*As You Like It*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*) – Shakespeare mounts a serious critique of the traditional conception, practices, and contractual requirements of the institution.

Similar scepticism about the nature of the relations between persons and rulers characterizes Shakespeare's depictions of the ancient constitution, and no area of Shakespearean scholarship better demonstrates the playwright's pivotal role in revising legal thinking. Historians of Anglo-American legal history point to the English ancient constitution as the foundation of the American constitution, a written document that, despite some troublesome elements, establishes the United States as a nation of laws, not of persons. In early modern England, however, there is no such document. There is, instead, another useful fiction, a collection of ideas articulated by various theorists of government and putatively held in memory. Addressing the ruler's obligations to the people, and the subject's obedience to authority, early commentaries characterized the monarchy as an absolutist institution and the monarch, as God's representative on earth, above positive law.

Modern scepticism about the authority of traditional history and modern narrative theories have contributed to the dismantling of this mythology, opening the idea of the ancient constitution to queries about its metaphysical legitimacy and the kinds of law it imagines, and the role of personal conscience and monarchical authority in its conceptions of a contract between ruler and subject. Ian Ward's *Shakespeare and the Legal Imagination* exemplifies this turn in thinking:

a legal order or constitution is a product of the imagination, as indeed is a piece of literature such as a Shakespearian play. . . . [L]iterature plays an essential role in fashioning a mutable legal imagination.

(Ward 1999: 2)

Ward's influential work testifies to the expansive range of constitutional principles entertained in Shakespearean texts:

- legal positivism in *Richard II*;
- mythologies of nationalism in *Henry V*;
- relations between law and morality in *Measure for Measure* and *The Taming of the Shrew*;

- politics of friendship in *Love's Labour's Lost*;
- the role of law as a gauge for market efficiency in *The Merchant of Venice*;
- the illusion of natural order in *Troilus and Cressida* and *Macbeth*;
- ambivalent morality and natural order in *Hamlet*; and
- law as artistic expression in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Tempest*.

Attending to what she finds is the common subject of the restoration of good government in the Shakespearean romances, Constance Jordan discovers that personal conscience emerges as a determining factor in imagining positive law transcending the will of the monarch (1997: 28, 78). Navigating among competing theories of the royal prerogative and ruler–subject relations, Paul Raffield investigates the Crown’s “oppressive effect on the freedom of subjects, and the sustained attempt to address and rectify the imbalance of power, both in the institutional forum of the courts and in the informal social arena of the theatre and literature” (2010: 13–14). In *The Comedy of Errors*, Raffield’s Shakespeare makes the contractual promise central to the regulation of human relations in a plot that represents a cultural shift from a “vertical model of society (determined by immutable social hierarchy) to a horizontal model, in which freedom of contract is the primary determinant of social status” (2010: 14–15).

INSTITUTIONALIZING THE SHAKESPEAREAN LEGAL IMAGINARY

The early pedagogical ambitions of the law and literature movement remain alive today and inform many courses in which Shakespeare is a continuous presence. These courses do more than merely sustain the hopes of rehumanizing the law by continuously reinscribing it; they also suggest that White’s aspiration to “open up the study of law as a discipline of liberal arts unto itself” (Sarat *et al.* 2011: 10) is at least partially fulfilled. Although the courses may not be called “Shakespeare and,” a sampling of syllabuses at George Washington University Law School, Brandeis School of Law, Harvard Law School, and UCLA Law School, among others, invariably includes Shakespeare among the readings – whether the legal issues are jurisprudence, social justice, procedure, contract, equity, or trials. English and humanities departments also sustain the law and literature work: the University of Maryland College Park Honors College offers “Justice Matters: Literature and Law,” turning to questions of law versus mercy in *The Merchant of Venice*, and filling out the discussion with film of trial scenes. An Arizona State University English Department course, with the catchy title “Shakespeare: Trial by Theater,” explores trial scenes, legal apparatuses such as accusation and sentencing, and particular historical trials and laws relevant to *Measure for Measure*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *Henry VIII*, *Coriolanus*, *King Lear*, and *The Merchant of Venice*. Among the distinctive pedagogical efforts is the Shakespeare Moot Court Project at McGill University. The most canonical figure in English literature is taken as the legal canon: Shakespeare’s plays and *Sonnets* are the body of law used to argue modern questions. (The 2003/04 case, for example, was “Love on Trial: Same-Sex Marriage in the Law of Shakespeare.”)

That studies of Shakespeare and law have become fully established as a norm inside and outside the academy is suggested also by the many conferences, colloquia,

and publications on the topic. The year 1976 saw the first of many continuing special sessions at the Modern Language Association (MLA) convention on the broader field of law and literature, some of which have since included Shakespeare's work. The Shakespeare Association of America has offered seminars on "Shakespeare and Proof" (1993) and "Shakespeare and the Law" (1994), and continues to feature the subject in plenary sessions, paper panels, and seminars, as do annual meetings of the Renaissance Society of America. In 2005 the Ohio Shakespeare Conference on "Shakespeare and the Law" highlighted the thoughts of two sitting judges (one from the United States District Court, the other from the 6th District Court of Appeals) in "The Judges Plenary." In 2006 the Law Society of Upper Canada included a presentation on "Shakespeare and the Law: *The Merchant of Venice*." Organized by two members of the law faculty, a "Shakespeare and the Law" conference in 2007 at the University of Warwick Law School drew an international, interdisciplinary community and included among its events live performances of selected scenes from *The Merchant of Venice*. Organizing its 2009 conference on "Shakespeare and the Law," the University of Chicago Law School also drew on sitting justices (including Supreme Court Justice Stephen Breyer) and prominent members of the law and literature movement; and it also included performances of scenes among its subjects, in this case from *Hamlet*, *Measure for Measure*, and *As You Like It*. More recently, the University of St Andrews's Centre for Mediaeval and Early Modern Law and Literature (CMEMLL, inaugurated in 2012) convened "Bonds, Lies, and Circumstances" in 2013 to study the relationships among law, literature, and emotion in the works of Shakespeare and his contemporaries; and the Italian Association of Shakespearean and Early Modern Studies organized its 2015 conference on the topic "'In the Public Sphere': Crime, Transgression, and Subversion in Shakespeare and Early Modern England." Several of these conferences (notably at Warwick in 2007 and Chicago in 2009) have produced essays and volumes of their proceedings (see Raffield and Watt 2008; Cormack *et al.* 2013).

Such a survey is meant not to be exhaustive, but to suggest the abiding deep interests of an international and interdisciplinary community over many decades. The courses, publications, and conferences about Shakespeare and law show no signs of abating; and we might expect work to continue to revive humanist Shakespeare in light of legal processes, to reinscribe cultural and material relations between Shakespearean and legal texts, and to advance the study of the plays' and the law's means of substituting their poetic art for the "real." What other pathways to future work might emerge from Shakespeare and law? One would be a comparative study of the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century editions: collected by lawyers, what signs do they show of legal thought in and about Shakespeare? How do they contribute to inventing legal Shakespeare? And what of today's editions, both collected and individual? The majority minimize or ignore the widespread presence of legal language and imagination in the plays, an odd omission in an era aspiring to situate the texts within their contemporary contexts. Editions recognizing the depth and pervasiveness of the Shakespearean legal imagination might make a significant contribution to our fuller understanding of the playwright's works.

Given the prevalence of Shakespeare's works in legal writings and courses, another subject for further thought is their sustained role in the development of legal historiography. In *The Legal Profession and the Common Law* (1986), J.H. Baker

entitles a chapter “The Dark Age of English Legal History, 1500–1700.” How has the Shakespeare and law phenomenon, with its attention to theoretical insights and historical contexts and contingencies, illuminated not only that “dark age” but also the assumptions and strategies of the legal historiography by which it was constructed? Further, how might the understanding of the relationships between Shakespeare and law be affected by nascent globalization? In their recent introduction to *Teaching Law and Literature*, the editors note that the field has been predominantly an Anglo-American phenomenon, which they attribute to “the reverence for the rule of law that emerged in the American political imagination in the revolutionary period” (Sarat *et al.* 2011: 5). Where they find other signs of interest – especially in Italy and France – they also find a concern less with the “rule of law” as a doctrine than with representations of liberty and equality. How do the interests of scholars around the globe help us re-envision Shakespeare and/in law?

Finally, scholars might turn to an oddly overlooked area: performance. Although conferences about Shakespeare and law often include performances of scenes, these illustrations are generally treated as supplements to the conversation rather than as central to it, and the pervasiveness of a text’s legal language and thought is obscured by more generic costumes, props, and actions. How might it affect our understanding to see productions in which the audible and visible signs of legal culture were emphasized and dispersed throughout rather than compressed into “legal” scenes?

Thinking with Shakespeare about law comes with a certain historical irony. During the “culture wars” of the 1990s in the American academy, as many English departments recast their curricula, courses in individual authors were often replaced with wider period offerings. One result of this change was the elimination of requirements that undergraduates take at least one course in Shakespeare. At the same time, Shakespeare and law studies were exploding with the kinds of work that would make it evident, as suggested earlier, that the Shakespeare canon is a foundational archive in law and literature studies. One unanticipated result of the law’s habit of recruiting Shakespeare to re-create itself has been the exposure of the law’s extensive dependency on the arts of *poesis* of all sorts – and on Shakespeare’s in particular. Certainly these studies demonstrate that the Shakespeare canon is not supplemental or incidental to the law, but essential to it. More than this, however, detailed, provocative studies are also demonstrating persuasively that the playwright’s works do not merely reflect early modern legal culture, but take a central role in producing that culture in a distinctly Shakespearean way, bringing to light new and crucial insights into the role of the canon not only as a repository for early modern law but also as a textual necessity for our continuous reimagining of a just society.

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